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OF AN
Univerſal Hiſtory,
FROM THE
Earlieſt ACCOUNT of TIME.

VOL. XXXVII.

THE MODERN PART OF AN Univerſal Hiſtory,

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By the AUTHORS of the ANTIENT PART.

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BIBLIOTHECA · BODLEIANA ·

Modern Hiſtory:
BEING A
CONTINUATION
OF THE
Univerſal Hiſtory.

The HISTORY of BOLOGNA.

SECT. I.

Containing the State of Bologna *in the Days of* Charles the Great; *it is diſmantled by* Lodovic, *Son of the Emperor* Lothair; *the Privilege of its Church ſeveral Times confirmed*; *the Valour of the* Bologneſe *during the* Italian *War in* 1076; *new Regulations in* Bologna; *their Differences with pope* Urban II. *State of Learning at* Bologna *in* 1105; *Building of the two famous Towers* Aſſinella *and* Gariſenda *in* Bologna, *which are ſtill ſtanding*; *the* Bologneſe *demoliſh the Citadel built by the Emperor* Henry *to curb them, but make a peace with that prince*; *flouriſhing State of* Bologna *in* 1123; *War between the* Bologneſe *and the* Modeneſe; *the City of* Bologna *almoſt burnt to the Ground*; *the* Bologneſe *invaded by* Frederick Barbaroſſa; *and a Truce of ſix Years.*

State of Bologna *under* Charles the Great.

AFTER *Charles the Great* became maſter of *Italy*, about the year 774, thoſe places that had been ſubject to the *Longobards*, or *Lombards*, were, by his order, called *Lombardy*; and thoſe that were governed by the exarchs, went under the general name of *Romaniola*, or *Romania*. The ſo-government of that country was, at the ſame time, totally changed. The cities of the exarchate were put under the government of an archbiſhop, and the magiſtrates of *Ravenna*. The pope remained maſter of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate; and over the imperial poſſeſſions, or what was called the kingdom of *Italy*, *Charles* appointed *comites*, or counts, for ruling the ſeveral ſtates and poſſeſſions in them; and to thoſe were joined civil judges. The counts who governed the marche, or border lands, generally ſerved in the field; and, according to *Sigonius*, an author of great learning and accuracy, they were called counts of the marches, from whence the modern word marquis has been derived. At the ſame time *Charles* entirely new modelled the tributes paid by the *Italians*, and altered the whole ſyſtem of their civil policy.

ABOUT the year 781, we find *Charles* nominating *Peter* biſhop of *Bononia*, or *Bologna*, to regulate ſome matters in diſpute in the church of *Reggio*; and about the year 801, *Charles* aſſumed the title of emperor of the Weſt. *Bologna* was then governed by a civil magiſtrate named by the emperor, who confirmed all the eccleſiaſtical privileges that had been conferred upon her by the popes, which is all we know of the hiſtory of *Bologna* at that time. In the year 844, the people of *Bologna* ſhut their gates againſt *Lodovic*, ſon to the emperor *Lothair*, as he was marching to *Rome* againſt pope *Sergius*, which exaſperated that prince ſo much, that he took their city by force, and beat down its walls. We meet with nothing particular concerning *Bologna* till the year 903, when the *Bologneſe* clergy obtained from pope *Leo* V. an immunity from all manner of taxes and tributes. After *Rodolph* duke of *Burgundy* had conquered and killed *Berengarius*, who had been crowned emperor and king of *Italy*, he himſelf was dethroned by the count of *Arles*, who joined his ſon *Lothair* with him in the government; during whoſe reigns the church of *Bologna* was greatly enriched by pious donations. The diſorders that afterwards prevailed in *Italy*, obliged the *Italian* princes about the year 961, to call to their relief *Otho* the emperor, who, having vanquiſhed all his enemies, confirmed the privileges of the city and church of *Bologna*. According to the accurate hiſtorian already mentioned, *Bologna* was then a free city, and governed by a ſet of magiſtrates, who were termed the community of *Bologna*. They were divided into three councils, of which one was called the ſpecial council, another the general, and the third the council of credence; and thoſe three councils were compoſed of the moſt reſpectable citizens for property and probity; ſo that the form of their government was ariſtocratical. On certain times the col-

Its privileges,

and government.

collective body of the people were ſummoned together, either to ratify the decrees of the councils, or to give ſanction to their proceedings. This form of government, with ſome additions of offices, continued till the year 1200, about which time the people were added to the government, which then went by the name of the community and people of *Bologna.* By all that we can gather from the writers of thoſe dark ages, the *Bologneſe* had lively ideas of the ancient *Roman* republic. Their chief magiſtrates were called conſuls, whoſe powers were much the ſame as thoſe of the *Roman* conſuls, but undetermined as to their number: they had under them civil judges; and the companies of merchants and tradeſmen had their ſeveral conſuls or magiſtrates; but they ſuffered none of thoſe magiſtracies to continue in a ſingle perſon above one year. In the year 966, the emperor *Otho* and pope *John* XIII. reſtored the clergy of *Bologna* to all the privileges and immunities that had been granted to them in former times. In the beginning of the reign of the emperor *Otho* II. *Albert* biſhop of *Bologna* had ſome diſputes with *Hubert* biſhop of *Parma*, and made his point good in the ſynod of *Ravenna.* This victory is ſaid to have given the people of *Bologna* great ſpirits, and they began now to adorn and fortify their city. About this time *John Gambalonga*, a man of great learning, flouriſhed at *Bologna*, and died, as appears by his tomb ſtone, which was extant in the days of *Sigonius*, in the year 999. We know little more of the *Bologneſe* till about the year 1012, when it was laid waſte by a dreadful peſtilence, which afflicted all *Italy*. In the year 1014, the emperor *Henry* II. called *the Lame*, granted at *Ravenna*, to the canons of the church at *Bologna*, the privilege, that without their conſent no biſhop of *Bologna* ſhould alienate the eſtate of that church. The reader may perceive that, at this time, we know little of the hiſtory of *Bologna*, or indeed of any other *Italian* ſtate, but as it is connected with that of the clergy, who, having in their power all the means of information, took care to tranſmit few or no facts but what related to their own honour.

HENRY the Lame was ſucceeded in the empire by *Conrade the Salic*, who carried on great wars in *Lombardy*; but his hiſtory tells us of no concern or connexion the *Bologneſe* had with him. *Conrade* was ſucceeded in the year 1040, by his ſon *Henry*, ſurnamed *the Black*, who likewiſe confirmed the privileges and immunities of the *Bologneſe* clergy, and was a great benefactor to them. He was ſucceeded by another *Henry*, his ſon; but we know of no particulars relating to the people of *Bologna*, till the year 1066, when the privileges of their clergy received their uſual confirmation; and in the year 1070, they introduced, for the benefit of the citizens, the waters of the *Apoſe* into *Bologna*. It was not till about the year 1077, that the *Bologneſe*, who were all this while ſubject to the *German* emperors, had occaſion to give proofs of their valour. In the progreſs of the famous quarrel between pope *Gregory* VII. and the emperor *Henry* IV. the former abſolved all the imperial dominions and fiefs in *Italy*; and *Sigonius* is of opinion, that the *Bologneſe* never were free or independent before they ſeized that opportunity to ſhake off the imperial yoke. It is not a little remarkable, that the worſt of all tyrannies ſhould beget freedom; for moſt of the *Italian* ſtates, at this time, dated the commencement of their liberties from this iniquitous ſentence of pope *Gregory*. The emperor *Henry*, on all hands diſtracted by the defection of his ſubjects, was obliged to repair to *Germany*, and left the care of *Italy* to his ſon. The famous *Matilda*, the kinſwoman of *Henry*, whom ſhe hated, was then alive in *Italy*. She was heireſs to almoſt all *Tuſcany*, and what is now called the patrimony of the church; and ſhe took the part of the pope, from the averſion ſhe had to *Henry*. Being a woman of vaſt ſpirit, ſhe raiſed armies, and fought herſelf at the head of them; but about the year 1078 ſhe was defeated by the emperor's ſon, who, in the purſuit, entered *Bologna* with the fugitives, and held it for ſome days. *Matilda*, however, ſoon repaired her loſs, raiſed another army, and recovered *Bologna*, the citizens of which behaved with great fidelity to the pope. In the year 1080, pope *Gregory* renewed his fulminations againſt the emperor, whom he actually excommunicated, though he had been weak enough to make the moſt abject ſubmiſſions to his holineſs. Nothing, at that time, could withſtand the paſſion which both the *Italians* and *Germans* had for liberty. Moſt of the *German* ſtates and cities ſhook themſelves looſe of the imperial yoke; and the *Bologneſe*, amongſt other *Italian* ſtates, declared themſelves a republic. *Rodolph* duke of *Suabia* was choſen emperor; but was defeated again and again by *Henry*, who created one *Gilbert* pope, and beſieged *Gregory* in the caſtle of *St. Angelo*, from whence he was delivered by the famous adventurer *Robert Guiſcard*, whom hiſtorians call duke of *Apulia*. Pope *Gregory* did not long ſurvive his misfortunes, for he died in the year 1085. The two popes who ſucceeded *Gregory* were equally pragmatical and preſuming, and were ſupported by *Matilda* in all their impudent claims over temporal princes. The *Bologneſe* adhered to pope *Urban*; and, at the inſtigation of *Matilda*, ſent an ambaſſy to *Rome* to inform him of their friendſhip.

Affairs of the empire.

The Bologneſe *ſhake off the* German *yoke.*

They ſide with Matilda;

IN 1088, *Italy* enjoying ſome repoſe, by the abſence of the emperor *Henry*, the *Bologneſe*, by the advice of *Matilda*, began to form themſelves into a civil government, and divided their city into four quarters; *Caſſiano*, *Eſaia*, *Proculo*, and *Vitali*. Each of thoſe quarters had a particular ſtandard allotted to it; and each was obliged to furniſh a certain number of men in time of war; an inſtitution, of which ſome traces may be found to this day in that city. Two years after the emperor *Henry* again invaded *Italy*, and was again oppoſed by the active *Matilda*, who had the better in one campaign; but in the year 1091, ſhe was obliged to ſhut herſelf up in *Canoſſa*, and was afterwards defeated by the emperor. In the year 1092, the emperor *Henry* was defeated by *Matilda*, who may be ſaid to have been the mother of the *Romiſh* church. She encouraged pope *Urban* to preach up the cruſade in *France*; and the *Bologneſe* attended him thither with about three hundred men, who ſerved him as a body-guard. In the year 1106, pope *Paſchal*, in his journey to *Padua*, paid a viſit to *Bologna*, and exempted that city from the juriſdiction of the biſhop of *Ravenna*. It does not appear that the *Bologneſe*, about this time, made any great figure in *Italy*; but it is extremely probable, that they earneſtly applied themſelves to their domeſtic concerns; for we are told, that in the year 1109 their two famous towers *Aſſinelli* and *Gariſenda* were built. In the year 1110, the emperor *Henry* being victorious in *Italy*, entered *Bologna* as a conqueror, and reſented the behaviour of its citizens ſo much, that he bridled it with a citadel, which he left ſtrongly garriſoned, and returned to *Germany*. The counteſs *Matilda*, however, animated the *Bologneſe* to demoliſh the citadel, which they did; but in the year 1115, that lady died. Next year the emperor *Henry* came to *Italy*, with an intention to be revenged of all his enemies there, amongſt whom he numbered the *Bologneſe*. They knew to what fate they were deſtined, and they ſent *Alberto Craſſo* and *Hugo Anſaldi* to pacify his wrath, and in a particular manner to apologize for demoliſhing the citadel he had built. According to *Sigonius*, the ſpeech which thoſe ambaſſadors made to *Henry*, had nothing in it that was mean or unbecoming a free people; for they anſwered and juſtified, on the principles of liberty, their having demoliſhed his citadel. *Henry*, who was a prince of great magnanimity, was pleaſed with their boldneſs, and beſtowed immunities upon them, that do equal honour to them and himſelf; for on the ides of *May*, 1116, he gave them a charter, which is ſtill preſerved in *Bologna*, and is ſo remarkable for its ſtrength and ſimplicity, that we ſhall here tranſlate it.

but make their peace with the emperor.

Charter in their favour.

"We forgive, to the citizens of *Bologna*, all offences, "and eſpecially the late demolition of our caſtle in that city. "Let the citizens of *Bologna*, and their poſterity, together "with all their eſtates, be for ever taken into our patronage "and protection. Let them have the free navigation of the "*Po* every way; and let them not pay to any one any tribute, particularly to the *Ferrareſe*, under the name of "wharfage. Let them inviolably preſerve their own immunities, privileges, laws, and cuſtoms. Let no people, "without the conſent of the *Bologneſe*, erect any works on "the banks of the *Reno*, ſo as to ſpoil its navigation. Let "the *Veroneſe* pay only a hundred pence, under the denomination of provender and proviſion money. Let no count "trouble the *Bologneſe* in any manner for his hoſpitality-money, as it is called. While the *Bologneſe* are in our "camp, let them be amenable for no matters but ſuch as "happen there."

Improve their city.

Incredible was the joy of the *Bologneſe* when their ambaſſadors brought them this charter. They even pretended that it was obtained by miracle, and from thenceforth they devoted themſelves to the imperial dignity. In the year 1120, the *Bologneſe* being in profound tranquility, while all the ſtates about them were at war, built a moſt magnificent town-houſe, in which they tranſacted their public buſineſs. In the year 1123, the affairs of the *Bologneſe* were ſo proſperous, that many of the neighbouring people made them conſiderable preſents, that they might be received into their protection. They continued ſtill to be governed by magiſtrates, under the name of conſuls, who were choſe annually, partly by ballot, and partly by lot. This year, by appointment of the grand council, the conſuls promiſed for themſelves, and for their biſhop *Victor* in the court of *St. Ambroſe*, that they never would, upon any account, alienate that building, but that they would preſerve it to the honour and advantage of the church and community of *Bologna*; and that they would protect the people thereof with all their intereſt and ſtrength againſt all powers, excepting that of the emperor. From this circumſtance it appears, that the *Bologneſe*, however free they might be in the exerciſe of their government, ſtill conſidered themſelves as dependent on the imperial authority. In other reſpects, their condition was very deſireable; and we have the following ſketch of their government, from original records, extracted by *Sigonius*[a].

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[a] Sigonius Hiſt. Bonon. pag 50.

Their religious conſtitution.

Their biſhop was appointed by the pope, and lived in great ſtate and ceremony. Their religious orders were the *Auguſtines* and *Benedictines*; the particulars of whoſe powers, manners, and poſſeſſions, are deſcribed, but are here immaterial. They had an univerſity; but at that time we now treat of, the ſtudents were ſubject to the ſame juriſdiction as the other citizens. Three companies were inſtituted at firſt; that of the merchants, ſilverſmiths, and craftſmen. The two former choſe conſuls, and the latter maſters; and each company ſeems to have been veſted with a power of making bye-laws for its government. In proceſs of time other companies were added, particularly three companies of armourers, who were endowed with particular privileges, and inſtructed the reſt of the citizens in the art of war, and the management of arms. Foreigners might be of this company; and if they were reſident within the city for ten years, they were capable of bearing all kinds of public poſts as other citizens. There was in the country of *Bologna*, a tenure ſomewhat of the nature of the *Engliſh* villainage, the huſbandmen being in a condition of ſlavery to their maſters; but it was in the power of the community to buy it off.

Their civil laws.

Their laws were founded on ancient uſages, imperial privileges, decrees of councils, or ſtatutes of the city. When a reformation, or an emendation in the ſtate was neceſſary, certain perſons were choſen for that purpoſe, with power either to abrogate old laws, or to propoſe new ones, which being confirmed by the council, and promulgated in an aſſembly of the people, was entered into the body of their civil ſtatutes, and received the force of a perpetual law. As to the city itſelf, it was mean in its aſpect; and, though ſurrounded by walls, its buildings were generally of wood, ſo that it was frequently conſumed by fire. The citizens, however, were remarkable for their concord, unanimity, and plainneſs of manners; but very jealous of their rights and privileges, which ſometimes rendered them a little turbulent towards their magiſtrates.

In the year 1124, *Lambert Fagnani*, a native of *Bologna*, ſucceeded pope *Calixtus*, under the name of *Honorius* II. He was a wiſe man, and a friend to his country, which, by his means, long enjoyed a ſtate of peace and ſecurity. After the death of the emperor *Henry* V. *Lothair* duke of *Saxony* was crowned emperor in the year 1126; but his title was diſputed by *Conrade* duke of *Franconia*, who was crowned king of *Italy* at *Milan*; but the *Bologneſe* ſeem not to have been much concerned in the diſpute, though it tore in pieces all the reſt of *Italy*. In the year 1131, the abbey of *Nonantola* became a

Nouantola *ſubmits to them.*

War with the Modeneſe *on that account.*

bone of contention between the *Bologneſe* and the *Modeneſe*. The monks of that abbey had many and long diſputes with the magiſtrates of *Modena*; and being always defeated, they ſent two of their order to *Bologna*, who, in the name of the abbot *Hildebrand*, and the people of *Nouantola*, claimed the protection of the *Bologneſe* againſt the perſecutions of the *Modeneſe*. A general council being held at *Bologna*, the protection was accordingly granted, though it was foreſeen that a war muſt be the immediate conſequence; and the conditions were ſolemnly ratified in the church of *St. Ambroſe*. There the deputies of *Nouantola* ſwore, that for the future they would be ſubject and obedient to the *Bologneſe*, and that they would bear their proportion of the public taxes in common with the other citizens; that they would aſſiſt the *Bologneſe* againſt all powers but that of the emperor; that they would ſerve the *Bologneſe* on horſeback and on foot, in all their expeditions; that they would ſubmit all their controverſies to the conſuls of *Bologna*; and that they would never, without leave from the *Bologneſe*, make peace or truce with the *Modeneſe*: they were likewiſe to receive an abbot from the biſhop of *Bologna*. The conſuls of *Bologna*, on the other hand, ſwore to protect their new ſubjects, and to make no peace with the *Modeneſe* without their conſent. This transference of allegiance was not attended with a war ſo ſoon as was expected. But in the year 1135, upon the emperor *Lothair* leaving *Italy*, the *Modeneſe* paſſed the river *Scultemna*, and ravaged the lands of *Bologna*. The *Bologneſe*, provoked at this inſult, made great preparations to be revenged; and it is about this time that mention is made of a new magiſtrate, under the name of pretor or podeſta, though *Sigonius* is inclined to believe that the office was of an older inſtitution. But when a bloody war was expected, certain mediators ſtept in and brought about a peace. The terms were both honourable and advantageous for the *Bologneſe*; and *Manfred Petrezani*, the gonfalonier of *Modena*, bound himſelf for the performance in the penalty of one thouſand marks. By this peace, the *Modeneſe* quitted all claims upon the *Bologneſe* and the abbey of *Nouantola*; and a mutual indemnification between the two people was ſtipulated. This negociation produced new ſubjects to *Bologna*; for ſeveral people in the neighbourhood of *Nouantola* ſubmitted and ſwore allegiance to the *Bologneſe*, to the great diſpleaſure of the emperor *Lothair*, who thought that the imperial dignity was thereby impaired. In the year 1136, differences continuing between the emperor *Lothair* and pope *Innocent*, the former invaded *Italy*, and ordered the people of *Bologna* and *Modena*

They appeaſe the emperor,

to attend him at *Roncale*. The *Bologneſe*, underſtanding that his majeſty was exceedingly exaſperated againſt them, applied to his ſon-in-law *Henry* duke of *Bavaria*, by whoſe interceſſion they were pardoned, and obtained a new charter of their privileges. In the year 1141, *Bologna* ſuffered greatly by fire, moſt part of it being burnt down. This encouraged the *Modeneſe* to renew their claims upon *Nouantola*, which they could not bear to ſee under the juriſdiction of *Bologna*. *Conrade* was then emperor of *Germany*; but ſo much involved in wars there, that he could not repair to *Italy* to aſſert the imperial rights. The *Modeneſe* raiſed an army; and after ravaging the lands of *Nouantola*, they threatened to beſiege the town if it did not ſurrender. *Torello* was then the conſul or chief magiſtrate of *Bologna*, which the news of the *Modeneſe* invaſion no ſooner reached, than it was unanimouſly agreed, in a common council, to raiſe an army for the relief of *Nouantola*, and *Torella* was appointed general.

and defeat the Modeneſe.

Troops were accordingly raiſed; but the *Modeneſe* general, being ſenſible that his force was inferior to that of *Torello*, retreated to the vale of *Loiano*, where he gave battle to *Torello*; but after a ſharp diſpute, for ſeveral hours, the *Modeneſe* general being unhorſed, his army was defeated with conſiderable loſs, and the *Bologneſe* returned home in triumph. This conqueſt encouraged the people of *Saſſuola* and *Sabbiano*, to put themſelves under the protection of the *Bologneſe*. Thoſe of *Saſſuola* ſwore, that they would hold their town in dependence upon the *Bologneſe*, in the ſame manner as that of *Nouantola*, and pay the ſame tribute. The people of *Sabbiano* made a preſent of their caſtle to the *Bologneſe*, and promiſed them fidelity, to ſerve them in all their expeditions, and to make peace and war only by their permiſſion. *Lucius* II. a *Bologneſe*, was then pope; and he not only created four of his fellow citizens cardinals, but confirmed *Bologna* in all its privileges and immunities. Thoſe pontifical favours gave *Bologna* great luſtre in the eyes of the *Italians*. The *Modeneſe*, however, ſtill continued to harraſs the *Bologneſe*, on account of *Nouantola*; the abbot of which place, in the year 1146, petitioned pope *Eugenius* for his protection, which he granted in the moſt ample manner; for he not only iſſued a bull, prohibiting the inhabitants of *Reggio* and *Parma* from aſſiſting the *Modeneſe* in harraſſing *Nouantola*, but deprived the city of *Modena* of its right to be an epiſcopal ſee.

Their privileges confirmed.

Next year *Torello*, and ſome other chief inhabitants of *Bologna*, were ſent as deputies to *Germany*, from whence they returned loaded with honours by the emperor *Conrade*, and a confirmation of all the ancient rights and privileges of *Bologna*. This created inexpreſſible joy in that city, where tilts and tournaments, in the *German* manner, were celebrated for ſome days. In the year 1148, *Bologna* was almoſt burnt to the ground, on *Palm-Sunday*, while the people were employed in divine ſervice. It appears, that *Bologna*, at this time, was celebrated for the ſtudy of the law, of which they had no fewer than four eminent profeſſors; *viz. Bulgaro de Bulgari*, *Martin Goſo*, and *James* and *Hugh de Porta Ravenna*. Their eminence in their profeſſion occaſioned a vaſt reſort to that city, where they held their lectures. About this time the people of *Imola* threw off the yoke of the *Bologneſe*, and put *Vido Malabucca*, the governor of the citadel and his garriſon, to the ſword. The *Bologneſe*, in revenge, demoliſhed the caſtles of *San Caſſiano* and *Medicina*, in the neighbourhood of *Imola*; places of which we know little but the names. This produced a confederacy between the people of *Parma* and *Modena*, to the prejudice of the *Bologneſe*.

Their differences with the emperor Barbaroſſa.

IN the year 1152, the famous *Frederic Barbaroſſa*, duke of *Suabia*, was emperor of *Germany*. On his acceſſion to that dignity, he made a preſent of the duchy of *Spoleto*, and the eſtates belonging to the late counteſs *Matilda*, to his uncle *Guelph*, in which *Bologna* was underſtood to be comprehended. The people of *San Caſſiano*, whoſe caſtle had been demoliſhed, applied to pope *Eugenius* for redreſs; and his holineſs, by a bull addreſſed to the magiſtrates and community of *Bologna*, commanded them to rebuild *San Caſſiano*. This drew the reſentment of the *Bologneſe* upon the inhabitants of *Imola*; and they entered into a league with the *Florentines* for recovering that place. The conſequence was, that the *Imoleſe* were defeated in a pitched battle on the 16th of *July*, 1153. A peace followed this defeat; the terms of which, as extracted from the records of *Bologna*, are pretty extraordinary. They imported, that the *Imoleſe*, every year, on the feaſt of *St. Peter*, ſhould bring to the high altar two ſilken handkerchiefs; that they ſhould carry to *Bologna* the doors of one of their gates; that they ſhould, if ſo required by the *Bologneſe*, demoliſh the walls of their city, but not the churches and private buildings ſituated near the walls; that they ſhould demoliſh the tower of *Baſſua* at the command of the *Bologneſe* pretor; that they ſhould deliver up the bodies of all who had been killed when the caſtle of *Imola* was ſurpriſed; that they ſhould ſend troops, both of infantry and cavalry, to any place the *Bologneſe* ſhould appoint, except againſt *Ravenna*; that they ſhould contribute to the public taxes, and be ſubject to all public duties, in the ſame manner as if they were one of the companies of *Bologna*.

Their peace with the Imoleſe,

THE *Bologneſe*, on the other hand, ſwore, in the perſon of their pretor, or podeſta, *Vido*, that they would obſerve peace with the *Imoleſe*, and preſerve their city and ſuburbs; and the *Faventines* promiſed at the ſame time to prevent count *Malvicini*, and other *Italian* lords, from harraſſing the *Imoleſe*; all which ſtipulations were punctually performed on both parts. The *Bologneſe* remained in peace for ſome time after this treaty; but, in the year 1155, the emperor *Frederic Barbaroſſa* entered *Italy*, and was crowned at *Milan*, where he exerciſed his imperial power over the *Milaneſe*, and all the other ſtates of *Italy*. He then marched into the *Bologneſe*, where he pitched his camp, and ordered the inhabitants to repair the city of *Medicina*, which they had demoliſhed; and publiſhed an edict, which is ſtill extant in *Bologna*, aſcertaining its boundaries, and that of the neighbouring ſtates. From thence he marched to *Rome*, where he received the imperial diadem; and from thence he returned through *Lombardy* into *Germany*.

and Modeneſe.

DURING his abſence, the ſtates of *Italy* fell at variance amongſt themſelves; but the *Modeneſe*, by the advice and authority of *Gerard Rangone*, their chief magiſtrate, compromiſed matters with the *Bologneſe*, and the government of *Nouantola* was relinquiſhed to them. The latter were now ſo powerful, that their protection was courted by the people of *Olivetti* and *Montibelli*, who were ſolemnly received into the alliance of *Bologna*; and promiſed to ſerve the *Bologneſe* againſt all men, excepting the emperor, and the duke or perſon in poſſeſſion of the eſtates of the counteſs *Matilda*. Their example was followed by the people of *Canoſſa*, and other ſtates; ſo that *Bologna* now made a capital figure in the affairs of *Italy*.

They join the emperor.

IN the year 1158 the emperor returned to *Italy*, to chaſtiſe the *Milaneſe*, who had rebelled againſt him. The *Bologneſe* joined his army; and were inſtrumental in reſtoring the peace of *Lombardy* by the great learning of their law-profeſſors, already mentioned, to whom the emperor referred his caſe, and that of his crown. The lawyers, however, declined taking intirely upon themſelves ſo weighty a deciſion; and the emperor ordered them to be aſſiſted by eighteen other profeſſors of the towns of *Lombardy*. Upon mature deliberation, their ſentence was, that all the cities of *Italy* were ſubject to the emperor, who, upon that, deprived many of thoſe in *Lombardy* of their ancient privileges; but added to thoſe of *Bologna*. About this time the people of *Olivetti* and *Montibelli* revolted from the *Bologneſe*; but were ſoon reduced to their duty, and the authors of the revolt ſeverely puniſhed. It is obſerved, that *Bologna*, at this time, ſerved as a ſanctuary for the people of *Lombardy*, who fled to it from the horrors of war with their families and effects; and even after the wars were finiſhed, they choſe to remain there, and to be received into the privileges and protection of the city. The ſtate of tranquility which this afforded them, while all the reſt of *Italy* was in war, added prodigiouſly to the populouſneſs of *Bologna*; and the emperor was not wanting in affording to the citizens all the encouragement that was due to their loyalty, and attachment to his ſervice.

Their proſperity.

Their ſchools of law

But the great ſource of the riches and populouſneſs of *Bologna* proceeded from the fame of its profeſſors, which the emperor and all *Europe* conſidered as ſo many oracles of law and juſtice. To protect the ſtudents, who flocked thither from all countries, his imperial majeſty, in 1158, conferred upon them the following privileges, the original charter of which is ſtill preſerved in the archives of *Bologna*. "Let no one do any injury to the ſtudents; nor, as has been ſometimes iniquitouſly practiſed, let them be harraſſed on account of a fault committed by, or a debt owing in another province. If any one is guilty of ſuch an offence, or if the governor of the city ſhall refuſe to redreſs it, when complained of, let him ſuffer fourfold, and undergo the penalty of infamy by law, and be for ever diſabled from holding any public office. If any one has a law-ſuit againſt a ſtudent, let it be in his option to have it tried before his own lord and maſter, or before the biſhop of the city to whom ſuch juriſdiction is committed; but if any one ſhall endeavour to bring it before another court, he ſhall loſe his cauſe, even though it is a juſt one, for ſuch endeavour."

reſpected by the emperor,

The year after the promulgation of this edict, the emperor aſſembled the *Bologneſe* lawyers; and, by their advice, to which he paid the higheſt regard, he ſummoned the magiſtrates of *Milan* to appear before him; and, upon their non-compliance, he declared them guilty of rebellion. But ſoon after a difference ariſing between the emperor and pope *Adrian* IV. the *Bologneſe* ſiding with the latter, and with his ſucceſſor pope *Alexander* III. they fell under his diſpleaſure. *Alexander* had himſelf been a profeſſor at *Bologna*, where he was very popular; but the emperor eſpouſed the part of his competitor, *Victor* IV. This quarrel divided all *Italy*; and the *Bologneſe* joined with the *Milaneſe* in ſupporting *Alexander*. The emperor was victorious in the conteſt; and, after taking from *Milan* all its privileges, he marched againſt *Bologna*, with an intention to raze it to the ground. The citizens, unable to reſiſt him, ſent out a deputation of their law-profeſſors to apologize for their conduct, which they did with ſo good efſect, that his majeſty contented himſelf with diſmantling the town of its fortifications; and, after removing their magiſtrates, he appointed one *Bocchi* to be its governor, and then retired to *Pavia*, after reducing the cities in the *Romagna* that had revolted from the *Bologneſe*.

NOTHING being now able to withſtand the imperial power, *Bocchi*, the new governor of *Bologna*, tyrannized in an unheard-of manner over the inhabitants. He extorted vaſt ſums from ſome, he baniſhed others, and put many to death. This exaſperated the people againſt the emperor and his deputy ſo greatly, that the emperor himſelf was obliged, with loſs and diſgrace, to leave *Italy*: upon which the people of *Gypſa* put themſelves under the protection of the *Bologneſe*, and ſwore obedience to their government. Pope *Alexander* took advantage of thoſe diſturbances, which proceeded at laſt to a general revolt of the *Italian* ſtates from the emperor's authority, which had been abuſed by his lieutenants, and returned from *France* to *Italy*. This brought the emperor again into *Lombardy*, and he marched againſt *Bologna* in the year 1167. The *Bologneſe* were obliged again to ſubmit; and, to ſave their country from ruin, they ſent one hundred of their chief citizens as hoſtages to *Frederic*, with a large ſum of money. The tyranny of the emperor, however, was ſo great, that the *Milaneſe*, the *Bologneſe*, and the chief ſtates of *Italy*, entered into conſpiracies againſt him; and the *Bologneſe*, attacking *Bocchi* in his palace, put him to death, and threw his body from the window into the ſtreet, putting to death ſeveral of his friends at the ſame time. *Bocchi* being dead, the *Bologneſe* reſumed their ancient government, and choſe five conſuls. The boldneſs of this aſſaſſination drew the eyes of all the ſtates of *Lombardy* upon the *Bologneſe*, and *Milan* recovered her liberty. *Frederic* could not be diverted from perſecuting pope *Alexander*, and marched directly to *Rome*, where he placed his own pope *Paſchal* upon the pontifical throne; and he and his empreſs *Beatrix* received from his hands the imperial crown. He then endeavoured to diſſolve the confederacy which the *Bologneſe* had entered into with the *Milaneſe*, and the other *Italian* ſtates, againſt him; but he failed in his attempt. The *Bologneſe* put themſelves at the head of the confederacy; and on the 1ſt of *December*, this year, the allies took a ſolemn oath to ſtand by one another againſt all mankind who ſhould invade their privileges; and that they would neither make peace nor truce, but with the common conſent of all parties.

whoſe general they oppoſe,

and enter into confederacy againſt him.

THIS confederacy was ſupported with ſo much vigour, that the emperor, in *March*, 1168, having loſt all his footing in

He is driven out of Italy.

Italy, fled to *Germany*. Upon this, the confederates beſieged *Pavia*, which was almoſt the only town in *Italy* that continued in his intereſt, and built a city, which, in honour of pope *Alexander*, they called *Aleſſandria*, to ſerve them as a barrier againſt his return. They then held a general congreſs of all their party at *Lodi*, where they renewed and confirmed their confederacy, by the acceſſion of the *Faventines* and the *Imoleſe*, who ſwore to be directed in all matters relating to peace or war by the *Bologneſe*. It is remarkable, that the public danger was ſo great at this time, that the *Bologneſe*, contrary to their uſual cuſtom, continued the ſame magiſtrates in their places for ſeveral years.

War with the Faventines.

IN the year 1169, a war broke out between the *Bologneſe* and the *Faventines*, on the following occaſion. The people of *Ravenna*, having ſome diſputes with the *Faventines*, thought themſelves inferior in power, and applied for aſſiſtance to the *Bologneſe*, who, a little before, had been provoked by the *Faventines* having invaded *San Caſſiano*, a city under the protection of *Bologna*; upon which the *Bologneſe* ſided with the *Ravenneſe*. An army was raiſed at *Bologna*, and the command of it given to the conſuls, who were defeated and taken priſoners, with about forty of the chief citizens, within three miles of the city. Next year, *viz.* 1170, the *Bologneſe*, intent upon revenge, raiſed a freſh army, and brought their city-ſtandard to the field. This machine has been deſcribed in the hiſtory of *Florence*; a machine extremely well calculated, in that age of ſuperſtition, to inſpire thoſe who fought under it with courage. A thouſand five hundred ſoldiers were appointed to its guard, and all of them had particular diſtinctions of habit and armour. A great number of the *Lombards*, who had taken refuge in *Bologna*, ſerved in this army, which, in its turn, defeated the *Faventines*; and it is thought, that, if their conſuls had not been afraid of an ambuſcade, they might have taken *Faenza* itſelf. They, however, laid ſiege to that city, and the *Faventines* were obliged to ſue for peace; which was granted them, on the conditions of their reſtoring all the priſoners without ranſom, their doing juſtice to the *Ravenneſe*, and paying all the expence of the war. Next year, 1173, the *Jews* were, for their uſurious practices, expelled out of *Bologna*; and, in the following, all the heads of the confederacy aſſembled at *Modena*, where they confirmed their league with new oaths and engagements. *Oſpinelli* was this year one of the conſuls of *Bologna*; and, amongſt other things, ſwore, in behalf of that city, to expel the party of the emperor *Frederic* from all their poſſeſſions in *Italy*, and to keep no correſpondence with him or his family. He likewiſe

They ſtand by their league,

ſwore to contribute to the defence of *Aleſſandria*, and of any other place belonging to the confederates that ſhould be beſieged by the emperor or his lieutenants. At the ſame time the proportion that every ſtate was to furniſh, in money or in men, was ſettled; the *Bologneſe* being obliged to contribute forty archers to every garriſon. The ſame year pope *Alexander* recommended the monks of the abbey of *Nonantola*, who lay under ſome hardſhips, to the *Bologneſe* magiſtrates. Next year, 1174, the inhabitants of *Badali* and *Baptidici* ſwore allegiance to the magiſtrates of *Bologna*, and to keep their caſtles for their uſe. This year the emperor *Frederic* again invaded *Italy*, for a fourth time; and ordered his general *Chriſtian*, archbiſhop of *Mentz*, to march againſt the *Bologneſe*, againſt whom he had a particular reſentment. Upon this occaſion, they created an extraordinary number of conſuls, being ſeven in the whole; and received an oath from the people of *Olivetti*, that they would, to the utmoſt, oppoſe the imperial arms, and continue true to the ſtate of *Bologna*. The conſuls thought the preſervation of *Olivetti* of ſo much conſequence, that they paſſed a decree to encourage the inhabitants from other parts of their territory to repair thither. They, at the ſame time, ſummoned their confederates to renew the league. The *Florentines*, on the other hand, and the ſtates of *Tuſcany* who ſided with *Frederic*, prepared to invade the *Bologneſe*, who fortified *San Caſſiano*, and garriſoned it with three hundred men. By this time *Chriſtian* had advanced into the *Bologneſe*; and being joined by the inhabitants of *Imola*, *Ceſenna*, and *Rimini*, he laid ſiege to *San Caſſiano*, which was defended by *Prendiparte*, a *Bologneſe* conſul. The other confederated ſtates were not idle in this time of common danger. The people of *Milan* ſent to the aſſiſtance of the *Bologneſe* three hundred horſe; thoſe of *Verona*, *Breſcia*, *Piacenza*, *Parma*, *Ferrara*, *Reggio*, and *Padua*, ſent their ſeveral quotas; ſo that the number of all their auxiliaries amounted to above two thouſand men, all of them, excepting thoſe of *Ferrara* and *Piacenza*, (who maintained themſelves) in the pay of the *Bologneſe*. Beſides thoſe troops, the magiſtrates inliſted a great number of mountaineers, and other ſubjects of the ſtate, and the whole army ſet out to the relief of *San Caſſiano*. *Prendiparte*, apprized of the approach of this army, made a ſally; and *Chriſtian*, afraid of being ſhut up between the two bodies, was obliged to retire to *Caſſellari*; and thus the ſiege was raiſed. The *Bologneſe*, after this, demoliſhed *San Caſſiano*, that they might not be obliged to garriſon it, and began their march back to *Bologna*. By the way they fell in with an ambuſcade of *Chriſtian*'s army, who

and oppoſe the Imperialiſts,

who defeat them.

killed ſome of the confederates, and made others priſoners. In revenge of this, *Chriſtian* laid waſte the territory of *Bologna* with great fury; but *Frederic* himſelf was defeated before *Milan*.

The confederacy renewed.

THIS year, the *Bologneſe* put up to ſale the eſtates and effects of ſuch of their countrymen as had ſided with *Frederic*, and had therefore been adjudged to be rebels. In the beginning of the year 1176, the general confederacy was ſtrengthened by new oaths and engagements; by which the ſeveral parties promiſed to defend *Aleſſandria*, to make neither truce nor peace with *Frederic*, and to oppoſe him to the utmoſt of their power, if he ſhould again invade *Italy*. Two of the *Bologneſe* conſuls, however, were this year defeated by *Chriſtian*, who continued his ravages in their territories. In the month of *June*, *Frederic* returned to *Italy*, at the head of a vaſt army; but was oppoſed by the *Milaneſe*. His firſt enterprize was againſt *Aleſſandria*, which was guarded by the troops of the confederates; but, while it was carrying on, he was defeated by the allies, and obliged to recal *Chriſtian* from the *Bologneſe*, he himſelf narrowly eſcaping with his life. By the departure of *Chriſtian*, the *Bologneſe* recovered *Viſani*, and puniſhed its inhabitants as rebels for ſiding with the emperor, who was at this time greatly diſtreſſed. He had laid ſiege to *Aleſſandria*; but, while he was carrying it on, he was abandoned by *Henry* duke of *Saxony* and *Bavaria*, ſurnamed *the Lion*, and the *Aleſſandrians* beat the imperial troops in a ſally. This reverſe of fortune diſpoſed *Frederic* to peace, and he ſent meſſengers to treat with pope *Alexander*, to whom the propoſal was equally agreeable. After various negociations, it was concluded, on the laſt day of *Auguſt*, that the pope ſhould grant peace to the emperor, and the emperor a truce of ſix years to the people of *Lombardy*; that *Frederic* ſhould remove to *Modena*, and *Alexander* to *Bologna*, for the greater conveniency of their conferring together, and ſettling all other matters. The *Bologneſe* wiſely made uſe of this reſpite for adding works of ornament and uſe to their city, particularly by introducing into it ſtreams of water for ſupplying their corn-mills.

A peace.

Privileges of Bologna.

IN the year 1177, the emperor found fault with *Bologna*, as the place of treaty; upon which the conferences were removed to *Ferrara*. He there, by the advice of the biſhop of *Bologna*, cardinal *Hildebrand*, and the conſent of the magiſtrates and chief men of *Bologna*, granted to the canons of that city the power of having a perpetual ſyndic. Soon after, *Venice* was appointed to be the place of conference between the pope and the emperor. There the deputies from the cities of *Lombardy* attended. The pretor *Pinamons* appeared for the *Bologneſe*; and the ſix years truce was not only there ratified, but all matters in diſpute between particular cities were compromiſed. The differences between *Bologna* and *Modena* were adjuſted by the enſuing formulary: "We, *Pius* and *Pinamons*, pretors of *Modena* and *Bologna*, ſwear, that we will, with good faith, perform the terms and truce between the *Modeneſe* and the *Bologneſe* to all perſons, excepting thieves, robbers, falſe witneſſes, and the enemies of both cities; and that we will iſſue our edict againſt any perſon who ſhall commit a robbery, without repairing the damage, according to the arbitration of the two cities."

SECT. II.

League between the Bologneſe *and the* Faventines *renewed; War between* Bologna *and* Milan; *Peace between the* Bologneſe *and other States of* Italy; *the peace of* Conſtance; *the Pope and the Emperor repair to* Bologna; *Fondneſs of the* Bologneſe *Nobility for the Croiſade. State of Learning in* Bologna *in thoſe Days*; *Right of Coinage granted to the* Bologneſe; *Treaties with their Neighbours, and Tumults amongſt themſelves*; *their City extended, and its Privileges confirmed by the Emperor* Otho; *War with* Piſtoia; *the* Bologneſe *aſſiſt the* Modeneſe; *Treaty with the* Florentines.

SOME differences ariſing between the *Faventines* and the *Imoleſe*, the *Bologneſe* renewed their league with the former, and entered into one with *Lothair*, count of *Arboro*. We are told, that this count, with the conſent of his brother's ſon, made a ſurrender of his county to the *Bologneſe*, and forced the inhabitants to give hoſtages, and ſwear fidelity to the pretor *Pinamons*. In the year 1179, the war continued with the *Imoleſe*, who had again ſeized the caſtle of *Imola*, and had been joined by the people of *Montibelli*, whoſe country the *Bologneſe* ravaged, to the great terror of the people of *Ceſena*, who ſwore fidelity to the *Bologneſe* and the *Modeneſe* in the caſtle of *Modena*, as did the people of *Roccavico*. The war with the *Imoleſe* and the *Montibellians* continuing all the year 1180, the count of *Arboro* entered into the pay of the *Bologneſe*; and ſwore, for himſelf and his people, that he

League with the Faventines *againſt the* Imoleſe.

would ſerve them with a certain number of ſoldiers, without making peace, while war continued. It appears, however, that this war conſiſted only of inroads and plunderings; which the *Bologneſe* magiſtrates were ſo much aſhamed of, that it was reſolved to exert their utmoſt efforts againſt their enemies. For this purpoſe, a new alliance was concluded between the *Bologneſe* and the *Modeneſe*, and the other neighbouring people, which was to laſt twenty-one years. In this league, *Parma* and *Nouantola* were excepted. This grand alliance being formed, the *Bologneſe*, by the help of the *Faventine* auxiliaries, attacked the *Imoleſe*, and gave them a total defeat. This brought on a negociation for peace at the caſtle of *Imola*, where the *Imoleſe* made an intire ſubmiſſion to the *Bologneſe*, the *Faventines*, and their auxiliaries, by ſolemnly ſwearing to be true to their intereſts; to reſtore the captives; to ſend two handkerchiefs, by way of tribute, to *Bologna*, and as many to *Faenza*, on St. *Peter*'s day; to furniſh them with horſe and foot-ſoldiers, with their quotas in money; to diſmantle their tower of its fortifications; to ſend two doors of their gates to *Bologna*, and two to *Faenza*; to give hoſtages, in caſe of a war with the emperor; and to reſtore to count *Malvicini* all his lands. This year, according to *Sigonius*, the *Montibellians* were likewiſe ſubdued, and their caſtle reduced to aſhes.

A grand alliance.

The emperor comes to Italy.

In the year 1183, the time of the truce between the emperor *Frederic* and the ſtates of *Italy* being expired, *Antonio Mandelli* was choſen pretor by the conſuls; an office that ſeems to be ſomewhat of the nature of the *Roman* dictatorſhip, becauſe it was commonly inſtituted in times of public danger. While he was deliberating with the allies on the ſtate of public affairs, the emperor, who had again come to *Italy*, on account of the marriage between his ſon *Henry* and *Conſtance*, ſiſter and heireſs to the king of *Sicily*, ſent the allies a meſſage from the city of *Conſtance*, that he was willing to treat with them concerning a definitive peace, if they would ſend deputies to confer upon the ſame at *Piacenza*. Deputies were accordingly named; and *Mandelli*, the pretor of *Bologna*, was choſen their chief, or moderator. After ſome conferences with the imperial miniſters, the terms were agreed on, and ſworn to by the deputies, on the 2d of *May*. *Mandelli* and the other two deputies were then appointed to go to *Conſtance*, and receive the emperor's ratification, which they accordingly did; and this peace is called ſometimes that of *Conſtance*, ſometimes that of *Piacenza*. As this treaty laid the foundation for the liberty and independency of the *Italian* ſtates, it is proper we ſhould give ſome extracts of it.

Foundation of the freedom of the Italian *ſtates.*

The terms.

It was agreed, that *Frederic* ſhould forgive all the injuries he had received from the confederates, and take them into his protection and friendſhip; that he ſhould permit them to enjoy their privileges and cuſtoms, both within and without their cities, for ever; and the extraordinary privileges are there particularly recited. Magiſtrates were to receive their authority from the biſhops, in thoſe cities where the emperors had given the biſhops ſuch a power; and in others, from the emperor himſelf, or his lieutenant; and, for five years to come, they were to receive ſuch inveſtitures; after which they might reſign them to the emperor himſelf, who was to beſtow them gratis, the conſuls and other magiſtrates taking an oath of fidelity to the emperor when they entered on their reſpective offices. In all caſes of property, when the ſum exceeded fifty imperial marks, an appeal was to lie to the emperor, or his lieutenant, who was to be ſworn to pronounce ſentence within two months, according to the known laws and uſages of the city or ſtate. The people of every city were at liberty to fortify the ſame, and to contract what alliances they ſhould think proper. They were to furniſh to the emperor the accuſtomed accommodations for man and horſe, when he entered *Lombardy*; to keep bridges and highways in repair, and to provide him with convoys coming and going. They were to renew their oaths of allegiance every tenth year; and all perſons were to be immediately reſtored to their juſt poſſeſſions. Thoſe ſtipulations were, however, with an exception to *Imola* and *San Caſſiano*. The oath to be taken by every city or ſtate was as follows: "I ſwear that I will hereafter be faithful to the emperor *Frederic*, and to his ſon king *Henry*: neither will I be concerned in any deſign againſt their lives or dignities; and if I ſhall diſcover any one who harbours ſuch deſigns, I will diſcloſe the ſame, either to the emperor, the king, or the imperial lieutenant; and do my beſt endeavour for their preſerving their ſovereignty, or for recovering it, if loſt; and I will obſerve the peace made by them, on their part, with the confederated ſtates of *Lombardy*; and I bind to this oath all males living with me, from ſixteen to ſeventy years of age." In conſequence of this agreement, *Mandelli* received from the emperor the imperial inveſtiture.

The pope arrives in Bologna.

In the year 1184, pope *Lucius*, being driven out of *Rome*, came to *Bologna*, where he was received with infinite joy, and adorned the chief church with a marble colonnade. From *Bologna* he went to *Modena*, in his way to *Verona*, where he was to preach up the croiſade. Here he was met by the emperor, who demanded of him poſſeſſion of the lands of the counteſs *Matilda*, as being imperial fiefs; and that he ſhould crown his ſon *Henry*: but the pope gave him a flat refuſal of both requeſts. *Frederic* then marched to *Milan*, where the archbiſhop crowned his ſon *Henry* king of *Italy*. From thence *Frederic* returned to *Bologna* on the firſt of *April*, and intirely won the hearts of the *Bologneſe*; whoſe pretor, *Prendiparte*, ſent ſome troops to aſſiſt him in reducing the refractory *Cremoneſe*. The *Bologneſe*, and the other ſtates of *Italy*, remained in perfect tranquility for ſome years; during which the popes, the emperor, and all the princes of *Europe*, were intent upon the expedition to the Holy Land.

A croiſade, in which the Bologneſe *enter.*

NOTHING remarkable therefore happened at *Bologna*, excepting the erecting new churches and palaces, and compoſing domeſtic differences, from the year 1186 to 1188. That year, while the emperor was buſied in his warlike preparations, and pope *Clement* III. like his predeceſſor, in preaching up the croiſade with indefatigable pains all over *Italy*, no fewer than two thouſand of the *Bologneſe*, amongſt whom were the chief nobility of the city, received the croſs from his hands, and were preſented with twenty thouſand marks of the public money. Several of the neighbouring ſtates and towns, about the ſame time, ſubmitted to the government of the *Bologneſe*, and promiſed to be directed by them in all their public meaſures. The reader, however, is to obſerve, that thoſe ſubmiſſions aroſe generally from conveniency, and to enable a weak ſtate to make head againſt a ſtronger.

Inſtitution of law-lectures.

THE *Lombardic* league, as it was called, ſubſiſted ſtill in full vigour, and had been lately renewed; ſo that all the confederated ſtates formed one commonwealth, whoſe political intereſts were to be under the inſpection of the moderators, or deputies, appointed by each ſtate or city. The people of *Piacenza* and *Parma*, who were parties in the league, being then at war, the pretor of *Bologna* and one of the moderators were deputed by the others, to command both people, in the name of the league, to deſiſt from hoſtilities; which they ſeem accordingly to have done, and then the pretor reſigning his office, five conſuls were ſubſtituted in his room. Theſe conſuls, to keep up the fame of their public ſchools in the profeſſion of law, engaged *Lothair* of *Cremona* to read lectures upon it in *Bologna*. The mutual bargain made between him and the magiſtrates is extant in the archives of *Bologna*, and runs in the following terms: "We the conſuls, by the "authority and with the conſent of the council, promiſe to "*Lothair* of *Cremona*, that we never ſhall oblige him, by any "ſolemn oath, to bind himſelf to the community of *Bologna*; "nor ſhall we force him to take the regency of the ſchool in

“ that city.” His obligation is as follows: “ I, *Lothair*, “ ſwear, that I never will be regent of any law-ſchool but at “ *Bologna*; nor will I ever do any thing in prejudice or to the “ diminution of the law-ſchool there; and if I know any “ one to have ſuch a deſign, I will take the firſt opportunity “ of diſcovering him to the conſuls or pretor for the time “ being; and will give them my aſſiſtance.” *Sigonius*, from this form of words, concludes, that *Bologna* was not yet erected into an univerſity; nor had this *Lothair* any academical powers over his ſcholars, who continued to be ſubject to the magiſtrates. The fame of thoſe ſchools, and the continuance of the public tranquility, brought ſuch vaſt crowds of ſcholars to *Bologna*, that daily quarrels happened between them and the townſmen about their lodgings; ſo that, in the year 1190, the pope was obliged to publiſh a decretal, regulating the hire of lodgings in that city. We are told, that this year the confluence of ſcholars at *Bologna* was ſo very great, that the maſters were obliged to hold their lectures in the public palace. But this ſudden proſperity and populouſneſs of *Bologna* gave the *Modeneſe* ſo much uneaſineſs, that they built a caſtle upon their frontiers, with a view of checking them. Upon the acceſſion of *Henry* VI. in 1190, he paſſed into *Italy*, there to aſſert the imperial claims, to receive the crown of *Italy*, and to make good his ſucceſſion, in right of his wife, to the kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicily*, which was diſputed by *Tancred*, a deſcendant from the famous *Robert Guiſcard* the *Norman*. *Henry*, in his journey to *Rome*, paid a viſit to *Bologna*. *Agnelli* of *Mantua* was then pretor, and the emperor was received in the epiſcopal palace with all imaginary honours, which he returned by increaſing the privileges of the *Bologneſe*, and by giving them a right to coin money. It is ſaid, by their hiſtorian, that they enjoyed that privilege in the time of the *Lombards*; but that they were deprived of it by *Charles the Great*. *Agnelli* received the inveſtiture of this right for the benefit of the city; but it is expreſſed, in the original charter, that the money coined at *Bologna* ſhould not have either the form or the weight of imperial money. The firſt coin ſtruck there had the emperor's head on the one ſide, and the word *Bologna* on the other; from whence it was called a *Bolognini*. The ſame emperor gave the biſhop of *Bologna* the title of a prince of the empire, which he holds to this day. From *Bologna*, *Henry* marched to *Rome*, where he received the crown of *Italy* from *Celeſtine* III. and then proceeded to make war upon *Tancred*; but was ſoon obliged to return to *Germany* by the way of *Genoa*. In the year 1192, *Gerard*, biſhop of *Bologna*, was, on account of the vaſt opinion which

The emperor comes to Italy.

the *Bologneſe* entertained of his virtue and abilities, made pretor, being the firſt eccleſiaſtic that ever was promoted to that dignity. In his pretorſhip, *Albert* count of *Prato*, a nobleman of great power and weight in *Tuſcany*, was received into the alliance of the *Bologneſe*. The biſhop continued in the ſame office during the ſucceeding year, when the people of *Ferrara* was received into the alliance.

Tyranny and expulſion of the Bologneſe *biſhop and pretor.*

HITHERTO the conduct of the biſhop had been unexceptionable. But all of a ſudden it was altered; and the *Bologneſe* nobility, having reaſon to think that he intended to introduce a popular government, but under his own direction, after many deliberations, aſſembled in the town-houſe, and choſe for conſuls twelve of their own number. This news coming to the ears of the biſhop, he ran thither with a numerous attendance, and threatened the nobles with the conſequences, if they ſhould invade his power. He was anſwered by *Griffoni*, a noble patriot, that he had loſt all title to their obedience by ſpiriting the people up againſt the nobility, that he might acquire an undue influence in a ſtate which had ſo long maintained its liberties. From words both parties went to blows; and the nobles, by main force, drove the biſhop and his adherents from the town-houſe to the epiſcopal palace. There he ſummoned all his party together, and furniſhed them with arms, with a deſign to attack the conſuls. They were not wanting to their own authority; for, being joined by all the men of property in the ſtate, they attacked the biſhop in his palace; and after a moſt obſtinate conflict, in which many fell on both ſides, they ſtormed it, and obliged him to eſcape in diſguiſe through a common ſewer, attended by *James Urſins*, his chief adherent, upon whom the conſuls laid all the blame of his conduct. Returning victoriouſly to their town-houſe, they adjudged *Urſins* to be a rebel to the ſtate, demoliſhed his houſe and tower, and confiſcated all his effects.

The emperor conquers Sicily.

THE expulſion of the biſhop for ſome time reſtored tranquility to *Bologna*; but when the new conſuls entered upon their office, ſome doubts aroſe concerning the *Ferrareſe* alliance; but the rate of carriage of goods being ſettled a-new on both ſides, the alliance was renewed. By this time *Tancred* was dead, and his death encouraged the emperor *Henry* to reſume his operations in *Italy*. He ſent before him *Truſſard*, his ambaſſador, into *Lombardy*, to exhort the cities and ſtates there to compoſe all their differences, which were ſo pernicious to his deſigns. The *Genoeſe* furniſhed him with a fleet, to which the *Piſans* added twelve gallies. With this force he preſented himſelf before *Naples*, which immediately ſurrendered to him. He then made diſpoſitions for reducing *Palermo* and *Catanea* in *Sicily*; but *Tancred*'s widow, who had ſhut herſelf up in *Salerno*, capitulated, and put him in poſſeſſion of the two kingdoms, reſerving only for her ſon the principality of *Tarento*; to which ſtipulation the emperor paid no regard; for he made an eunuch of the young prince, and confined the mother and his ſiſters to *German* monaſteries.

Civil broils in Bologna.

THOUGH the biſhop of *Bologna* had been baniſhed, yet his faction remained ſtill very powerful in the city, where they gave great trouble to the magiſtrates by the daily tumults they raiſed. In one of them, *Scannabecci Ramponi* was mortally wounded; in another, great numbers were killed in the portico of the church of *St. Ambroſe*; and next day *James Occelletti* and *Thomas Tuſco* were killed in the town houſe by the *Hieremeans*, for ſo thoſe of the biſhop's party were called. As to the biſhop himſelf, he had fled to the caſtle of *Sarazano*, where his party became very ſtrong; which put the conſuls under a neceſſity of raiſing an army againſt him, the command of which they gave to *William Malavolta*, who immediately marching with ſome troops, eaſily took the caſtle, and reduced it to aſhes; but ſuffered the biſhop to depart.

THE cauſe of the biſhop, however, was eſpouſed both by the emperor and the pope; and the former publiſhed a decree in his favour, in which he calls him his own prince, clears him from the charge of perjury in his office, and gives him leave to exerciſe the lay-parts of his juriſdiction by a ſteward, or any other qualified perſon. All this increaſed the civil commotions, during which a great deal of the beſt blood in *Bologna* was ſpilt. This obliged the magiſtrates to have recourſe to the election of a pretor, who was always choſen from ſome neighbouring ſtate or city. The choice, on this occaſion, fell upon *Vido Cino*, a *Piſtoian*, who imitated the late biſhop in his government, by committing a great number of illegal and oppreſſive acts. Next year he was deprived of his dignity; and, being accuſed of corruption, he was taken, while he endeavoured to make his eſcape, by thoſe whom he had injured, and, amongſt other puniſhments, he had all his teeth plucked out of his head. He was ſucceeded by *Vico Mercati*, a *Milaneſe*.

Cruelty of Henry.

IN the mean while, the emperor *Henry*, being every where victorious, ſeemed to change his nature, and to have thrown off humanity as well as good faith. Having violated all his engagements with the family and friends of *Tancred*, he was excommunicated by the pope, whom he deprived of *Ravenna*, and gave that dutchy, with the marquiſate of *Ancona*, to *Marcoald*, his cup-bearer. *Matthew Corregio*, of *Parma*, was then pretor of *Bologna*; and it was in his time that the emperor *Henry*, in 1197, ordered his ſon *Frederick* to be elected king of the *Romans*, though but a year old. The birth of this prince is one of the moſt extraordinary events that is to be met with in hiſtory. His mother was the heireſs, as we have already obſerved, of the rich kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicily*; and becoming pregnant when ſhe was above fifty years of age, the emperor, to remove all ſuſpicion of impoſture, ordered a tent to be erected on the plain of *Palermo*, that the child ſhould be taken from her body in the ſight of his army and all the people of *Sicily*, where the father this year died. In the year 1198, the *Longobardic* confederacy was renewed; but the *Bologneſe* were at that time ſo embroiled in the quarrel between the new duke of *Ravenna* and pope *Innocent* III. that we do not find their name this year amongſt the other confederates. *Marcoald*, beſides *Ravenna*, had ſeized many towns in the *Romagna*, in defiance of the pope's authority, who raiſed an army againſt him, and demanded aſſiſtance of the *Bologneſe*. The latter, who had no reaſon to be ſatisfied with *Marcoald*, and who were apprehenſive that their own ſtate might fall the next ſacrifice to his ambition, inſtantly raiſed a conſiderable army, and brought their ſtandard to the field, as a ſignal that they were reſolved to exert their utmoſt efforts in defence of the holy ſee. The general of their army was their pretor, *Uberto* of *Piacenza*, a man of courage, and abilities in war. After taking the field, he made himſelf maſter of ſix caſtles or towns in the territory of *Imola*, and laid the inhabitants under ſevere contributions. Upon this, the people of *Cornetto*, who had before revolted from the *Bologneſe* by the inſtigation of their governor *Ubaldini*, returned to their allegiance. The *Bologneſe* then marched againſt *Imola* itſelf, *Forli*, *Forimpopoli*, *Brittonoro*, and *Ceſena*, all which places ſided with *Marcoald*; and vigorouſly attacking them, he obliged them all to return to their allegiance, and marched back to *Bologna*, while *Marcoald* durſt not take the field againſt him.

A. D. 1199.
Succeſs of the Bologneſe.

SOME writers ſay, that this war was undertaken chiefly in behalf of the people of *Ceſena*, the allies of the *Bologneſe*, whoſe city was beſieged by *Marcoald*. Be that as it will, it is certain, that the *Bologneſe* acquired great reputation by the campaign, and rendered themſelves more formidable than they ever had been to their neighbours. Their triumph was celebrated by public juſts and tournaments, that laſted for ſeveral days. After this, they began to diſtruſt the friendſhip of the *Imoleſe*; for which reaſon they erected a fort half-way between *Imola* and *Bologna*, for bridling the incurſions of the *Imoleſe*, and it is now called *Caſtel de S. Pietro*.

Diviſions in Germany.

THE diviſions of the *Germanick* empire were now ſo great between *Philip* of *Suabia*, who had been choſen emperor, and his competitor *Otho*, duke of *Brunſwick*, that the ſtates concerned in the *Lombardick* league, laid ſchemes for ſhaking off their allegiance upon the emperor entirely; and the *Bologneſe* annals place all the tranſactions of thoſe years under the head of the vacancy of the imperial throne. The *Bologneſe* were not backward in improving the opportunity to their advantage; and the pope himſelf ſet them the example, by recovering *Ancona* and *Ravenna* to the holy ſee. The *Bologneſe*, though overawed by the imperial power, had long repined at its poſſeſſing *Medicina* and part of *Argellatta*, and they never recovered both. They then planted the earldom of *Arbora*, with their own ſubjects; and granting freedom to all its inhabitants, the pretor *Uberto*, by advice and conſent of the general council, made all of them denizons of *Bologna*, as they did all the inhabitants belonging to the caſtle of *S. Pietro*, and gave them conſuls and other magiſtrates, who were to rule them according to the laws and conſtitutions of *Bologna*. They were equally careful of their univerſity as of their territory; for this year they employed ſeveral of the moſt learned civil lawyers in *Italy*, to teach in their public ſchools. We perceive, however, that one of them, *Azo*, was driven out of *Bologna*, for differing in opinion upon a diſputed point with *Henry Ballia*, one of the moſt conſiderable men at that time in *Bologna*.

The Bologneſe *recover their towns.*

At war with the imperialiſts.

ROBERTO ROSSI of *Parma* was pretor in the year 1200, when the ſeizing of *Medicina* and *Argellatta* had involved the *Bologneſe* in a war with the imperialiſts in *Italy*. But the inter-regnum that ſtill continued, had given encouragement to every bold adventurer who could aſſemble a gang of banditti, to ſeize or plunder the imperial poſſeſſions. Amongſt others one *Alberto Araldi*, a mountaineer, had made himſelf maſter of *Saxatelli*; upon which the council of *Bologna* ſent the pretor, with ſome troops, againſt him. *Alberto*, knowing he was too weak to encounter the pretor, retired with a band to a cave in an adjoining mountain. He was purſued by the pretor, who filled up the mouth of the cave with ſtraw, which being ſet on fire, *Alberto* and his companions were obliged to ſurrender, and they were puniſhed as robbers; but *Saxatella* was laid in aſhes. From thence the pretor marched to other parts of the imperial *Imoleſe*, which he reduced with little difficulty to the obedience of the *Bologneſe*. Their territory was now ſo much extended, and their power encreaſed, that they erected, in their market-place, a town-houſe, in which their councils and courts of law were held. This could not be done without purchaſing a great deal of private property in the neighbouring houſes; but next year, in the pretorſhip of *Rangone*, this town-houſe being thought too ſmall, another more capacious and magnificent was erected.

Diſſentions in Bologna.

BOLOGNA, at this time, laboured under the calamity to which free ſtates, eſpecially thoſe of *Italy*, were ſubject; we mean family diſſentions, which often produced bloodſhed between the parties at variance. As the magiſtrates themſelves were generally involved in thoſe quarrels, no civil remedy could be applied to them; and, therefore, all the chief citizens had towers of ſtone, or brick, erected, to overlook their houſes, which commonly were of wood. Thoſe towers, ſeveral of which are ſtill ſtanding in *Bologna*, were ſometimes ſo ſlightly built, that they fell down and buried the adjoining buildings in their ruins, with the loſs of a great number of lives. Thoſe accidents forced the owners of towers, this year, either to lower or demoliſh them. *A war.* A quarrel now broke out between the *Modeneſe* and the *Reggians*, in which the *Bologneſe* were involved. The *Modeneſe* pretended to the property of the river *Secla*, which was very convenient for water-carriage to the *Reggians*; but the *Modeneſe* built a fort on the banks of the river, to interrupt their navigation. This produced a war between the two people; and the *Reggians* demanded aſſiſtance from the *Bologneſe*, who readily embraced that opportunity of ſerving them, and of humbling the *Modeneſe*; ſo that a conſiderable army was immediately raiſed, which joined itſelf with that of the *Reggians* and the *Faventines*, their other auxiliaries. In the month of *September* the two armies came to an engagement, in which the *Modeneſe* were defeated with a conſiderable ſlaughter, and their general taken priſoner. The *Faventines* laid hold of this favourable opportunity to invade their neighbours of *Forli*, whom they likewiſe defeated, and burnt one of their towns.

Diſſentions continue.

THE beginning of the year 1202, in which count *Teſta* of *Piacenza* was pretor, the diſcords amongſt the *Bologneſe* broke out with more fury than ever. The *Scannabecci* and *Aſinelli*, the two principal families in *Bologna*, mortally hated one another, and moſt of the other citizens took part with the one or the other in the quarrel. At laſt they came to blows on the Great Street, where many were killed and wounded on both ſides. Soon after *John Tettalaſina* killed *Vido Pepuli*, in a like private quarrel. Our author obſerves[a], that thoſe family bickerings continued without intermiſſion for above forty years.

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[a] SIGONIUS, p. 79.

English *ſtudents at* Bologna.

AMONGST the other ſtudents who repaired to *Bologna* were many *Engliſh* youths; and this year an altar being erected to *Thomas Becket*, archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, by cardinal *Hildebrand*, in the church of the canons of *St. Saviour*, in a place which the *Engliſh* ſtudents did not think ſuitable to the dignity of ſo great a martyr, they demoliſhed it, and erected another in a more conſpicuous part of the church, which offended the biſhop of *Bologna* ſo heinouſly, that he refuſed to conſecrate the *Engliſh* altar; but the pope empowered the biſhop of *Modena* to do it. In the mean while the *Modeneſe*, exaſperated by their late defeat, made a league with the people of *Ferrara* and *Verona*, who brought their ſtandards to the field; and all the three armies joining, they invaded the *Bologneſe* and the *Reggian* dominions, and laid ſiege to *Herbaria*, a town belonging to the *Reggians*, on the banks of the *Secla*, which they were upon the point of taking, though it was bravely defended, when the differences were referred to the pretors of *Parma* and *Cremona*, who compromiſed them, and allowed to the *Reggians* the liberty of navigating the *Secla* in their boats.

Confederacy with the Reggians.

IN the year 1203, the *Bologneſe*, being at peace with their neighbours, and enjoying ſome reſpite from their domeſtic quarrels, they grew ſo rich that they reſumed the thoughts of enlarging their territories while the inter-regnum continued. *Puſterla*, a *Milaneſe*, was then pretor; and an occaſion was taken to quarrel with the *Ferrareſe*, about boundaries and depredations; but this quarrel was ſoon removed by the prudence of the *Milaneſe* magiſtrates, aſſiſted by *Azo*, an eminent civilian, and a new league between *Ferrara* and *Bologna* was concluded, by which all their differences were adjuſted. The *Bologneſe* next attacked the *Modeneſe*; and *Puſterla*, the pretor, made a formal demand from the *Modeneſe* of about twelve different towns and villages, ſituated on the *Scultema*. This demand ſurpriſed the *Modeneſe*, who pleaded their long poſſeſſion, and accuſed the *Bologneſe* of wantonly abuſing their proſperity and riches, by neither ſuffering themſelves nor their neighbours to be at reſt. This recrimination, though true, exaſperated the *Bologneſe* ſo greatly, that their council unanimouſly voted an immediate war with *Modena*. While vigorous meaſures were making for that purpoſe, ambaſſadors were diſpatched through all the ſtates in their alliance, to ſolicit aſſiſtance; and a caſtle was built on the borders of the *Modeneſe*, to facilitate their making inroads upon their territories. The ambaſſadors named were *Romaſini Radnerio*, *James*

Urſi, *Vido Tantidenario*, and *Apenelli*. Their firſt application was to the *Reggians*, whom the *Bologneſe* had ſo lately and ſo ſucceſſively aſſiſted. The ambaſſadors had their audience in a full council of the *Reggians*, who required but little ſollicitation, and a league was ſtruck up between them, which is remarkable for its ſtrength and ſimplicity, and is as follows: "If the *Bologneſe* ſhall make war with the *Modeneſe*, at the requeſt, or without the requeſt of the *Reggians*, before carnival time, the *Reggians* ſhall enter into the ſaid war, and carry it on at their own expence, within fifteen days after ſuch war ſhall be notified by letters or ambaſſadors; neither ſhall they make peace or a truce without the conſent of the pretor of *Bologna*, or the conſuls for the time being. If the war ſhall be declared after carnival time, at the requeſt of the *Reggians* (A), the latter are free from this obligation. But if the *Modeneſe* ſhall begin the war, the *Reggians* ſhall be ſtill bound. And if it ſhall be doubtful who are the aggreſſors, let it be referred to the oath of the pretor of *Bologna*, or the conſuls for the time being, or of twelve men choſen from the council of *Bologna* by the *Reggians*. But if the *Bologneſe* ſhall undertake a war with others, on account of the *Modeneſe*, the obligation of the *Reggians* ſhall be void. Let this confederacy remain for ten years; but let it be renewed in the fifth."

A negotiation.

THE chief confederates of the *Modeneſe*, at this time, were the ſtates of *Parma* and *Cremona*; and the ambaſſadors were charged to attempt either to bring them into a confederacy with the *Bologneſe*, or to detach them from that with *Modena*. To give the greater weight to the negotiation, they carried with them deputies from *Reggio*, with the pretor at their head. Arriving at *Parma*, they required, in the name of both ſtates, a council of credence to be ſummoned, which the pretor (or, as that magiſtrate now began to be called podeſta) immediately complied with. The *Bologneſe*, and then the *Reggian* deputies, in their turns, harangued the aſſembly on the ſubject of their inſtructions. They were anſwered by *Matthew Corregio*, their podeſta, in the name of the council, that an ancient league ſubſiſting between them and the *Modeneſe*, they were obliged to aſſiſt them againſt all who ſhould attack them. The deputies then repaired to *Cremona*, where the anſwer they received was leſs peremptory. *Talamati*, the civil judge, informed them, in the name of the

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(A) There ſeems, in this place, to be a ſmall typographical error, as follows: *Sin autem poſt Carnis privium arma intulerint juſſu Regienſium.* Inſtead of *juſſu*, the ſenſe requires *injuſſu* to be read.

podeſta *Otho*, and the community, that they were ſorry to ſee the two neighbouring ſtates at variance, and that they were ready to offer their mediation to accommodate all differences between them, which, if they could not effect, they would purſue ſuch meaſures as ſhould appear to them the moſt honourable.

Another.

The report of this unſucceſsful negotiation by the deputies, on their return to *Bologna*, ſerved only to encreaſe the warlike preparations there. They were ſoon followed by the podeſtas of *Parma* and *Cremona*, who were deputed by thoſe two ſtates to act as mediators, and prevent a war. They were joined by two deputies from *Modena*; and all of them arrived at *Bologna* about the middle of *June*. A council of credence being immediately called, *Otho*, the *Cremoneſe* podeſta, demanded of the *Modeneſe* deputies, whether they would refer their differences to *Puſterla*. This they refuſed to do, as well as to ſubmit their differences to the award of certain religious men; upon which the conferences broke up. The *Bologneſe* then ſent two deputies to *Reggio*, to obtain there a ratification, by oath, of the late league. This year likewiſe the *Bologneſe* ſettled ſome territorial and commercial differences with the people of *Bergamo* and the *Florentines*; and their authority was now ſo great in *Italy*, that their deputies put an end to a war between the inhabitants and the exiles of *Breſcia*.

An accommodation takes place.

The *Modeneſe* all this while were not idle; they built a frontier caſtle called *Plumazzo*, towards the *Bologneſe*; and not only made great preparations for war, but found means to debauch the people of *Nonantola* from their allegiance to *Bologna*. Their mutual preparations for war brought on a peace in the beginning of the year 1204. Some ſay this was effected by the mediation of one *Albert*, a *Mantuan*, a perſon of great piety and eloquence; and others ſay, by cardinal *Octavian*, biſhop of *Oſtia*, the pope's legate in *Lombardy*. *Alberto Viſconti* was then podeſta of *Bologna*; and *Dodona*, the podeſta of *Modena*, acted as umpire; and after taking the oath of both parties, the differences were finally adjuſted, and the boundaries of the two ſtates ſettled, but greatly to the diſcontent of the *Modeneſe*, who, though they ſtood by the award, complained that it had deprived them of many valuable eſtates.

The Bologneſe *agſt the* Mantuans.

The calm produced by this compromiſe did not long continue; for the *Florentines* and they entered into a confederacy againſt the *Piſtoians*; but with an exception to the towns of *Barga*, *Sambuca*, and *Stagio*. The *Bologneſe* made a like confederacy with the *Faventines*, on the firſt of *December*;

but we know of no acts of hoſtility that happened this year. Early in the year 1205, the *Reggians* and the *Mantuans* being at war, the *Bologneſe* ſent a body of horſe to the aſſiſtance of the former, who thereby came off conquerors. About this time, the cities and towns dependent on *Bologna* began to have their ſeveral podeſtas. Notwithſtanding the above preparations for war, and the unjuſt ambition of the *Bologneſe* in general, their ſtate continued in tranquility, through the wiſdom of its leading men; and the interval was laudably employed in promoting inſtitutions and regulations for the benefit of their law ſchool, the great ſource of their proſperity. Amongſt other things, the profeſſors were obliged, by oath, before they could read a lecture, never to teach law in any other city; and they were obliged to give their advice and aſſiſtance to the magiſtrates of *Bologna*. Very ſtrict regulations were likewiſe appointed to prevent ſcholars from leaving *Bologna*, where they were intitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens. Thoſe inſtitutions were occaſioned by the neighbouring cities and ſtates erecting ſchools of law, and offering vaſt ſalaries to the profeſſors. *Bologna*, however, ſtill maintained its reputation ſo ſuperior to all others, that in the year 1206, the reſort of ſcholars to it was ſo great, that the podeſta and magiſtrates found themſelves under a neceſſity of enlarging the boundaries of their city, part of which they ſurrounded with fortifications of ſtone. Towards the end of this year, ſome territorial differences happened between the *Ferrareſe* and the *Bologneſe*, which were amicably adjuſted between *Iſaac* of *Cremona*, then podeſta of *Bologna*, and *Salinguerra Torelli*, then the prince, or rather leading man, of *Ferrara*; and it was agreed, that for the future all ſuch differences ſhould be ſubmitted to two perſons choſen by the two ſtates.

Regulations in Bologna.

Adventures of Gariſenda.

In the year 1207, *Gariſenda*, who had been driven out of *Bologna* by his enemy *Bulgari*, being advanced by the king of *France* to a very lucrative government, remitted vaſt ſums to his wife, for building a ſtrong tower, to protect him and his family againſt his enemies. The lady pretended to her huſband, that ſhe had complied with his order; but inſtead of building a tower, ſhe laid out the money in gratuities to the lower ranks of the people. On the death of *Bulgari*, *Gariſenda* being recalled to *Bologna*, requeſted his wife to lead him to the tower he had ordered to be built; inſtead of that ſhe led him to the caſement of his houſe, where ſhe ſhewed him thouſands of his fellow-citizens crouding his court-yard, congratulating his return, and praying for his proſperity. There, ſaid the matron, pointing to the croud, is your tower of defence ſence againſt your domeſtic enemies; upon whom, had I been a man, I ſhould have been revenged before this time. *Gariſenda* made an inhuman uſe of his wife's precaution. He immediately put himſelf at the head of the attending throngs; and ſetting out againſt the palace of the *Bulgari*, he reduced it, with all within it to aſhes, after killing his brother, whom he met in his way. *Vido* of *Milan* was podeſta of *Bologna* in the year 1208, and on his entrance into his office, he found the *Reggians* ſo greatly diſtreſſed by the *Mantuans*, who had beſieged *Suzaria*, that he moved the great council to ſend them ſupplies, which was accordingly reſolved on. The *Mantuans*, on the other hand, ſummoned to their aſſiſtance the *Veroneſe*, the *Ferrareſe*, the *Cremoneſe*, the *Modeneſe*, and the marquis of *Eſte*, a family that now began to make a great figure in *Italy*. The *Bologneſe*, on their part, drew their ſtandard into the field, and were joined by their allies of *Imola*, *Faenza*, and *Parma*, the whole making a great army. A battle enſued, which was fought with great obſtinacy on both ſides; but the *Bologneſe* at laſt gained the victory, and had the honour of raiſing the ſiege of *Suzaria*. This year all matters in diſpute between them and the *Piſtoians* were accommodated; and the *Bologneſe*, with equal wiſdom and aſſiduity, proceeded in their public works of beauty and utility. They created two new officers in the nature of water-bailiffs, who cut a channel, which introduced part of the *Reno* into the city, to the vaſt benefit of its manufactures, as well as the health and cleanlineſs of the inhabitants. They likewiſe cut a canal of communication between the ſame river and the *Po*, by which they acquired the ineſtimable benefit of water-carriage to *Ferrara*; and finiſhed ſeveral other works of vaſt utility.

The Reggians *aſſiſted.*

The Bologneſe *conquer the* Mantuans.

THE golden days of the *Longobardick* confederacy now drew near to a cloſe. *Otho*, one of the candidates for the empire, in the year 1208, became emperor of *Germany* without a rival, and heard, with great concern and indignation, that the *Lombard* ſtates had rendered themſelves independent of the empire. His ſituation required his proceeding in a very cautious manner for recovering them. He employed *Volcher*, the patriarch of *Aquileia*, to act as his lieutenant in *Italy*, and to inquire into the ſtate of the imperial domains there, and by all the means in his power to perſuade them to return to their duty. The patriarch executed his commiſſion with great pomp and magnificence; and, after viſiting *Milan*, he arrived at *Bologna*, where *Seſſio* of *Reggio* was podeſta. Being lodged in the epiſcopal palace, he ordered the podeſta to attend him; and, after adminiſtering to him the ſacrament, he demanded

The Longobardick *confederacy endangered.*

Negotiations of the patriarch of Aquileia.

the rendition of thoſe towns and poſſeſſions, which the *Bologneſe* had alienated from the empire; ſince the death of the late emperor *Henry*. The *Bologneſe*, who had before deliberated how to act, employed *Vido Lambertini*, a lawyer, to be their ſpokeſman, who, in the name of the community, reſigned to the patriarch, by the delivery of a truncheon, the poſſeſſion of *Meditina*, and part of *Argalletta*, which he ſaid were all the territories the *Bologneſe* had acquired ſince the death of the emperor *Henry*.

The emperor Otho *arrives in* Italy:

quarrels with the pope,

From *Bologna* the patriarch proceeded to *Imola*, the caſtle of which, as belonging to the emperor; he committed to the cuſtody of the *Bologneſe* and the *Faventines*. Soon after *Otho* came to *Milan*, where he received the crown of *Italy* from the hands of the archbiſhop of that city. From thence he made a progreſs through the chief cities of *Lombardy*, where he found no oppoſition; and advancing to the *Bologneſe*, he proceeded from thence to *Rome*, where he had made the pope his friend, by the moſt abject ſubmiſſions and extravagant promiſes in favour of the holy ſee; but above all, by promiſing to maintain young *Frederick*, ſon to the late emperor *Henry*, in the poſſeſſion of his mother's dominions. The reader may remember, that this *Frederick* had been choſen king of the *Romans*, and was therefore legal emperor. *Otho*'s diſſimulation ſucceeded ſo well, that he received the imperial crown at *Rome* from the pope; but the ceremony was no ſooner performed, than he broke every engagement he had entered into; for leaving *Rome*, he put himſelf at the head of his great army, which he had left without the walls, and not only ſeized upon the inheritance of theounteſs *Matilda*, which was in the poſſeſſion of the holy ſee, but invaded the kingdom of *Naples*; upon which he was excommunicated by the pope. *Otho* then once more ſent the patriarch *Volcher* into *Lombardy*, to manage his intereſts there; and he found the *Bologneſe*, and the ſtates of *Lombardy*, well diſpoſed towards the emperor. *Otho* ſoon after came in perſon to *Vercelli*, where a deputation from *Bologna* attended him, and received from him a confirmation of all the privileges which had been granted them by his predeceſſors *Frederick* and *Henry*, which conſiſted of a juriſdiction ordinary and extraordinary, in all cauſes private and public; in the power of making their own magiſtrates, and retaining their own cuſtoms and uſages. From *Vercelli* the emperor went to *Ferrara*, where he made peace between *Salinguerra* and *Azo*, the *Bologneſe* ſwearing to ſee the ſame obſerved; and he marched from thence to *Naples* againſt young *Frederick*. In the mean while, the *German* princes, covering themſelves under the ſanction of the pope's excommunication, threw off their allegiance to *Otho*, and choſe *Frederick* for their emperor. *Otho* had now proceeded far towards ſubduing all his enemies in *Italy*, and had paſſed the winter of the year 1209 in *Lombardy*; but upon hearing of this great revolution in *Germany*, he returned thither in 1210. His abſence for a ſhort while freed the *Bologneſe* from the terror of his power, and gave them leiſure to repair the ravages which ſome late conflagrations had made in their city. In the year 1211, *Azo*, the marquis of *Eſte*, expelled his rival *Salinguerra* out of *Ferrara*, together with the emperor's lieutenant; and both parties applied to the *Bologneſe* for aſſiſtance, becauſe they were the guarantees of the compromiſe between the two rivals. The caſe was intricate, becauſe *Azo* was the aggreſſor; but it was urged, on the other hand, that *Azo* was warranted in what he did by the emperor's excommunication. While this diſpute continued, *Gerard*, the biſhop of *Alba*, the pope's legate in *Lombardy*, ſet out for *Bologna*. The *Bologneſe* hearing of his intention to viſit them, ſent four of their moſt reſpectable citizens to acquaint him, that ſuch a viſit at that juncture would be highly unſeaſonable, and could not fail to produce the moſt diſagreeable conſequences within their city; upon this repreſentation the legate deſiſted from his journey, and that part of the *Bologneſe* council which favoured the emperor prevailed; and the *Bologneſe* ſent a body of auxiliaries to *Salinguerra*, who, with the imperial lieutenant, now laid ſiege to *Ferrara*.

who is triumphant.

Difficulties of the Bologneſe.

A war with Piſtoia.

DURING thoſe tumultuous tranſactions, a new quarrel broke out between the *Bologneſe* and the *Piſtoians*, on the following account. The people of *San Martino* and *Lopoletani*, having had ſome differences, which proceeded to depredations upon one another, the podeſta of *Bologna* referred the deciſion of them to the ſyndic, who, in his journey to compoſe them, had ſome of his retinue taken priſoners, by certain banditti, at the inſtigation of the *Piſtoians*. This was no ſooner known at *Bologna*, than the council there reſolved upon a war with the *Piſtoians*, and ſent deputies to diſpoſe their allies in the neighbourhood of their city to join them. Theſe deputies repaired to *Reggio*, where they executed their commiſſion with all imaginable ſucceſs; for the *Reggians* immediately put themſelves in arms to aſſiſt them, and ordered deputies of their own to join them in ſoliciting their cauſe at *Parma*. The podeſta there informed them, that as to the banditti who had been guilty of the hoſtilities they complained of, the *Parmeſans* would give them no manner of protection; and that they would give leave to as many of their ſubjects as pleaſed, to aſſiſt the *Bologneſe* in puniſhing them; but that they muſt proceed with great deliberation, before they would enter into a war againſt the *Piſtoians*, who had given them no provocation. From *Parma* the deputies repaired to *Radiano*, at that time beſieged by the podeſta of *Modena*; but without receiving from him any ſatisfaction, under pretence that he had not as yet an opportunity to take the ſenſe of his council. The deputies returned to *Bologna*, where they made their report; but in a day or two were ſent back to *Modena*, for leave either to borrow or to buy horſes and arms. The acting regency there anſwered, that they could ſay nothing to the matter, becauſe the podeſta and the chief counſellors were abſent at *Radiano*. Notwithſtanding thoſe repulſes, the *Bologneſe* went on vigorouſly with their preparations, and the inhabitants of *Rocca Corneta* declared in their favour.

Bologna *interdicted.*

Frederick *crowned emperor.*

THE conduct of the *Bologneſe*, at this juncture, was ſo extremely diſagreeable to his holineſs, that the abbot of *St. Stephen* refuſed to pay his proportion of the tax impoſed for carrying on the war, upon which he was fined by the podeſta; but the abbot appealed to the pope, who took the affair under his conſideration, and laid the city under an interdict. In the beginning of the year 1212, the people of *Caſtrimoli* were prevailed upon by the *Bologneſe*, to ſwear that they would reſerve the poſſeſſion of their caſtle for the emperor *Otho*. This year *Bologna* had two podeſtas, both of them *Florentines*, being apprehenſive that they might be obliged to enter into two wars at the ſame time; and it is wonderful with what conſtancy they ſupported themſelves under ſo many difficulties as they were then obliged to encounter, as the greateſt part of *Lombardy* and *Tuſcany* had declared for the pope, who, by unuſual good fortune, was at this time on the ſide of right and juſtice, by taking the part of *Frederick*. That young prince had paſſed the *Alps*, and this year had been crowned emperor at *Mentz*. He was ſupported by the power of *France*, as *Otho* was by that of *England*, where *John* then reigned, and by whoſe aſſiſtance and credit with the dukes of *Brabant* and *Lorrain*, and the counts of *Holland* and *Flanders*, he got together an army of one hundred and twenty thouſand men, which *Frederick*, who was obliged to retire towards *Swiſſerland*, was in no condition to face. *Otho*, therefore, turned his arms againſt *Philip-Auguſtus* king of *France*. As the *Bologneſe* had been remarkably attached to the intereſts of *Otho*, whom they had entertained with great magnificence before he left *Italy*, the proſperous ſtate of his affairs, at this time, made them diſregard all the fulminations of the pope.

Being

Succeſs of the Bologneſe.

Being joined by the auxiliary *Reggians* and *Faventines*, they raiſed a great army, with which they beſieged *Sambuca*, belonging to *Piſtoia*, which, though bravely defended, at laſt ſurrendered to the *Bologneſe*. Upon this moſt of the inhabitants of the open country ſubmitted to them; and the *Piſtoians*, ſenſible of their own incapacity to maintain the war, ſet all the *Bologneſe* priſoners at liberty without ranſom, and ſued for a peace. By this time matters were accommodated between *Salinguerra* and *Azo* marquis of *Eſte*, who ſoon after died, and left his eſtates, which were very large, to his ſon *Aldobrandini*, who was attacked by *Salinguerra*, contrary to the latter's engagement with *Azo*; upon which he was abandoned by the *Bologneſe*, who joined *Aldobrandini*. Other cauſes contributed to this war. *Salinguerra* had built a fort on the confines of the *Modeneſe*, who complained of it as an invaſion of their rights, and they were aſſiſted by the *Bologneſe* in beſieging it; but it was ſo well defended, that the ſiege was raiſed. Towards the end of the year, the abbot of *St. Stephen*, and *Gerard* biſhop of *Bologna*, came into the ſupreme council there, and offered to refer the matter of the fine that had been impoſed upon the abbot, to the deciſion of the podeſtas and the council itſelf; and this moderation ſeems to have delivered the city from the interdict it then lay under.

In the year 1213, while *Matthew* of *Parma* was podeſta, the war between the papal and imperial parties raged with more fury than ever. The *Modeneſe* fortified *Finale* on the river *Panora*, to bridle the fort erected by *Salinguerra*; and the podeſta ſent one of his magiſtrates to compromiſe ſome commercial differences between them and the *Modeneſe*. While this matter was in dependence, the *Modeneſe*, in returning from fortifying *Finale*, were ſurpriſed by *Salinguerra*, who made one hundred and fifty of them priſoners, and moſt inhumanly cut out their tongues. The *Modeneſe*, fired by this barbarity, inſtantly demanded aſſiſtance from *Bologna*, *Parma*, *Mantua*, and *Ferrara*, which was readily granted them by all thoſe ſtates; and in *November* following, *Salinguerra's* fort was taken and levelled to the ground. He himſelf, at the ſame time, was obliged to reſtore all the *Modeneſe* priſoners, and to ſwear, as *Aldobrandini* and the *Ferrareſe* did, never to rebuild the fort. The *Modeneſe* then marched off in triumph; and *Salinguerra*, being now quite ruined, threw himſelf upon the protection of the *Bologneſe*, who interceded with *Aldobrandini* for his pardon; and it was accordingly granted him, he and his grandſon ſwearing, at *Fer-*

rara, that they would thenceforth be obedient to the podeſta and commonalty of *Modena*.

League between Bologna *and* Faenza.

In the year 1214, the podeſtas of *Faenza* and *Reggio* demanded a renewal of the league between the *Bologneſe* and *Faventines*, which was accordingly performed by the council with univerſal applauſe; and the deputies of the two cities, on their parts, ſwore to procure the ſame to be ratified by their conſtituents. By this time the emperor *Otho* had been totally defeated at the battle of *Bovines*, with the loſs of thirty thouſand men, by *Philip-Auguſtus* king of *France*; and *Frederick* was without further oppoſition received as emperor of *Germany*. Though the pope had ſtrenuouſly aſſiſted *Frederick*, who had hitherto behaved towards him with great humility; yet, now that he was emperor without a rival, he became as formidable to his holineſs, as *Otho* or any of his predeceſſors had been. He therefore preſſed *Frederick* to fulfil his purpoſe of taking upon him the croſs, by marching directly to the Holy Land with a powerful army. *Frederick* knew that he had ſtill many ſecret enemies in *Germany*, and therefore he durſt not diſoblige his holineſs; but promiſed to ſet out in a very ſhort time, and even to reſign the kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicily* to his ſon; the only thing in the world that was the moſt agreeble to the pope. It was about this time, that *Ubaldi*, the archbiſhop of *Ravenna*, came to *Bologna*, where he preached up the cruſade in a full council. As the *Bologneſe* likewiſe had their reaſons for managing his holineſs at this time, they promiſed all that the prelate required, and to defray, out of the public treaſury, the expences of ſea and land-carriage, till they arrived at *Syria*, of all the *Bologneſe* who had taken upon themſelves the croſs. It was about this time, according to *Sigonius*, who mentions the matter to give his reader ſome idea of the manners of that age, that one *Hugh*, a ſurgeon of *Lucca*, preſented himſelf before the council of *Bologna*, and undertook, on the payment of an annual ſtipend, which probably was very ſmall, though we cannot now aſcertain its value, to reſide for ſix months, or more if required, at *Bologna*; and to cure, during that time, all the ſubjects of that ſtate of all their wounds and bruiſes. But from his rich patients in the country, he was to receive one load of hay or wood. Nothing remarkable happened during the remainder of the year 1215, but a mere commercial treaty entered into by *Viſconti* the *Milaneſe* podeſta, and the *Florentines*, about ſettling the difference between public and private debts; by which no private perſon was to anſwer for a public debt, nor the public for that of any private man.

Agreement with Florence.

SECT.

SECT. III.

Containing the Difference between the Clergy and People of Bologna; *War with* Rimini; *Peace concluded*; *Arrival of the Empreſs* Conſtance *at* Bologna, *and of* Peter *Emperor of* Conſtantinople; *the* Bologneſe *repair to the Holy War*; *domeſtic Seditions in* Bologna; *the State of the public Schools there*; *Credit of the* Bologneſe *with their Neighbours*; *Inſtitution of religious Orders in* Bologna; *Differences between the* Bologneſe, *their Clergy, and their Neighbours*; *Admittance of the* Dominicans *and* Franciſcans *into* Bologna; *the* Bologneſe *in favour with the Emperor* Frederick; *Succeſs of the* Bologneſe *cruſaders*; *State of Learning, and of Factions, in* Bologna; *the City improved and adorned*; *Differences between the* Bologneſe *and the Imperialiſts*; *a War*; *Arrival of the King of* Jeruſalem *at* Bologna; *the Univerſity of* Bologna *deprived of its Rights by the Emperor*; *the* Bologneſe *enter into a League againſt* Frederick; *War with the* Modeneſe; *the Emperor reſtores the Univerſity to its Privileges*; *the* Bologneſe *declare themſelves* Guelphs; *and the Diſcontents in* Bologna.

Differences with the biſhop.

HENRY à FRACTA was at this time biſhop of *Bologna*, and, though a native of that ſtate, was as refractory as any of his predeceſſors had been to the civil government. *Viſconti* the podeſta, having puniſhed a malefactor for a crime committed in the caſtle of *St. John*, over which the biſhop claimed juriſdiction, *Odo* the biſhop's vicar complained of that proceeding as an invaſion of the epiſcopal rights; and this complaint encouraging the people of that quarter to diſobey the civil power, the podeſta ſeized and impriſoned one of the ring-leaders. Upon this the prelate interdicted the podeſta, and ſollicited the pope to put the city under interdiction likewiſe. This cenſure, however, was far from being of any prejudice to *Viſconti* with the *Bologneſe*, for they choſe him a ſecond year their podeſta.

War with Rimini.

IN the year 1216, a war broke out between the *Bologneſe* and the *Rimineſe*, on the following occaſion. The *Rimineſe* had defeated the inhabitants of *Ceſena*, and having taken one thouſand eight hundred of them priſoners, they ſhut them up in one of their caſtles. The *Ceſenians*, in their diſtreſs, applied to the *Bologneſe* for aſſiſtance in recovering their townſmen from captivity, and it was readily granted them. The *Rimineſe*, being aſſiſted by the people of *Peſaro*, *Fano*, *Urbino*, and other ſtates and cities in the neighbourhood, the *Bologneſe* called to their aſſiſtance their allies of *Reggio*, *Faenza*, and *Ferrara*, who having joined them, the public ſtandard of *Bologna* was immediately carried into the field, where a ſtrong army waited to attend it. They began their march againſt the caſtle of *St. Angelo*, where the captives were confined, about the middle of *Auguſt*, and beſieged it with great vigour, cutting off the enemy's parties, and laying waſte their lands at the ſame time. At laſt *Tarentino*, who commanded in the caſtle, ſeeing no proſpect of relief, propoſed a capitulation on the firſt of *September*, which was agreed to, but not till after the caſtle was demoliſhed. The terms were, that the *Rimineſe* ſhould deliver up to the *Bologneſe* podeſta, either at the foot of his ſtandard, or in his tent, as he ſhould think proper, the *Ceſenian* captives, and ſuch of the *Bologneſe* as had been taken; and that the ſtandard of *Bologna* ſhould be admitted into the caſtle of *St. Angelo*, as a mark of ſovereignty. The *Bologneſe* and *Ceſenians*, at the ſame time, reſtored the *Rimineſe* captives; and a mutual pardon paſſed formally on both ſides, for themſelves and their allies, by the mouths of the podeſtas of *Bologna* and *Rimini*; but *Tarentino* and his accomplices, who it ſeems had been guilty of great inhumanities, were put to death.

The Bologneſe *conquer.*

A peace.

Power of Bologna.

THIS ſucceſs wonderfully enhanced the reputation and credit of the *Bologneſe* all over *Italy*, where the public diſcourſe was, that the *Bologneſe* were as abſolute in the *Romagna*, as the *Milaneſe* were in *Lombardy*. This year died pope *Innocent* III. as he was on his journey to mediate between the *Piſans* and the *Genoeſe*, whoſe quarrels he thought were of infinite diſſervice to the ſucceſs of the cruſade; and he was ſucceeded by *Honorius* III. who purſued his ſchemes, and laid the *Milaneſe* under interdict, for favouring the *Gibelins*. This year is famous for the inſtitution of the *Dominicans*, or preaching friars. *Bologna* had a viſit from the empreſs *Conſtantia*, wife to *Frederick*, in her journey from *Naples* to *Germany*; and ſhe lodged in the palace of the *Lambertini*; as did *Peter*, emperor of *Conſtantinople*, who arrived at *Bologna* about the ſame time. He there made three knights, *Vido Lambertini*, *Ludovico Ramponi*, and *Teſta Preto*, who we may ſuppoſe were the leading men, at that time, in *Bologna*. It was about this time, that all differences were compromiſed between the podeſta and the biſhop, upon the former making his ſubmiſſion, and the latter taking off the interdict.

Civil diſſentions in Bologna.

CANOSSIO of *Reggio* was podeſta in the year 1217; and in *May* that ſame year, twenty thouſand marks were iſſued out of the treaſury of *Bologna*, to defray the expences of ſuch *Bologneſe* as had taken upon themſelves the croſs, and were preparing for *Syria*. Thoſe compliances of the *Bologneſe* with the holy ſee, procured to them a temporary receſs from civil commotions; but they were far from being agreeable to all parties. A people fond of freedom, but ignorant of its true principles, diſdains ſubjection; and *Iſnard Mancicollo*, a bold turbulent *Bologneſe*, taking arms about this time, killed *Manfred*, who was his enemy, and threw every thing once more into diſorder within the city; ſo that a civil war muſt have been the conſequence, had not the podeſta, with great activity and prudence, prevailed with the citizens to lay down their arms. Upon this *Iſnard* fled, but his effects were all confiſcated, by ten commiſſioners appointed for that purpoſe, who paid the money ariſing from them into the public treaſury. Soon after a freſh quarrel happened between the podeſta and the biſhop of *Bologna*, the latter pretending that the podeſta had no right to command the troops that were quartered on the epiſcopal eſtates, and threatening to call in the papal authority to protect him. The people of *Bologna* would have ſeverely reſented this renewed inſtance of pontifical inſolence, had not ſome wiſe citizens interpoſed and perſuaded both parties to ſubmit the affair to arbitration; ſo that it was amicably adjuſted by the intervention of learned lawyers, who were choſen for the arbiters.

Prudence of the podeſta.

Regulation in favour of the ſcholars of Bologna.

THE ſchools of law continued ſtill to be the principal objects of the care of the *Bologneſe*; and it is extremely remarkable, that when in that age of general barbariſm, nothing was more common than for men of the ſword, or other arts, to upbraid ſcholars with the lazy profeſſion of learning, the *Bologneſe* magiſtracy publiſhed the following remarkable decree; *viz.* "Let no man affix a reproachful epithet to any perſon, who is either teaching or learning the civil law, or any other art; if they ſhall be guilty, they ſhall undergo the penalty of exile; nor ſhall they be reſtored, but by the conſent of the parties offended. Let this law be in perpetual force."

AZO was then the moſt eminent profeſſor in *Bologna*; and *Sigonius* has given a moſt curious detail of the ſucceſſion of the profeſſors there, from him to the firſt inſtitution of the ſchool. *Azo* was a great ſtateſman as well as a lawyer, and was called lord *Azo*; a term of diſtinction given to all great

Progreſs of learning there.

profeſſors; and in his time the number of ſcholars in *Bologna*, aſſembled at one time in the great ſquare, was ten thouſand. *Odofredus*[a], who gives us this account, was the ſcholar of *Baldwin*, *Baldwin* of *Azo* (whoſe lectures likewiſe *Odofred* attended) *Azo* of *Boſſianus*, *Boſſianus* was cotemporary with *Albericus*, who attended the lectures of *Bulgarus*, *Martinus*, and the firſt profeſſors of law in *Bologna*; and this deduction traces the progreſs of the *Longobardick* law there, to the days of the emperor *Lothair*, who publiſhed the pandects. It was probably owing to this great attention of the *Bologneſe* to learning, that during this year the podeſtas of *Milan*, *Modena*, *Reggio*, and *Vicenza*, were all of them natives of *Bologna*, and acquitted themſelves with great credit in their ſeveral magiſtracies.

Proſperity of the Bologneſe,

ACCORDING to *Sigonius*, the emperor *Otho* did not die, as the common report is, obſcurely at *Brunſwick*, but in the Holy Land, having taken the croſs to expiate his crimes againſt the pope. But the death of *Otho*, wherever it happened, brought no reſpite to the diſtractions of *Italy*, where all but the *Bologneſe* was filled with blood and tumults. The truth is, that they had acquired, even in thoſe barbarous times, which appear by the teſtimony of cotemporary authors[b], to have been very unpoliſhed and uninformed, a veneration for their learning, which might have rendered them the umpires of all *Italy*, had it not been for their civil diſſentions. Having ſome difference with the inhabitants of *Medicina*, a town hardly known now by name, about certain villages, inſtead of oppreſſing them by their arms, they referred the matter to arbiters, who gave ſentence in favour of the *Bologneſe*. The inhabitants of *Faenza* and *Forli* had come to blows; and the former being worſted, they applied for relief to the often-experienced friendſhip of the *Bologneſe*, who perſuaded both ſides to refer their differences to *Alberghetti*, then podeſta of *Bologna*, who commanded both parties to lay down their arms, which they accordingly did. At this time the *Bologneſe* added a new profeſſorſhip, that of grammar, to their univerſity; and *Beno*, a *Florentine*, was the firſt profeſſor. Some difference happening with the *Lucqueſe* about certain rates and duties, they were amicably ſettled by the *Bologneſe*, with their uſual prudence and moderation.

who aſſiſt the Faventines.

IN the beginning of *February* 1219, the league between the *Bologneſe* and the *Reggians* was renewed; but quarrels breaking out afreſh between the *Faventines* and the *Imoleſe*, the *Bologneſe* found themſelves obliged to ſend troops to the aſſiſtance of the former. The emperor *Frederick*, who never ſeriouſly had intended to go to the Holy Land, was now preparing to march into *Italy*, to make good all his imperial as well as family rights there. It would be too bold a conjecture to ſay, that the intention of *Frederick* was to ſhake off the eccleſiaſtical power of the pope; but it ſeems more than probable, that he deſigned to deprive him of all his temporal juriſdiction, and all the *Italian* ſtates and cities of their liberties, and to have fixed the ſeat of his empire at *Rome*. With this view, and to take all ſuſpicion from the pope, *Frederick* had yielded to every thing he could deſire; but when the *Bologneſe* and the *Faventines* had invaded the *Imoleſe*, a territory which had been always conſidered as belonging to the empire, the biſhop of *Turin*, and the marquis of *Montferrat*, arrived at *Bologna*; the firſt as ambaſſador from the emperor. He accordingly ſummoned the podeſta before him, and roughly made two demands; the firſt was, that the *Bologneſe* ſhould reſtore to the emperor all the poſſeſſions of his they had ſeized ſince the death of *Otho*; and the ſecond was, that they ſhould deſiſt from harraſſing the *Imoleſe*. The podeſta anſwered with great ſpirit, that he did not believe the biſhop to be *Frederick*'s ambaſſador, and therefore they would not ſurrender the *Imoleſe* territory to him, but to the emperor himſelf; and that the *Bologneſe* were bound, by poſitive treaties, to aſſiſt the *Faventines* when required. This anſwer threw the biſhop into a great rage, and he haſtily left *Bologna*; upon his departure the *Bologneſe* army, and that of their allies, advanced againſt *Imola*. An accommodation, however, was propoſed; and *Henry*, at that time podeſta of *Bologna*, was choſen umpire. The *Faventines* complained of his ſentence, and he ſent them a threatening meſſage, which ſoon reduced them to reaſon. In the mean while, the biſhop of *Turin* had impoſed a fine upon the city, and laid it under an interdict. Upon this *Ugolin*, the pope's legate for *Lombardy*, ſought to revive the *Longobardick* league againſt the emperor, and not only offered himſelf as a mediator for compoſing the differences of all the parties concerned, but took off the interdict formerly laid upon them by the pope. The *Bologneſe* and the *Piſtoians* laid hold of that opportunity to ſubmit their differences to his arbitration. His ſentence was pronounced in *October*, and by that both parties were to be reconciled one to the other. The *Bologneſe* were to reſtore to the *Piſtoians*, *Monticelli* and other three towns; as the *Piſtoians* were to the *Bologneſe*, all the places they had taken from them in the *Bologneſe* territory. The *Piſtoians*

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[a] SIGONIUS, p. 90.

[b] RICOBALDUS FERRIENSIS apud MURAT. tom. ix. p. 247 and 248.

Imperial ambaſſador's demand rejected.

An arbitration.

toians were to pardon the *Sambucani*, and the podeſtas of both people were to ſwear to the obſervance of the ſentence. Towards the end of the year, when the two podeſtas met to ratify this arbitration, the *Bologneſe* complained that the *Piſtoians* had, without their leave, already intruded into the places in queſtion; and that they had impriſoned certain inhabitants of *Pavana*, a mountainous diſtrict, only becauſe they had ſworn allegiance to the *Appennine* podeſta of *Bologna*. The *Piſtoians* acknowledged and juſtified the intruſion; but pretended, that the *Pavaneſe* had been impriſoned by the biſhop's order. The *Sambucani*, who had left their own homes to put themſelves under the protection of the *Bologneſe*, were, by the council, ſent to *Muſcocla*, which was ordered to be fortified for their uſe, and they were there to enjoy all the privileges of *Bologneſe* citizens. The podeſta of the *Appennines*, or Highlands, were likewiſe ordered to preſent them with colours. This year, though the *Bologneſe* were under equal apprehenſions from the pope and the emperor, they added vaſt embelliſhments and conveniences to their city; and the famous *Dominic*, the father of the new order of Preaching Friars, became ſo eminent in *Bologna* by his ſermons, and certain miracles attributed to him, that the church of *St. Nicholas* was aſſigned to his male followers, and the church of *St. Agnes* was built for the uſe of his female votaries. This year likewiſe the famous St. *Francis* of *Aſſiſe*, by his enthuſiaſtical turn, became almoſt abſolute there, though their ſects are directly repugnant to each other; but the *Dominicans* had always the aſcendant in *Italy*. It was about this time likewiſe, that pope *Honorius*, being informed that the proſperous ſtate of the *Bologneſe* ſchools had induced many ignorant profeſſors to take upon them to read lectures there, impowered *Tancred*, a learned lawyer, and archdeacon of *Bologna*, to examine and licenſe all profeſſors before they could read in public. His holineſs, at the ſame time, ordered the biſhop of *Bologna* to encourage the ſtudy of divinity in that city, and not to permit his divines to ſtudy either the civil law or phyſic.

Bologna *embelliſhed.*

In the year 1220, the podeſta and council of *Bologna* ſent a deputation to *Piſtoia*, to require the *Piſtoians* and their biſhop to reinſtate the *Sambucani* in all their poſſeſſions and effects, according to *Ugolin*'s deciſion; which ſeems accordingly to have been done.

The emperor's lieutenant negociations in Italy.

In *February* this year, the emperor *Frederick*, being to paſs in perſon into *Italy*, ſent his chancellor, *Conrade* biſhop of *Spires* and *Mentz*, before him into *Lombardy*; the ſtates and cities of which were ordered to obey the chancellor equally as the emperor. While *Conrade* was buſy in executing this new commiſſion, and adminiſtering the oaths of allegiance to thoſe ſtates who were willing to take them, he ſent *Anſelm* of *Spires*, and *Ugolin*, governor of *Romaniola*, to *Bologna*, where they were received with great civility and kindneſs. Next day *Anſelm* and *Puſterla* the podeſta had a formal meeting in the town-houſe, where *Anſelm* demanded the rendition of the towns and caſtle of the *Imoleſe*, as belonging to the emperor, which *Puſterla* readily agreed to, with a ſalvo to all the privileges and rights the *Bologneſe* might have there. In a few days after, *Conrade* himſelf arrived at *Bologna*, where he was ſo well pleaſed with his reception, and the compliances of the *Bologneſe*, that, after taking the oaths of allegiance to the emperor, he abſolved them from the interdict and fine that had been impoſed upon them by the biſhop of *Turin*, and all other cenſures, however incurred. *Frederick* himſelf was now arrived in *Italy*; but was denied admittance into *Milan*, where he demanded to be crowned king of *Lombardy*. This diſappointment, which was very galling to *Frederick*, made him the more ſolicitous in courting the friendſhip of the *Bologneſe*, to whom he paid a viſit in his journey to *Rome*; and while he was there, he convened an aſſembly of all the ſtates who were in his intereſt, and obliged them to ſwear allegiance to him, and enmity to all the ſtates and cities of *Italy* who ſhould dare to diſpute his commands. He then proceeded to *Rome*, where he received the imperial crown, and took a freſh oath to carry an army over to the Holy Land. During this ceremony, he was attended by a ſplendid deputation of the *Bologneſe*, to whom he gave a new confirmation of all their rights; but did the ſame to their biſhop, in terms not favourable to the juriſdiction of the *Bologneſe* civil magiſtrates; for all the matters in diſpute between them were, by this charter, given in the biſhop's favour. From *Rome* he went to *Naples*. This year the *Bologneſe* croiſaders acquired great reputation by the taking of *Damiata* in *Egypt*, with ſome treaſure; part of which was remitted by their two captains, *Boniface* and *Baraſaldini*, by way of acknowledgment, to the treaſury of *Bologna*. *Accurſius*, one of the greateſt modern ornaments of the civil law, was then profeſſor of it at *Bologna*; where, this year, their biſhop *Henry* employed a celebrated architect, one *Ventura*, in adorning the chief church with a noble range of fine marble pillars. But the popularity he acquired by this munificence was ſoon abated by his inſolence, in demanding from the magiſtrates of *Bologna* one of his tenants, who had been guilty of a murder in that city; and, becauſe they did not readily comply, he laid it under an interdict. The matter,

The emperor confirms the privileges of Bologna.

Laid under an interdict.

ter, however, was at laſt compromiſed, though not much to the honour of the city.

The pope and emperor quarrel.

In the year 1221, *Giufred* of *Milan* ſucceeded to the podeſtate of *Bologna*; and *Conrade*, the emperor's lieutenant in *Italy*, beſtowed freſh privileges upon the biſhop of *Bologna* in matters of civil juriſdiction, while pope *Honorius* did the ſame. But a ſtorm was now about to break out in *Italy*, in which the *Bologneſe* had a great ſhare, on the following occaſion. *Frederick*, as has been already hinted, never intended either to go to the Holy Land, or to obſerve a ſingle article of his promiſe to the pope, with whom he now reſolved to break, as he had firmly ſettled himſelf in the kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicily*. He began by aſſerting the imperial authority in oppoſition to the papal; and by rendering the biſhops and their clergy ſubject, in their perſons, effects, and even characters, to the civil juriſdiction. He diſputed the power of the pope to fill up biſhoprics, and diſplaced ſome prelates the latter had appointed. In ſhort, he carried thoſe rights, which the *French* call the *regale*, farther than they ever had been extended, and deſpiſed all the admonitions of his holineſs, who therefore excommunicated him. The emperor gave himſelf very little trouble about the papal thunders; but declared, that he was reſolved to maintain the rights of his anceſtors over eccleſiaſtical as well as lay-ſubjects, and he ſent manifeſtoes to the ſame purpoſe all over *Italy* and *Germany*. The reaſon which determined the *Italian* republicans, and all who courted liberty in that country, to ſide with the pope, was becauſe he was not armed with the ſame compulſive means as the emperor to deprive them of their liberties. The *Bologneſe*, by their ſituation, were more perplexed than any other of the *Italian* ſtates how to behave; but came to a reſolution to be neutral, if poſſible, and to act impartially. Their podeſta, *Giufred*, with the advice of his council, ſent deputies to require thoſe who were in poſſeſſion of the caſtle of *Imola* to hold it for the emperor, and to give it up to none but by permiſſion from the podeſta of *Bologna*, or an imperial order. The *Imoleſe*, upon this, ran to arms; and entering the caſtle, demoliſhed it, carrying all the garriſon and inhabitants to *Imola*, without regard to count *Gottifred*, *Frederick*'s lieutenant in thoſe parts. The *Bologneſe*, not being conſcious of giving any cauſe of offence to either party, continued this year, as uſual, to carry on works of beauty, utility, and ſtrength in their city; and gave a magnificent burial to St. *Dominic*, who died in *Auguſt*, whoſe diſciples became now powerful in *Bologna*. In the year 1222, count *Gottifred*, incenſed at the *Imoleſe*, came to *Bologna*, and applied to the podeſta to require the aſſiſtance

Difficulties of the Bologneſe.

of the *Faventines*, and immediately to declare war againſt the *Imoleſe*, for having demoliſhed their caſtle, in contempt of his and the imperial authority, and for other injuries done the emperor. He farther required, that the *Bologneſe* ſhould neither make peace, nor grant a truce to the *Imoleſe*, unleſs they conſented to rebuild the caſtle of *Imola*, and had expelled all the emperor's enemies from their city and territory. He likewiſe promiſed to prevail with the emperor to pardon the *Faventines*, to remit the cenſures he had laid them under, and to deliver up the cuſtody of the caſtle of *Imola*, as ſoon as it could be recovered to their cuſtody and that of the *Bologneſe*, and that they ſhould be aſſiſted by all the force of the *Romagna*.

War with the Imoleſe.

THOSE demands being made in a full aſſembly of the people, and in a peremptory tone, greatly ſtartled the *Bologneſe*, who would gladly have excuſed themſelves from being concerned in ſuch a war. But *Gottifred* declared, that he would immediately proceed to put the *Imoleſe* to the imperial ban. The podeſtà, in the name of the aſſembly, politely requeſted, that he would reſerve his ſentence for another place, becauſe the *Imoleſe* were their neighbours. But *Gottifred* gave them to underſtand, that they were the emperor's ſubjects, and tied down to execute his will. He therefore proceeded to give ſentence, which was, that the *Imoleſe* ſhould incur the penalties of treaſon, unleſs, within ſix days, they ſhould return to their obedience to the emperor and his authority; which time if they ſuffered to elapſe, they were to be accounted as rebels, unleſs they paid him ten thouſand marks in ſilver (A), and ſubmitted in every reſpect to the imperial and his pleaſure. This ſentence being read, he addreſſed himſelf to the aſſembly, and peremptorily demanded, that they ſhould prepare to execute the imperial decree. The *Bologneſe* were obliged to comply; and the podeſta of *Faenza*, on that occaſion, came to *Bologna*, where their ancient league was renewed; and it was agreed, that both ſtates ſhould make war with all their forces upon the *Imoleſe*, and conclude neither peace nor truce with them, but by permiſſion of the emperor and *Gottifred*. The ſix days being expired, *Gottifred* returned to *Bologna*; and a general aſſembly being, as uſual, ſummoned by ringing a bell, he demanded of the two podeſtas, that they ſhould immediately begin the operations of the war againſt the *Imoleſe*, who had ſuffered their days of grace to elapſe.

(A) A mark of ſilver contained about eight ounces; ſo that the ſum here demanded of this petty ſtate amounted to about twenty thouſand pounds ſterling; an immenſe ſum in thoſe days.

The *Bologneſe* complied; and this year three expeditions were undertaken againſt the *Imoleſe*. The firſt was in *January*, which laſted but for two days. The ſecond was in *March*, where for twenty days they laid waſte the enemy's country, far and near. The third and principal was in *Auguſt*, when, together with the *Faventines*, they brought their ſtandard to the field; and the crops being upon the ground, they deſtroyed them for thirty days; and, after taking five caſtles, they laid ſiege to *Imola* itſelf.

Demands of the Imperialiſts.

IMOLA, the ancient *Forum Cornelii*, ſtands on an iſland formed by the river *Santerno*; and its caſtle, in thoſe days, was the moſt important in all the *Romagna* (B). While the ſiege was going vigorouſly on, the podeſtas of *Pavia*, *Parma*, and *Cremona*, with deputies from *Verona*, *Mantua*, *Reggio*, and *Modena*, came to the *Bologneſe* camp; and in an aſſembly, ſummoned on their account, *Diotiſalvi*, the podeſta of *Pavia*, in the name of the archbiſhop of *Magdeburg*, impoſed a large fine upon the podeſta and ſtate of *Bologna*; and at the ſame time commanded them to raiſe the ſiege, and to return home before the end of the month. This inſolent proceeding aſtoniſhed the *Bologneſe*; and their podeſta refuſed to acknowledge the other as commiſſioned by the archbiſhop of *Magdeburg*, but treated him as an impoſtor. Upon this, the other podeſtas and deputies interpoſed, and joined *Diotiſalvi* in his demand. *Giufred* accuſed them all of diſſimulation, in not acquainting him that *Diotiſalvi* had ſo inſolent a commiſſion to deliver, which if he had known, he would not have ſummoned the aſſembly; and he again refuſed to acknowledge *Diotiſalvi* to be the archbiſhop's legate. Upon this ſmart reply the podeſtas and deputies departed without ſucceſs, and the ſiege went on with redoubled vigour; ſo that the *Imoleſe* at laſt were obliged to beg for a capitulation.

A capitulation,

GIUFRED could give the meſſengers, who came out of *Imola* for that purpoſe, no anſwer till he had conſulted with *Gottifred* and the *Faventine* podeſta, who both of them conſented to his entering into a treaty, which accordingly was begun, and finiſhed upon the following terms: That the *Imoleſe* ſhould obey the *Bologneſe* and *Faventines*, who ſhould command what portion of their territory they pleaſed, and direct their troops in their operations; and that, as ſoon as the beſieging army was withdrawn from their walls, they ſhould fill

(B) It has a wall, moats, and towers, with a ſtrong old caſtle; and is alſo the reſidence of a biſhop, under the archbiſhop of *Ravenna*. In it are fifty churches, convents, and hoſpitals (1).

(1) *Buſching's Geogr*, vol. iii. p. 144.

up the ditches of their city; and that the inhabitants of the caſtle ſhould repair to it again. It was likewiſe agreed, that this capitulation ſhould be ratified in the general aſſemblies of *Bologna* and *Faenza*.

ratified.

THOSE terms, with ſome others of leſs importance, being ſettled, *Giufred*, in the name of the *Bologneſe*, required *Coxio*, the podeſta of *Imola*, to repair with the council of that place, and a hundred of its chief inhabitants, to *Bologna*, and there ſwear to the obſervance of the capitulation. *Coxio*, rather than comply, reſigned his office; but the reſt of the council and inhabitants offered to ratify all that had been done. *Giufred*, with the conſent of the *Faventine* podeſta, then carried along with him one hundred and forty hoſtages, all of them grown men; and the *Imoleſe* not only fulfilled the treaty, but ſent the valves of their principal gates to *Bologna* and *Faenza*; and were condemned to pay the fine impoſed upon them by *Gottifred*, beſides two thouſand marks by way of ſatisfaction to the *Bologneſe*.

The emperor diſcontented.

THE emperor *Frederick* was terribly enraged againſt the *Bologneſe*, who he, probably, thought had taken too much upon themſelves. When he heard of this treaty being concluded, he diſclaimed all that *Gottifred* had done, and ordered their podeſta *Giufred* to appear at his court. *Giufred*, upon this, ſummoned a council, where it was reſolved that he ſhould not go; but that deputies ſhould be ſent to the emperor, to account for and defend the conduct of the podeſta and their city; and at the ſame time an appeal was made to the pope. But *Frederick* would neither hear nor ſee the deputies, and continued to expreſs the moſt implacable reſentment againſt the city and the podeſta.

IN *September*, *Giufred* held a general council of the inhabitants, or council of credence; in which it was enacted, that all ſtrangers who ſhould ſettle in the *Bologneſe* territory, ſhould be free for twenty years from all public duties. If they formed themſelves into a town, containing no fewer than twenty families, they were to enjoy that freedom for ever, only being ſubject to all duties on public carriage. They were to have a right to create conſuls, and might receive a podeſta in the ſame manner as other towns in the *Bologneſe*; to have rank in the army, and to ſerve in expeditions; by which we ſuppoſe is meant, that they were to have a ſhare in the plunder. This year was remarkable for dreadful earthquakes, which did great damage in *Bologna*, by demoliſhing ſeveral palaces and churches.

IN the year 1223, *Uberti*, a *Milaneſe*, was podeſta of *Bologna*, where the inhabitants, being apprehenſive of a war with the

Military regulations of Bologna.

emperor, applied themſelves to put their city and country under military regulations. Their territory, like the city, was divided into four parts; and each diviſion had its colours aſſigned to it, under which the inhabitants of the villages, and houſes of that diviſion, were to ſerve. Two commiſſaries were appointed in each diviſion for executing this regulation. Another law paſſed for ſubjecting the inhabitants of the country, as well as of the city, to a tax for payment of the army; and the magiſtrates of all places, within the ſtate, were obliged to give in, upon oath, the names of all within their juriſdiction who were capable of bearing arms. *John* of *Brienne*, the titular king of *Jeruſalem*, at this time was at *Rome*; and the emperor *Frederick*, having loſt his wife, who was a princeſs of *Arragon*, had returned from *Germany* to *Italy*. He had of late ſignalized himſelf, by publiſhing certain bloody edicts againſt the *Albigeois*, who, of all other rebels, were the moſt dreadful to the ſee of *Rome*, becauſe they pretended to be directed by the pure principles of Chriſtianity; and this inhuman proceeding had ſoftened his holineſs in his favour; and, indeed, both parties began now to be tired with their mutual differences. The king of *Jeruſalem*, who had a beautiful daughter, named *Yolante*, or *Violante*, undertook to be the mediator; and the pope promiſed, that, if he could bring the emperor into his terms, he would prevail with him to marry the king's daughter. The negociation met with no difficulty. The princeſs had for her dowry the imaginary kingdom of *Jeruſalem*, for which reaſon the kings of *Sicily* have ever ſince aſſumed that amongſt their other titles. The emperor took a freſh oath to undertake the croiſade within two years, was abſolved from his eccleſiaſtical cenſures, and orders were given for bringing the betrothed princeſs from *Ptolomais* to *Rome*; and thus *Italy* had a ſhort reſpite from war, which the *Bologneſe* employed by making new improvements in their city, territory, and civil government.

King of Jeruſalem *at* Bologna.

BORRA, a *Milaneſe*, was podeſta of *Bologna* in 1224, when the king of *Jeruſalem*, and his other daughter *Bianca*, paid a viſit to that city, where they were moſt magnificently entertained, and the king honoured ſeveral citizens with knighthood. The emperor was at this time in *Germany*, where his ſon *Henry* was crowned king of the *Romans*. From *Germany* he returned to *Rome* in *May* 1225, and, at the requeſt of the pope, he made peace with the *Milaneſe*. His reſentment againſt the *Bologneſe*, however, ſtill continued. *Frederick*'s great paſſion was to aggrandize *Naples*, for which reaſon he once more transferred the univerſity of *Bologna* to that capital, and ordered all the ſtudents to leave *Bologna*, and repair thither. It is obſervable, however, that no regard was paid to his authority in this reſpect. This year he married *Yolante* at *Rome*, and from thence went to *Naples*. Being diſappointed as to the effects of his reſentment againſt *Bologna*, he gave the *Imoleſe* leave to repair and fortify their city againſt the *Bologneſe*, who would not have ſuffered them to do it, had not a dreadful peſtilence then raged at *Bologna*, where the magiſtracy, apprehending civil commotions, by a decree of the general council, demoliſhed the tower of *Baſacomatri*, the ſtrongeſt and loftieſt in the city. Towards the end of the year, the *Milaneſe* prepared a new league againſt the emperor, in which all *Lombardy*, the *Romagna*, and the marquiſate of *Treviſo*, were included. To obviate this league, the emperor ſummoned a general aſſembly of princes and biſhops, in his intereſt, at *Cremona*. *Gerard Rangone* was podeſta of *Bologna* in 1226, when the grand league, which had been propoſed, took place. The village of *St. Zeno*, in the *Mantuan*, was the place where all the deputies met, from *Milan*, *Bologna*, *Piacenza*, *Verona*, *Breſcia*, *Mantua*, *Vercelli*, *Lodi*, *Pergamo*, *Cremona*, *Turin*, *Aleſſandria*, *Vicenza*, *Parma*, and *Treviſo*. This meeting was held in *March*, and *Vido Tantidenario*, with *Scannabecci Goſo*, acted as deputies, or plenipotentiaries, from *Bologna*. In this league, which was to continue for twenty-five years, there was nothing diſreſpectful towards the emperor; only the contracting parties promiſed to ſtand by one another, in aſſerting the rights and privileges they enjoyed from him and his predeceſſors. As it had been agreed amongſt them, that each contracting party ſhould bear a proportional expence of men and money in the confederacy, the podeſta of *Bologna* appointed one hundred citizens for carrying the purpoſe of the league into execution; but with this reſtriction, that they ſhould not engage the community in any expence, without conſulting the council. The podeſta, at the ſame time, fortified *Bologna* as ſtrongly as the nature of its ſituation would admit.

A new league againſt the emperor,
A. D. 1226.

IN the month of *March* the emperor came into the *Romagna*, and held his *Eaſter* at *Ravenna*. From thence he went to *Imola*; but underſtanding how ſtrongly *Bologna* was fortified, he did not approach it. When he entered *Lombardy*, deputies from moſt of the confederated ſtates attended him, and performed to him their ſeveral homages and duties. Arriving at *Cremona*, he found the aſſembly he had ſummoned to that city very thinly attended. From *Cremona* he went to *Verona*; and underſtanding how very aſſiduous the confederates were in concerting meaſures for ſupporting their league,

who comes to the Romagna.

he gave encouragement and countenance to many of pope's enemies. His holineſs, on the other hand, thei clared himſelf to be the patron of the confederated ſtates cities; fomented factions againſt *Frederick* in *Naples*, threatened him with a freſh excommunication, if he dic perform the oath he had taken to go to the *Holy Land*. *derick* had now no longer any excuſe; and conſulting th mour of the age and people, he was obliged once mc make his ſubmiſſions to the pope, and to ſwear that, u the pain of excommunication, he would paſs the ſeas t *Holy Land*, within two years after the enſuing *Auguſt*. new accommodation afforded matter of triumph to *Hon* whom the emperor made umpire of all the difference tween him and the confederated ſtates. Being attend the pope's legate he came to *Vienna*, where his reſent againſt the *Bologneſe* influenced him ſo far, that he publ a reſcript in favour of the *Modeneſe*, who were no parti the confederacy; and annulled the arbitration conce boundaries that had been proclaimed againſt the *Mod* whom he reinſtated in their ancient boundaries, poſſeſ and privileges, both by land and water; adding, at the time, great encomiums upon their loyalty and fidelity. *Milaneſe* made the cauſe of the *Bologneſe* their own; and cities being now more refractory than ever to the im authority, *Frederick* had an interview with the pope at a ſmall town in the duchy of *Spoleto*, after pronouncin *Milaneſe* and the *Bologneſe* to be guilty of rebellion, obliging the pope's legate to lay both cities under an dict.

Greatneſs of the pope.

Caſtel Franco *built.*

ALL this did not daunt the *Bologneſe*, who raiſed an a and built a ſtrong caſtle upon the frontiers of the deba lands, for defending their liberties; and which, on th count, is to this day called *Caſtel Franco*[a]. *Honorius* d the beginning of the year 1227, and was ſucceeded by G IX. a near relation to *Innocent* III. and to the greateſt mies the emperor had in *Naples*. He began his pont by iſſuing a bull, granting to the biſhop of *Bologna* new unuſual privileges; and by more furiouſly preſſing th peror, than any of his predeceſſors had done, to begi expedition into the *Holy Land*, which, though the tin had ſworn to ſeems not to have been yet expired, *Fr* was obliged to comply with; ſo great an aſcendency h papal authority then obtained in *Italy*. When he ca *Catana*, in *Sicily*, he publiſhed a kind of manifeſto, a requeſt, or rather by the command, of the pope, in which he pardoned all the *Longobardic*, and other ſtates and cities that were confederated againſt him, as he likewiſe did *Gottifred*, and the marquis of *Montferrat*, who were now his enemies. As to the *Bologneſe*, he expreſly reſtored to them the privilege of their univerſity. All thoſe compliances were far from ſatisfying the inordinate pride and ambition of the pope, whom nothing but the entire departure of *Frederick* out of *Italy* could appeaſe. Under pretext that *Frederick* had not performed the oaths he ſwore to pope *Honorius*, and was making no preparations for his expedition to the *Holy Land*, he ſtirred up, as far as he could, not only all *Italy*, but all *Europe* againſt him; till *Frederick*, apprehending that the affair was no longer to be trifled with, ordered his fleet to be got ready, and to rendezvous at *Brindiſi*, the ancient *Brunduſium*, with an intention, as he pretended, to carry him to *Greece*, from whence he was to march to the *Holy Land*, but without any real deſign to perform his vow if he could evade it.

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[a] SIGONIUS, pag. 101.

The pope haſtens the cruſade.

Averſion of the emperor to the pope;

THE truth is, that emperor entertained more looſe notions of religion than were common in thoſe days; and yet, though religion was the object of his contempt, it always kept him in awe, and diſtreſſed or fruſtrated his meaſures. Though he had taken a vow to fight againſt the infidels, yet he tranſported a large number of them from *Sicily* to fight for him in *Italy*, where he ſettled them at *Lucera*; and at this very time he was ſecretly nogociating a truce with *Meledin*, the ſultan of *Egypt* in *Syria*. His affairs, however, were ſo circumſtanced, that though he pretended ſickneſs, and a variety of excuſes, he was obliged to ſail from *Brindiſi* on the 11th of *Auguſt*; but he had ſcarcely put to ſea, when, under colour of a return of his diſorder, and that the winds were contrary, he returned with his family to *Brindiſi*, but ordered his army to proceed. The pope would accept of no apology for this dilatory conduct; and *Frederick* was again not only put under excommunication, but declared incapable of the imperial dignity. This incenſed him ſo much, that he joined with the *Frangipani*, at that time a powerful family in *Rome*, and after driving the pope from that city, he declared open war againſt his holineſs, and all his abetters. The animoſities between the *Guelphs* and *Gibelins*, raged now more fiercely than ever. They were not confined to independent ſtates or cities, but almoſt every ſtate and city in *Italy* was divided within itſelf, between the ſame factions; ſo that all *Italy* became inſtantly a ſcene of civil confuſion, confiſcations, and carnage. The pope being driven from *Rome*, retired to *Pe-*

who is driven out of Rome.

rugia; and it is hard to ſay, to which party the *Bologneſe* inclined. But at this time they were afflicted at once with famine and peſtilence to ſuch a degree, that when the biſhop diſtributed, as uſual, a certain portion of bread to the poor at a high feſtival, twenty-four of them were trod to death, ſo great were the numbers who crowded to receive it.

Commotions in Bologna.

THOSE calamities did not render the *Bologneſe* the leſs active in providing for their own ſafety. They fortified their new caſtle *Franco*, whilſt the *Modeneſe* raiſed another againſt it, called *Loiano*. In the year 1228, *Uberti Viſconti*, was podeſta of *Bologna*. By this time count *Gottifred* had declared for the emperor, and had ſurprized *Mancicoli*, a caſtle belonging to the *Bologneſe*, in the *Romagna*. The podeſta of this place eſcaped to *Bologna*, where he filled the citizens with apprehenſions and ſuſpicions againſt the government, and accuſed the podeſta of *Bologna* and his council of treaſon, and of having conſpired to betray the place to the enemy. The people were at this time far from being upon good terms with their magiſtrates; and being headed by one *Joſeph* of *Tuſcany*, a bold enterpriſing demagogue, they took arms, and marching to the public palace, they demanded from the podeſta the ſtandard of the ſtate, and inſiſted upon his reſigning his office; both which he refuſed to do. The inſurgents upon this waited till it was dark, when, with *Joſeph* at their head, they broke into the palace, forced open all its doors and repoſitories, and making themſelves maſters of whatever they wanted, *Joſeph* ordered the great bell to be rung, as a ſignal for a general aſſembly of the citizens.

SECT

SECT. IV.

The Form of Government in Bologna, *changed from ariſtocratical to popular.* Joſeph, *the* Tuſcan, *choſen Prefect of the People.* Antiani *choſen. War between the* Bologneſe *and the* Modeneſe: *the former defeated with great Loſs. A Peace for eight Years.* Caſtel Franco *fortified. Diviſions between the* Bologneſe *and their Biſhop. The* Bologneſe *interdicted. The Diſpute terminated. Tumults in* Bologna; *and a new War with the* Modeneſe, *and with the Emperor* Frederick. *They aſſiſt the Pope in taking* Ferrara. *The Univerſity of* Bologna *transferred to* Padua. *New Regulations in* Bologna. *Differences with* Florence. *Great Succeſſes of the* Bologneſe. *They beſiege and take* Modena. *Death of the Emperor* Frederick. *Farther Succeſſes and Regulations of the* Bologneſe. *The Office of Prefect of the People reſtored.* Faenza *delivered to the* Bologneſe. *State of their Republick at the End of the Year* 1257.

Alteration of the government of Bologna.

IT is certain that the people of *Italy* in general, at the time we now treat of, inclined to democratic government. The emiſſaries of the pope on the one hand, and of the emperor on the other, claimed the ſovereignty over them; and both endeavouring to invalidate the rights of the governing powers, the people began to think them to be little better than uſurpers, and that the true right was in themſelves, if it was neither in the pope nor the emperor. In ſome caſes, thoſe notions perhaps were confirmed by the wrong uſe which their magiſtrates made of their power; but be that as it will, the ſtate of *Bologna* in 1228, underwent a fundamental revolution. *Joſeph*, the *Tuſcan*, was made prefect of the people; and as in *Florence* twenty-four of the inhabitants, called *Antiani*, were choſen for the government of the four wards, two councils were here inſtituted. One, called the little council, conſiſted of the *Antiani*, the conſuls of the merchants, the maſters of the companies of ſilverſmiths and armourers, the gonfaloniers of the people, and their counſellors: the other was the great council, and conſiſted only of a greater number of counſellors, choſen from the people, being added to it; and from that time the *Bologneſe* deſigned themſelves by the title of the Community and people of *Bologna:* the power of the podeſta, however, was re-eſtabliſhed after *Joſeph*'s year of prefecture was expired.

The emperor crowned in Jeruſalem.

THE emperor *Frederick* remained ſtill in *Italy*, but under a ſentence of excommunication, which diſtreſſed his affairs, and diſpirited his friends ſo much, that he was at laſt obliged to embark; and, after touching at *Cyprus*, he landed at *Acon*, where, after a ſham negociation, the truce between him and the ſultan was publiſhed, by which the kingdom of *Jeruſalem* was not only ceded to him, with ſome ſmall territories round it, but he actually was crowned in that city, which gave him a handle to boaſt, that he recovered the kingdom of *Jeruſalem* without bloodſhed. He could not, however, impoſe upon his holineſs, who had foreſeen all that had happened, and had even diſapproved of *Frederick*'s voyage, as knowing that if he had ſtaid in *Italy*, he would have been deſerted by all his friends and followers. He ſought, however, to make the beſt advantage he could of his abſence, and even employed his father-in-law, the late king of *Jeruſalem*, to make war upon his ſubjects in *Naples*, while the imperial generals as vigorouſly preſſed the *Guelphs*, in the marquiſate of *Ancona* and the duchy of *Spoleto*. The heads of the *Longobardic* confederacy, who equally hated both parties, laid hold of this opportunity to attack the imperial party in *Lombardy*. The people of *Guaſtalla* had not yet acceded to the confederacy, and therefore were conſidered as its enemies; and thoſe who were choſen guardians of the confederacy, ordered the *Bologneſe* immediately to begin hoſtilities againſt the *Modeneſe*. The *Bologneſe* accordingly, being relieved by a plentiful harveſt, laid ſiege to *Bazano*, or as others call it *Badiano*, a town formerly belonging to the counteſs *Matilda*, but is now ſcarcely known by name, though at the time we write of, a place of great importance. According to the chronicle of *Parma* [b], the *Bologneſe* were joined by the people of *Imola*, *Faenza*, *Romania*, and *Ferrara*, with one thouſand horſe from *Lombardy*, and ſome *Florentine* ſoldiers. The *Modeneſe* had for their auxiliaries the people of *Parma*, who took the field with their ſtandard and one thouſand horſe, and the *Cremoneſe*, who brought to the field four thouſand foot. The two armies encamped near each other, but without coming to action. The *Bologneſe* ſurprized *Vignola*, as the *Modeneſe* did *Plumati*, a place now ſcarcely known; and both parties returned to their ſtation before *Bazano*, into which

War between Bologna *and* Modena.

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[b] Apud MURAT. vol. ix. p. 765.

which the *Modeneſe* found means to throw large ſupplies of men and proviſions. The *Modeneſe*, after this, made incurſions into the *Bologneſe*, where they laid all waſte with fire and ſword to the very gates of *Bologna*; while the *Bologneſe*, intent upon the ſiege, gave them no interruption. Upon returning to their camp before *Bazano*, the *Modeneſe*, and their auxiliaries, fell in with a ſtrong detachment of *Bologneſe* horſe, at the village of *Santa Maria*, and an action followed, in which the *Cremoneſe* cavalry at firſt were defeated; but the *Parmeſans* behaved ſo bravely, that after a long and obſtinate diſpute, the *Bologneſe* were intirely defeated, and all the *Modeneſe* priſoners retaken (B). After this the *Modeneſe* took ſeveral places of importance from their enemies, which obliged the *Bologneſe* haſtily to abandon the ſiege of *Bazano*, with the loſs of all their tents, baggage, and warlike engines. This inglorious expedition was followed by a cruel murder; for the people tumultuouſly put to death, in their great ſquare, the governor of *Plumati*, on ſuſpicion of having ſold that place to the *Modeneſe*.

Defeat of the Bologneſe.

The emperor returns to Italy.

In the year 1229, the emperor *Frederick* returned from *Syria* to *Naples*, where he found his father-in-law, *John de Brienne*, at the head of a papal cruſade againſt him, and maſter of many important places in that kingdom. *Frederick*, however, ſoon recovered them; and his *Gibelines*, who were diſtinguiſhed by a croſs upon their ſhoulders, drove the *Guelphs*, who bore two croſs keys, out of *Capua*, and forced them to take refuge in the papal dominions. Notwithſtanding this ſucceſs, *Frederick* was afraid of puſhing his good fortune, while the confederated ſtates, in a general aſſembly which they held at *Verona*, came to a reſolution of cutting off all communication and traffick with thoſe who were not in their confederacy. The *Bologneſe*, at this time, had two wars upon their hands, the *Imoleſe* and the *Modeneſe*. The firſt was of little or no conſequence, and committed to the *Faventines*; the other was more important. The *Bologneſe* laying aſide all thoughts of reſuming the ſiege of *Bazano*, made greater preparations than they had done the year before, for beſieging *San Cæſario*, belonging to the *Modeneſe*, who made equal preparations to defend it. The *Bologneſe* general, however, made his diſpoſitions ſo judiciouſly, that he took the place in a few days, in the ſight of his enemies, who were unable to relieve it. The *Modeneſe*, and their auxiliaries of *Cremona* and *Parma*, ſtung with this diſgrace, reſolved to be

The Bologneſe *defeated.*

(B) *Sigonius*, page 103, mentions this battle without owning the defeat of the *Bologneſe*.

revenged, and attacked the intrenchments of the *Bologneſe* army with great fury. They were received with equal intrepidity by the *Bologneſe*, who pointed their efforts againſt the *Parmeſan* ſtandard, from which, by their engines and miſſiles, they drove all the *Parmeſans*, but one *James Hoveri*, whoſe name hiſtory has preſerved for his honour, and who ſwore he would rather die upon the ſtandard of his country than yield it up, and defended it ſo bravely, that the *Cremoneſe* had time to come up and reſcue it. They were followed by the reſt of their army; and while the *Parmeſans* and *Cremoneſe* were preſſing hard upon the *Bologneſe*, the *Modeneſe*, by a reſolute attack, became maſters of the *Bologneſe* ſtandard. This was the greateſt diſgrace and loſs that could happen to any people in thoſe days, and diſpirited the *Bologneſe* ſo much, that few of them eſcaped being either killed or taken priſoners. As to the ſtandard, the *Modeneſe* were for carrying it in triumph [d] to their capital; but the *Parmeſans* either envying them that glory, or unwilling farther to provoke the *Bologneſe*, abſolutely refuſed them that honour; and thus the ſtandard being ſtripped of all its finery, after undergoing the greateſt indignities, was left at *Plumati*. The *Parmeſans* carried the fine train of engines, ſome of which were of a new conſtruction, which the *Bologneſe* had carried in triumph, to *Parma*, where they were repoſited as trophies in the principal churches of the city. After this the *Modeneſe*, meeting with no reſiſtance in the field, erected large banks, cut out a new canal, by which they diverted the courſe of the *Scultemna*, and thereby deprived the *Bologneſe* of all benefit from that river.

A truce concluded. So many misfortunes coming ſo quick, diſpirited the *Bologneſe*. Pope *Gregory* aimed at uniting all thoſe ſtates with his own intereſt, ſo that they might compoſe a formidable barrier againſt the imperial power in *Italy*. He therefore, on the 12th of *October*, addreſſed a bull from *Ponegſa* to the biſhop of *Reggio*; by which he charged that prelate to labour to the utmoſt in compoſing the differences between *Bologna* and *Modena*, by repairing to both cities, and negociating a peace, or at leaſt a long truce; and if he found either of them refractory, to lay it immediately under a ſevere interdict. The biſhop executed his commiſſion, and found both cities ſo tractable, that their podeſtas ſwore to ſtand by his arbitration; which he pronounced upon the 19th of *December* following. It imported, that there ſhould be a truce for eight years, to commence on the firſt of *January* enſuing, between the two ſtates, during which time they were to forbear all hoſtilities, and to live in civil intercourſe together; that if any differences ſhould ariſe, they ſhould be compromiſed by two arbiters choſen on each ſide; that the *Bologneſe* ſhould be reconciled to the *Modeneſe*, the *Parmeſans*, and *Cremoneſe*, and they to the *Bologneſe*; that no new fortifications ſhould be raiſed on the borders of either ſtate; and that the river *Scultenna* ſhould be reſtored to its ancient channel, during the time of the truce.

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[d] Sigonius, p. 104. Chronicon Parmenſe, ubi ſupra, p. 766.

The Longobardic *alliance renewed.*

THIS award, which was publiſhed with great formality, and under the penalty of an interdict to the offending party, for ſome time reſtored peace to *Bologna*; and the deputies of the *Longobardic* alliance, renewed the ſame in the beginning of the year 1230. This year was remarkable for prodigious inundations all over *Lombardy* and the *Romagna*; but the *Bologneſe* proceeded to fortify *Caſtel Franco*, with ſtone walls. This year the woollen manufacture was introduced into *Bologna*, where the workmen had great encouragement, and many privileges. The renewal of the *Longobardic* league croſſed the emperor's views; and having intelligence that his ſon, the king of the *Romans*, was practiſing againſt him in *Germany*, it rendered a peace neceſſary for his affairs in *Italy*. He was the more inclined to this by the ſolicitations and entreaties of *St. Lewis*, king of *France*, and his beſt friends in *Germany*. He accordingly ſent the patriarch of *Aquileia*, and *Leopold*, duke of *Auſtria*, with a moſt magnificent train of biſhops, and other attendants, to the pope; but their reception was ſo cool, that it was next to a repulſe, and they returned without effecting any thing. *Frederick* made another tentative, which was much more ſucceſsful, by the great maſter of the *Teutonic* order, and the ſame duke of *Auſtria*, who brought his holineſs to agree to accept of one hundred and twenty thouſand golden ducats by way of indemnification for the damage his cities had received; in conſideration of which the pope was to take off *Frederick*'s ſentence of excommunication, which he accordingly ſoon after did at *Anagni*, where they met and parted in ſeeming friendſhip. The *Bologneſe*, in the mean time, were employed in repairing the ravages of the late war, and the fortifications of their ſtrong places. Next year, 1231, many families in *Lombardy*, where the war ſtill raged, notwithſtanding the late reconciliation between the pope and the emperor, retired with their effects to the *Bologneſe*, where they paid two thouſand marks for certain lands on which they ſettled; and the podeſta, at the ſame time, aſſigned them ground for building houſes in the city; *Lavellengo* of *Breſcia*, was then podeſta of *Bologna*.

State of parties in Italy.

AMONGST other articles of agreement between the pope and the emperor, the latter had promiſed to aſſiſt his holineſs againſt his rebellious *Roman* barons, which *Frederick* had neglected to do, and thereby gave great cauſe of complaint to his holineſs; ſo that in the conſequences, he was a ſufferer by his compromiſe with the pope, whoſe cauſe in *Italy* at this time was that of public liberty, and therefore the moſt natural for the people to embrace. Few of the *Italian* ſtates or cities ſided with the emperor out of principle; and they who did it out of fear, could perſevere no longer than they were ſupported by his power. Thus, upon the whole, through all the *Romagna*, *Tuſcany*, and *Lombardy*, the *Gibelin* cities contained many *Guelphs*, but the *Guelph* cities few *Gibelins*. The pope, and the heads of the *Longobardic* league, were ſenſible of this, and ſtood by one another, with greater ſpirit than ever; ſo that *Frederick*, with all his abilities, ſpirit, and power, ſaw himſelf again in danger of being ſhut out of *Italy*. He found means, however, to retain the cities of *Modena*, *Reggio*, *Parma*, *Cremona*, and *Pavia*, in his intereſt; and the *Gibelins* there, after long and violent ſtruggles, expelled all the *Guelphs*.

Quarrel between the Bologneſe *and their biſhop.*

IT is difficult to pronounce whether the *Bologneſe*, at this time, were *Guelphs* or *Gibelins*. They had oppoſed the *Gibelin* ſtates in the field, and all circumſtances conſidered, the pope had obtained for them an honourable truce; but all of a ſudden they were ſeized with a moſt violent ſpirit of contumacy againſt their biſhop, to whom they refuſed any longer to pay his tithes, though his right to them had been immemorially eſtabliſhed. The biſhop, upon this, applied to the pope, who commiſſioned *Palmerio*, an *Auguſtine* canon, to take cognizance of the affair. In the mean while a felony was committed within the caſtle of *St. John*, and the biſhop ſent his officers to enquire into the matter. This coming to the ears of the podeſta, he ſent his officers to maintain his right of trying felonies in that caſtle, (though, as we have ſeen, that right had been clearly adjudged by former popes in favour of the biſhop) and they made uſe of threatenings towards the biſhop's miniſters, which obliged them to retire; and the podeſta obliged above one hundred of the inhabitants of the caſtle to appear before him, and take an oath of fidelity to him in the city. The pope being informed of thoſe proceedings, ordered *Palmerio* immediately to pronounce ſentence; upon which the podeſta, by advice of the council, took poſſeſſion by force of the caſtle of *St. John*, and five others,

others belonging to the biſhop, and, in ſhort, ſtripped him of almoſt all his temporalities in the city and territory of *Bologna*; and a proclamation was iſſued, prohibiting any layman for the future to act as biſhop's ſteward, and that no agent ſhould thereafter be employed by the clergy for collecting their tithes. *Palmerio*, upon thoſe violent proceedings, laid *Frederick*, the podeſta, *Omniboni*, and *Oſbert de Lens*, his judges, with all the council and magiſtrates, ordinary and extraordinary, in the city and territory of *Bologna*, under an interdict; which was promulgated by the biſhop, who hating the *Bologneſe* as much as they did him, fled to *Reggio* on the firſt of *September*.

The commotions in *Italy* ſoon brought the emperor back to that country, and he indicted a meeting of all the heads of his party at *Ravenna*, where he appeared with the imperial crown on his head on *Chriſtmas*-day. It is probable he was in hopes that the *Bologneſe* would declare for him; but tho' he remained at *Ravenna* till the *Lent* ſeaſon, the *Bologneſe* ſtill perſiſted in their independency, and without violating their confederacy with the *Longobardic* ſtates, their contumacy increaſed every day againſt the pope and their biſhop. In *January* 1232, *Rainero*, a *Venetian* nobleman, being podeſta of *Bologna*, the pope, who was then at *Rieti*, ordered his legates in *Lombardy* to do all they could to effect an accommodation between the biſhop and magiſtrates of *Bologna*, that he might not be obliged to proceed to ſtill greater extremities againſt them. This proceeding ſerved only to exaſperate the *Bologneſe* the more; and they appointed podeſtas of their own, to take poſſeſſion of, and exerciſe juriſdiction in all their epiſcopal ſtates. *Gregory* then ordered the biſhops of *Spoleto*, *Parma*, and *Mantua*, not only to promulgate the ſentence of excommunication againſt *Rainero* and *Frederick*, with all who obeyed them, and againſt all the ſtate of *Bologna*; but that the ſame ſentence ſhould be promulgated through all the cities of *Lombardy*, *Tuſcany*, the *Romagna*, and *Ancona*. He likewiſe ordered that the ſtudents at *Bologna* ſhould, under the pains of eccleſiaſtical cenſures, leave that city, and not return thither before the feaſt of *St. Peter*.

Diſappointment of the emperor.

In the mean while the emperor, who was but indifferently attended at *Ravenna* by the *Italian* deputies, conſulted the few who appeared about the future operations of the war; and it was agreed, that from thenceforth none of the imperial cities or ſtates, ſhould chuſe their podeſtas from cities or ſtates of the oppoſite faction. He then departed to *Aquileia*, that he might avoid meeting with two legates, whom the pope had diſpatched to treat with him concerning peace, being now more exaſperated at his holineſs than ever. Having finiſhed his buſineſs at *Aquileia*, he returned by ſea to *Naples*, without being able to make the ſmalleſt impreſſion upon the *Longobardick* confederacy. This year the finiſhing the works of *Caſtel Franco* was celebrated by the *Bologneſe* with great demonſtrations of joy, and a pardon was given to all malefactors; but the fruits of the ground ſuffered greatly by worms and locuſts.

A plague and famine.

THIS calamity rendered the year 1233, when *Uberto Viſconti* was again choſen podeſta, extremely uncomfortable to the *Bologneſe*. A ſcarcity of all proviſions, but eſpecially wine, prevailed; ſo that mutual diſtreſs diſpoſed the magiſtrates and the biſhop to liſten to terms of accommodation. Their differences were ſoon compromiſed. The biſhop, for the preſent, relinquiſhed his claim to the tithes, and was again put into poſſeſſion of *Cento*, a caſtle lying upon the confines of the *Ferrareſe* and the *Bologneſe*, together with all his temporal juriſdiction in the ſame. Upon this the biſhop took off, by the pope's command, the eccleſiaſtical cenſures that had been impoſed upon *Bologna*, and was moſt joyfully received into that city by the people; all other matters in diſpute, being left to a future cognizance.

John Vicenza *comes to* Florence,

IT is certain, that the calamities which the *Bologneſe* ſuffered, while they were under thoſe cenſures, made a great impreſſion upon their minds, and gave a fair handle for the pope's agents to conſtrue them into judgments from heaven for their contumacy to the holy ſee. One *John* of *Vicenza*, an eminent preacher, happening to come at this time to *Bologna*, gained ſuch an aſcendency, not only over the people, but the podeſta and all the magiſtrates, that he became the abſolute maſter of their lives, fortunes, and government. The people followed him every-where with ſtandards and trophies. The differences between the magiſtracy and the biſhop were ſubmitted to his arbitration; both parties entering into recognizances, before archdeacon *Tancred* and *James Baldwin*, the two greateſt lawyers in the univerſity, under the penalty of one thouſand marks of gold, to ſtand to his award. The ſame preacher's power extended even to the giving liberty to all civil debtors, to paſſing an act of inſolvency, and to reviſing the laws of the ſtate, not only without oppoſition from any, but with the approbation of all concerned. Innumerable were the bare-footed proceſſions which he headed, and the regulations he introduced, eſpecially in the dreſs and appearance of the females; and one day, when he was preaching againſt uſury, the people were ſo moved, that they pulled down the houſe of an uſurer in the neighbourhood. This

John of *Vicenza*, however, ſeems to have made a moderate, nay a laudable, uſe of this vaſt influence he had acquired over the minds of the people. The whole of his doctrine was calculated for the reformation of their manners, for unanimity amongſt themſelves, and for exerciſing ſuch acts of devotion as might beſt appeaſe the divine wrath. The time now approached for his pronouncing the ſentence of arbitration, in the great cauſe between the ſtate and the biſhop, who claimed the exerciſe of a capital juriſdiction in no fewer than nine caſtles, beſides that of *Cento*, within the territory of *Bologna*. Accordingly, on the 19th of *June*, all the councils, magiſtrates, judges, conſuls, maſters of companies, and others, being formally aſſembled in the town-houſe, *John* pronounced ſentence in favour of the city. He then ſet out for *Lombardy*, continuing his pious exerciſes wherever he went. But, indeed, *Italy* was at this time full of preachers, enthuſiaſts, and pretenders to miracles, who were greatly favoured by the public diſtreſſes; and this year is particularly deſigned, in the annals of *Bologna* and other ſtates, the year of devotion.

Gives ſentence againſt the biſhop.

Famine and peſtilence continue.

VIDO of *Faenza* was the *Bologneſe* podeſta in the year 1234, which happened, like the preceding, to be filled with peſtilence and natural calamities; for the cold and inclemency of its ſeaſons were ſuch, as drove even wolves and wild beaſts into their cities and towns: neither was *Bologna* free from civil diſcord. One *Lambertacci* killed another citizen, *Sanctio*, both of them men of conſequence; and though the podeſta, for the preſent, kept the city quiet by baniſhing the murderer, yet the affair was afterwards attended with great conſequences. *Icilino Romano*, deſcended of a *German* family, had acquired a conſiderable intereſt in the *Paduan* and the *Cremoneſe*, and was of the *Gibelin* faction. At his inſtigation, the emperor, who had for ſome years remained in *Naples*, prepared to march with a great army into *Lombardy*. This being known to the confederate ſtates, they inſtantly took the field againſt the *Gibelins*. The *Bologneſe* were the moſt forward; and though the time of their truce with the *Modeneſe* was not yet expired, they drew out their ſtandard, and waſted the *Modeneſe* territory about *Bazano* and *San Ceſano* with fire and ſword; and, without daring to attack either of thoſe places, they returned home about the beginning of *July*. The *Milaneſe*, in the mean while, invaded the *Cremoneſe*, with whom they came to an engagement near *Zenevolta*, without much advantage on either ſide; but at laſt both parties agreed upon a ſhort truce. In the month of *November*, the province of *Frignano*, belonging to the *Modeneſe*, famous for mineral waters, ſituated at the foot of the *Appennines*, in a country both ſtrong and populous,

The Bologneſe *invade the* Modeneſe.

pulous, declared for the *Bologneſe*; being thereto prevailed upon, either by fear or money, or both. The *Modeneſe* had been in poſſeſſion of it by conqueſt about thirty years; and two of their chief noblemen now came to *Bologna*, where, in the name of all their community, they promiſed to the *Bologneſe* obedience and ſubjection, and ſurrendered to them all their towns, fortified and open; promiſing to ſerve them in their wars, and to pay the ordinary taxes. The podeſta and ſyndic of *Bologna*, on their parts, promiſed to take the *Frignaneſe* into their protection for ever; to defend them againſt all their enemies, the *Modeneſe* eſpecially; and to inſure them againſt all harm. This agreement was afterwards ſolemnly ratified in the public councils of *Bologna* and *Frignano*. We are not here to omit, that the famous *Dominic* had been ſolemnly reburied by *John* of *Vicenza*, his firſt burying-place being too obſcure, at *Bologna*, where his magnificent church is ſtill to be ſeen; and he was this year canonized by the pope, upon the ſtrength of the miracles he had performed, both alive and dead.

Frignano *ſubmits to them:*

they aſſiſt the Faventines.

GARNEVARIO, of *Milan*, was podeſta of *Bologna* in 1235. This year proved more auſpicious than the two or three preceding ones had been to the *Bologneſe*, whom we may ſuppoſe to have been warranted by the pope in their infraction of the truce with *Modena*, with whom they were ſtill at war. Some differences ariſing between their old confederates, the *Faventines* and the people of *Forli*, the former, as uſual, applied to the *Bologneſe* for aſſiſtance, which was immediately granted; and they recovered *Solari*, which had been taken by the *Forleſe* from the *Faventines*, and this was followed by a peace between the two people. The *Faventines* then joined the *Bologneſe*, with great ſpirit, in their war againſt the *Modeneſe*, which, in fact, was no better than a war of robbing and plundering the defenceleſs country. In this, the *Bologneſe*, meeting with no oppoſition, paſſed the *Scultemna*, and advanced within two miles of *Modena* itſelf, where they defeated a party of their enemies. The *Modeneſe* reſolved to take a very extraordinary revenge for thoſe inſults. They ſummoned together their allies from *Parma*, *Cremona*, *Piacenza*, and *Pontremoli*; but, inſtead of meeting their foes in the field, they ſet about digging a great canal for turning the bed of the *Scultemna* againſt *Caſtel Franco*, ſo as to overthrow that fortification. They laboured upon this great work with ſuch incredible aſſiduity, that no man of any rank whatſoever was excuſed from either digging or carrying burdens. While they were intent upon this project, they laid ſiege to the caſtle of *Monzo*, within the diſtrict of *Frignano*; and having taken it, they put to death ſix of the principal perſons they found in it for their deſertion. The *Bologneſe*, to be revenged, increaſed their warlike preparations; and, in conſequence of the late regulations, they obliged their ſubjects in the country to contribute equally with thoſe in the city to the expences of the war; and they were the more encouraged to this, as they received certain intelligence that *Frederick* had been obliged to return to *Germany*, to prevent a formidable rebellion, under his ſon the king of the *Romans*, from breaking out againſt him there; but nothing this year happened deciſive on either ſide.

The emperor returns to Germany.

His progreſs there.

Returns to Italy.

FREDERICK returned time enough to *Germany* to re-eſtabliſh matters before they came to extremities. The marquis of *Baden* had ſubdued ſuch of the rebels as were in arms; and *Henry* ſummoned a diet of the empire at *Mentz*, where his ſon threw himſelf at his feet; and many acts of great popularity were paſſed in favour of the *Germanick* body, to keep the people there quiet, that the emperor might have leiſure to return to *Italy*. The pope, hearing of his intention, ſent his nuncio, a man of the greateſt addreſs of any about his court, to perſuade him to remain in *Germany*. His holineſs endeavoured to alarm the emperor with the extent of his ſon's conſpiracy againſt him, and he even offered to reduce the confederated ſtates to a ſenſe of their duty. There is reaſon for believing, that both the *Bologneſe* and the *Milaneſe* at this time held a ſecret correſpondence with the king of the *Romans*, againſt whom his father intended no other puniſhment than to remove him from *Germany* to the vice-royalty of *Sicily*. *Poltroni*, a *Mantuan*, was podeſta of *Bologna*, when *Frederick*, in the year 1236, returned to *Italy*, where, having ſettled the affairs of *Naples*, he ſummoned all the ſtates, who ſtill adhered to him, to join him at *Verona*. Perceiving that all arguments, but thoſe of violence, were now uſeleſs, he reſolved, by the perſuaſion of *Icilino Romano*, to attack the confederates in their vitals; a reſolution from which *Robert Sheſoleri*, a *Bologneſe*, and then podeſta of *Padua*, endeavoured to divert him. *Frederick*, after plundering the *Mantuan*, made himſelf maſter of *Vicenza*; but all his mighty hopes of reducing *Lombardy* were now interrupted, by the intelligence he received that the *Venetians* had entered into the *Longobardic* confederacy, and that his ſon the king of the *Romans* had now renewed his rebellious practices. He was therefore obliged again to return to *Germany*, after making himſelf more odious than ever to the *Guelphs*, by the ſeverities he had exerciſed againſt their party in *Vicenza* and *Verona*. His arms had not yet reached the *Bologneſe*, who were, all this while, em-

ployed

He is victorious.

The Bo-logneſe *defeated.*

They ravage their enemy's country.

ployed in raiſing money and making warlike preparations; but they received a great blow by *Icilino*, in *February*, 1237, making himſelf maſter of *Padua*, where he committed many cruelties. *Frederic* remained in *Germany* but a few weeks, and then he returned to *Lombardy*, where the terror of his arms obliged the *Mantuans* to ſubmit to him; and, every day adding to his force, he became maſter of *Monte Chiaro* in the *Breſcian*. He then laid ſiege to *Ponte Vico*, a place of ſo great importance, that the *Milaneſe* and the *Bologneſe*, having joined their forces, determined, at all events, to relieve it. A battle accordingly followed, in which the allies were totally defeated; but the loſs fell heavieſt upon the *Bologneſe*, who formed a great part of the confederate army, and moſt of them were either taken or killed. *Frederick*, however, did not think proper to purſue his victory, and went to *Cremona*. This defeat of the *Bologneſe* ſeemed to give them new ſpirits for continuing the war; and having made great proviſions for that purpoſe, they again entered the *Modeneſe*, where they laid ſiege to *Caſtel Loiano*; and, though it was then the end of *November*, they battered it for eight days with ſo much fury, that obliged it to ſurrender at diſcretion. The materials of the caſtle, which was demoliſhed, were laid up at *Caſtel Franco*, and the garriſon were ſent priſoners to *Bologna*. The *Bologneſe* ſoldiers, however, made an unmanly uſe of this great advantage they gained over their enemies; for they again paſſed the *Scultemna*, and filled all the defenceleſs country with their ravages.

They again aſſiſt Faenza.

In the year 1238, *Robert* of *Parma* was podeſta of *Bologna*. As the *Bologneſe* were the protectors of *Faenza*, they were this year deeply intereſted in the diſſentions of that city between the *Guelphs* and the *Gibelins*. The *Guelphs*, at firſt, had the advantage, and expelled *Guido Rauli*, the head of the *Gibelin* faction, out of their city; but he returned ſoon after, ſurpriſed it, put its garriſon to the ſword, and expelled *Albergotti*, the head of the *Guelph* faction. His triumph did not laſt long; for *Albergotti*, in his turn, ſoon forced his way into the city, made both *Rauli* and *Acariſio*, another head of the *Gibelin* faction, priſoners, and regained *Faenza*. *Frederick*, during thoſe tranſactions, being elated with his late victory, laid ſiege to *Breſcia*, which lies on the river *Garza*, and is defended by a caſtle on an eminence. This ſiege continued for three months; during which the *Milaneſe* defeated the *Pavians*, and obliged the emperor to retreat without taking the city. Though the *Bologneſe*, both by troops and money, had contributed greatly to thoſe events, yet they were now intent upon an expedition that more immediately touched their own honour and intereſt. Their new ſubjects of *Frignano* had been prevailed upon to return to their duty under the *Modeneſe*. Upon this, the *Bologneſe* invaded that province, which they ravaged, and took the ſtrong caſtle of *Seſtola*, which they reduced to aſhes; but being informed that *Frederick* threatened to invade the *Bologneſe*, they returned home, and repaired the fortifications of their capital.

Conſpiracy againſt the emperor, who defeats it.

A. D. 1239.

He is excommunicated.

THE *Milaneſe* and the *Bologneſe* could not have ſo long, and with ſuch effect, have reſiſted the emperor, had not the pope formed ſuch intrigues in *Germany* as were perpetually calling the emperor's attention to that empire. At laſt, finding out the whole depth of his ſon's conſpiracy, but perhaps without ſuſpecting the part which his holineſs had in it, he offered to compromiſe matters with *Gregory* upon the terms the latter had formerly offered, provided he would join with him in cruſhing the conſpiracy. The pope did not ſeem to diſcourage this propoſal; and the emperor ſoon defeated the duke of *Auſtria*, who had joined with his ſon, took *Vienna* itſelf, and, making his ſon priſoner, he ſent him in confinement to a caſtle in *Naples*, where he finiſhed his days in captivity. But all *Frederick*'s ſucceſſes, which anſwered the high and juſt reputation he had acquired, gave him no advantage over the firmneſs of the *Longobardic* league. He procured his ſecond ſon, *Conrade*, to be elected king of the *Romans*, in the room of his elder brother; and perceiving that the diſſimulation of the pope was not inferior to his own, after he had, with great glory, ſettled all his concerns in *Germany*, he collected all his forces, and returned to *Lombardy*, with an intention to finiſh the *Longobardic* war in one campaign. By this time, through variety of jarring intereſts, the quarrel between the pope and the emperor became perſonal; but the pope, who excelled in all the arts of his predeceſſors, found means to employ *Frederick*'s arms in ſo many places at one time, by the rebellions he fomented againſt him, that *Henry* never had it in his power, though victorious every where elſe, to reduce either *Rome*, *Milan*, or *Bologna*, which he conſidered as the three neſts of rebellion againſt him. He had of late conquered the iſland of *Sardinia*, and given it in ſovereignty to *Entio*, or *Enzo*, his natural ſon; and the pope conſidered this as a freſh violation of the rights of the holy ſee, to which, as he pretended, *Sardinia* was ſubject. In ſhort, *Gregory*, this year, twice excommunicated the emperor, abſolved his ſubjects from their allegiance, and all foreign princes from their engagements with him. Not contented with this, he likewiſe publiſhed a circular letter, dated *July* the 1ſt, in which he accuſed *Frederick* of not believing in the divinity of *Jeſus Chriſt*. “We “have proofs, ſaid he in that letter, that he has publicly de-

"clared how the world has been impoſed upon by three impoſtors, *Moſes*, *Jeſus Chriſt*, and *Mahomet*. But he places "*Chriſt* far beneath the other two; for he ſays that they "lived in the midſt of ſplendour and glory; whereas *Chriſt* "was only a man of the dregs of the people, who preached "only to ſuch as himſelf. The emperor, continues he, "maintains, that the one only God, creator of the univerſe, "could not be born of a woman, and eſpecially of a virgin." The emperor was not behind his holineſs in his recriminations; for he charged him with ſimony, hereſy, uſurpation, impiety, and every vice that could enter into the compoſition of a wicked pontiff.

Bologna *prepares for war.*

THUS ſtood affairs this year between the pope and the emperor; ſo that it was difficult to determine whether the arts and authority of the one, or the power and arms of the other, were the moſt prevalent. His holineſs, having had the addreſs to engage the *Venetians* in his quarrel, prevailed with them to join with him in an invaſion of *Naples*; and he ſent his prothonotary, *Montelongo*, through all the confederated ſtates of *Lombardy*, to confirm them in their union. Having excommunicated the *Modeneſe* and their allies, the *Bologneſe* renewed their war againſt them; but, above all things, they reſented the defection of their new ſubjects the *Frignaneſe*, who, as it now appeared, had ſubjected themſelves only out of pecuniary motives; and, having received a large ſum from the *Bologneſe*, had returned to their allegiance to *Modena*. A public decree was therefore made this year, when *Uberto Viſconti* was podeſta, that every future podeſta ſhould attempt to recover the money that had been advanced by the community of *Bologna* to the people of *Frignano* and their aſſociates; and that they ſhould levy the ſame from their eſtates, or thoſe of their ſucceſſors; and that it ſhould not be in the power of the preſent or any future magiſtrates of *Bologna* to re-admit them into their ſociety. It was likewiſe enacted, in order to raiſe the more money for the purpoſes of the war, that, from thenceforth, no countryman ſhould be free from paying his taxes, or from any public duty, under pretext of his maintaining a horſe or horſes, unleſs he ſhould have the commands of the community for ſo doing.

The Bologneſe *march to* Modena.

THIS decree being paſſed, *Jacopino Prendiparte* took the command of the *Bologneſe* army, and led it as far as to the gates of *Modena*. He went ſo far as even to ſet the gate of *St. Peter* on fire, and to put to the ſword numbers of the inhabitants of the ſuburbs; but he was recalled from his great deſign of beſieging the city, on the following occaſion. The *Gibelin* faction at *Faenza* had prevailed with the counts of

Mutiliana and *Balneocaballi* to raiſe troops for delivering *Guido Rauli*, and the other heads of the *Gibelin* party, from priſon at *Faenza*; and had, for that purpoſe, actually beſieged that city with a conſiderable force, during the expedition of the *Bologneſe* army. The *Faventine Guelphs*, ſenſible of their danger, applied for relief to the *Bologneſe*, who immediately recalled their troops, and ſent them in three diviſions, with their ſtandard, to the relief of *Faenza*. The beſiegers were defeated: count *Mutiliano* himſelf was taken priſoner, with two hundred of his men, who were all carried in triumph to *Bologna*. The ſucceſs of this action gave the *Bologneſe* ſuch ſpirits and reputation, that they entered into an alliance with *Paul* of *Treviſo*, the head of the *Guelph* party in *Ravenna*, for renewing the war againſt *Modena*. Accordingly the *Bologneſe* and their allies again entered the province of *Frignano*, where they took ſeveral places, and marched againſt *Vignola*, an ancient town on the river *Panaro*, to which they laid ſiege. This undertaking proved a matter of great difficulty; but at laſt, the place being furiouſly battered with all the engines then in uſe, it ſurrendered about the end of *September*. Mean while, *Frederick* had removed from *Pavia* to *Vicenza* and *Verona*; and marched, though without much ſucceſs, againſt *Alberic*, a *Guelph* general, who had ſurpriſed ſome places in *Lombardy*. From thence he returned to *Cremona*, and made an irruption into the *Bologneſe*, where he ravaged the open country, and, without much difficulty, made himſelf maſter of *Plumati*, which was ſurrounded only by a wooden wall. He then marched to *Crepacori*, which he took and demoliſhed; and, about the middle of *September*, he returned to the *Milaneſe*, which he ravaged for twenty-four days, there being no army in the field to oppoſe him. After this, he marched towards the *Po*; where he was in great danger of being drowned as he was paſſing that river; but he eſcaped to *Cremona*.

War in Lombardy.

The Bologneſe *defeated.*

THE ſiege of *Vignola* ſtill continued; and the *Modeneſe*, calling to their aſſiſtance their allies of *Parma* and *Ferrara*, undertook to relieve it. Their army was greatly ſuperior to that of the *Bologneſe*, whom they attacked about the middle of *October*. It does not appear that the *Bologneſe* made any notable reſiſtance. They loſt all their battering artillery, and half of their army, part being put to the ſword, and part of them drowned by the ſwelling of the rivers as they attempted to fly. In ſhort, they were completely defeated. This overthrow of the *Bologneſe* gave *Frederick* leiſure to march to *Nables*; then harraſſed by the *Venetians*. As he drew near *Rome*, the pope ordered the heads of ſaints to be expoſed, and public proceſſions to be made, to avert the impending danger. The diſtreſs of the ſovereign pontiff, and the rigour exerciſed by *Frederick* againſt all the *Guelphs*, touched the princes of *Europe* with compaſſion; and the pope, by the advice of his general *Montelongo*, formed a freſh confederacy againſt the emperor, in which the *Bologneſe* and the *Longobardic* ſtates were included. Not contented with that, he preached up a croiſade againſt him, upon the ſame terms and principles as thoſe that had been undertaken againſt the infidels; and he at laſt made a tender of the imperial crown to *Robert d'Artois*, brother to St. *Lewis* of *France*; but the offer was rejected. Upon the whole, however, the ſpirit and firmneſs with which the pope acted, on this occaſion, ſaved himſelf and the holy ſee. For though *Frederick* had expelled out of his dominions the papal militia, conſiſting of the *Dominicans*, *Franciſcans*, and other religious orders; and though he had forbidden his ſubjects of *Naples* and *Sicily*, under pain of death, to receive any bulls from his holineſs; yet he found the ſpirit that had been raiſed againſt him too ſtrong to be maſtered, and, inſtead of marching to *Rome*, which was his real intention, he turned off towards *Benevento*, which he ravaged.

After this, *Azo*, the marquis of *Eſte*, one of the moſt powerful princes then in *Italy*, the ſenate of *Venice*, *Alberic*, brother to *Icilino*, who was in poſſeſſion of *Treviſo*, *Paul* of *Ravenna*, and all the ſtates of the *Longobardic* confederacy, with the *Bologneſe* at their head, joined their forces together; and, by the advice of *Montelongo*, they prepared to beſiege *Ferrara*, which was then in poſſeſſion of *Salinguerra*. Previous to this, the council of *Bologna*, by the advice of their podeſta *Uberti*, and the directors of the *Longobardic* league, on the 1ſt of *January*, 1240, paſſed two ſolemn laws. The firſt was, "that neither the directors of the league, nor any of the confederates, ſhould admit into their aſſemblies or councils a *Cremoneſe* or *Pavian*, nor any of the emperor's party." The ſecond was, "that no native of the confederated ſtates ſhould, from thenceforth, be ſuffered to be podeſta of a ſtate or city in the oppoſite faction;" and both thoſe laws were enacted under the penalty of exile, and forfeiture of eſtate.

Ferrara *beſieged,*

In the beginning of *February*, this year, the ſiege of *Ferrara* was undertaken by the confederates; but defended by *Salinguerra* with a ſtrong garriſon of *Modeneſe*, *Reggians*, and *Parmeſans*. The ſiege laſted four months; but at laſt the place was taken, and *Salinguerra* was ſent priſoner to *Venice*, where he died ſoon after. As to the city itſelf, the pope knew that he could not keep poſſeſſion of it, and therefore granted the inveſtiture of it, as a fief of the holy ſee, to *Azo*

and taken.

de Eſte, who thereby became his intire friend. This important conqueſt had been chiefly owing to the powerful aſſiſtance brought by the *Bologneſe* to the confederacy, and therefore they inſiſted upon the city of *Ferrara* entering into the ſame, which *Badoari*, a *Venetian*, the podeſta, accordingly did, in the name of the *Ferrareſe*. The terms were, that the latter ſhould hold all the enemies of the church, but eſpecially the *Modeneſe* and the *Parmeſans*, to be their enemies, and make war upon them accordingly. About this time the *Genoeſe* joined the ſame party, and the kings of *France* and *England* liberally ſupplied the pope with money for his defence.

Succeſſes of the emperor.

FREDERICK now ſaw all his towering deſigns on the point of being cruſhed. He therefore committed the care of the war in *Naples* to his generals, and marched in perſon into the marquiſate of *Ancona*, where the *Guelphs* were very powerful: there he took *Aſcoli*, the ancient *Aſculum Picenum*, a city between the rivers *Trento* and *Caſtellano*. He next marched into the *Romagna*; and, hearing of the death of *Paul*, he ſurpriſed *Ravenna*, to the great terror of the confederates; and, in the month of *Auguſt*, he laid cloſe ſiege to *Faenza*. *Frederick* was at this time at the head of a great army; but he was ſo much diſtreſſed for money, that he was obliged to ſtamp, with the imperial ſignature, pieces of leather, which he forced his ſoldiers and the inhabitants of the country to take for money; but with a promiſe to indemnify them, by exchanging them for real money at the concluſion of the war.

Conſtancy of the Bologneſe,

THE pope and the confederates, but above all the *Bologneſe*, bore the progreſs of the emperor with wonderful conſtancy and reſolution. His holineſs, to apply ſome remedy to their misfortunes, ſummoned a council to meet at *Rome*, and ſent the cardinals of *Piaſtrina* and *St. Nicholas* acroſs the *Alps*, to ſolicit the aſſiſtance of *France*, *England*, and other *European* powers. Towards the end of this year, *Henry* biſhop of *Bologna*, after creating great troubles to that ſtate, reſigned his biſhopric into the hands of his holineſs, to the great joy of the *Bologneſe*, and was ſucceeded by *Ottaviano Ubaldini*, a *Florentine*. The confederates, however, about the middle of *April*, 1241, received a ſevere check, by the emperor becoming maſter of *Faenza*, after a ſiege of about eight months. He then prepared to ſtrike at the chief root of the *Italian* confederacy againſt him, by attacking *Bologna*. The *Bologneſe* had foreſeen this attempt, and made ſuch diſpoſitions for his reception, that, deſpairing to take the city, he wreaked his fury upon their open country, by deſtroying their houſes, corn, vines, and trees, with various other acts of barbarity. He like-

who are threatened.

likewiſe iſſued a decree, depriving the *Bologneſe* of their right to their univerſity; and transferred the ſame to *Padua*, as a reward for the attachment of the *Paduans* to his intereſt. Receiving intelligence, that the pope's legates beyond the *Alps* had prevailed with the courts of *England* and *France*, and other potentates, to ſend biſhops to the council at *Rome*, he ordered his natural ſon *Entius*, to whom he had given part of *Sardinia* in ſovereignty, to intercept them by ſea; which he accordingly did, by the aſſiſtance of ſome ſhips ſent him by the *Piſans*; and all of them, amongſt whom were ſeveral cardinals, were ſent priſoners to *Naples*.

Severity of Frederick.

AFTER this, *Frederick* appointed *Entius* to be his lieutenant, or imperial vicar in *Lombardy*; and was ſo ſtung by the obſtinacy of the pope, and the conſtancy of the *Longobardic* confederacy, that he redoubled his fury againſt all their abettors. His chancellor and favourite, *Peter de Vignes*, is accuſed of having been an atheiſt, and of having inſpired his maſter with the ſame principles. This charge, however, ſeems to have been intirely owing to the hatred of the *Guelphs* and *Papalins* againſt *Frederick*, who was a prince of great virtues, but ſtrong paſſions, and an encourager of learning, though the unintermitting practices of his enemies made him ſometimes guilty of barbarity. In a ſhort time, he reduced all the *Romagna* to his obedience; and, after falling upon the marquiſate of *Ancona*, he plundered *Peſaro* and *Fano*, two conſiderable ſea-ports in the dutchy of *Urbino*. He then made himſelf maſter of *Todi* and *Narni*; and was preparing to fall upon the Church's patrimony, without giving quarter to any he found in arms, when *Gregory* IX. died of heart-break, as was ſuppoſed. *Death of the pope.* He had filled the papal chair, with the true ſpirit of an aſpiring pontiff, for fourteen years, againſt one of the greateſt and moſt warlike princes of his age, merely by the ſkill with which he employed the thunders of the vatican. Before his death, he had ſummoned the emperor to appear before the council he had indicted, and there to reſign the imperial dignity. This propoſal, ridiculous as it was, did no harm, in that age of ignorance and ſuperſtition, to the papal cauſe. They who, by their learning, particularly the *Bologneſe*, were the moſt capable to refute thoſe inſolent claims, were on the ſide of his holineſs; and the numerous enemies of the emperor found their intereſt in, at leaſt, ſeeming to believe them.

A new election.

GREGORY IX. was ſucceeded by *Celeſtine* IV. who filled the papal chair no more than eighteen days, and then a long vacancy of the pontificate enſued. *Frederick* would willingly have aboliſhed even the dignity of pope, or have re-

reduced it to that of a plain prieſt or biſhop. But he was unable to ſurmount the prepoſſeſſions of his contemporaries, and even of his own ſubjects; and he therefore preſſed the cardinals who were aſſembled at *Anagni* to fill the chair. They pleaded, that the election could not be free, while he continued with his army in the neighbourhood of *Rome*, and in poſſeſſion of the church's patrimony. They likewiſe inſiſted upon his ſetting free ſuch of their brethren as were his priſoners. According to *Sigonius*[a], *Frederick* yielded to all they deſired, by withdrawing his troops from the church's patrimony, and ſetting the cardinals at liberty; and then they ſhut themſelves up in a conclave at *Anagni*, for the election of a pope.

A. D. 1242.

THOUGH the flames of war raged all round *Bologna*, yet this year the *Bologneſe* new-paved their city, and adorned it with other works of utility and ornament. The emperor all this time was puſhing the war with great vigour in *Lombardy*, where he retook *Ronchaglia* upon the *Po*, and a great number of other places, from the *Milaneſe*. The *Bologneſe* this year built and fortified the caſtle of *Occilini*, on their borders towards the *Ferrareſe*; but they loſt the caſtle of *Monteſi*, in the province of *Frignano*.

which falls upon Innocent IV.

IN the year 1243, the cardinals at *Anagni*, choſe for their pope cardinal *Fieſque*, a *Genoeſe*, who took the name of *Innocent* IV. This pontiff, while he was cardinal, had remarkably diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the imperial intereſt; and the *Italians* were now in hopes of ſeeing an end to the dreadful quarrel between the imperial and papal authority, that had ſo long deſolated their country. *Frederick*, however, no ſooner heard of his election, than he ſaid, that *Fieſque* was his friend, but the pope would be his enemy; a prediction which was remarkably fulfilled. Both parties pretended to be zealous for reſtoring tranquility to *Italy*, though neither of them meant it but upon his own terms. The principles of *Innocent* were the ſame as thoſe of *Gregory* had been; and he was reſolved, if poſſible, to wreſt from the emperor all that he had ſeized in the *Romagna*, and the church's patrimony, while *Frederick* as obſtinately reſolved to make them good, and both parties once more took the field. This year, we perceive, from the chronicle of *Parma*[b], that a treaty was entered into between the *Bologneſe* and the *Parmeſans*, for the mutual exchange of priſoners; and the *Bologneſe* are accuſed of not having punctually performed their agreement, and of having, through their obſtinacy, ſuffered ſuch of their countrymen, as had been taken priſoners at *Vignola*, to lie in a moſt miſerable condition in captivity at *Parma*.

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[a] SIGONIUS, pag. 112.

[b] Apud MURAT. tom. ix. pag. 768.

Neutrality of the Bolognese.

But though the war between the pope and the emperor was on the point of breaking out, by the former preparing to beſiege *Viterbo*, the *Bologneſe* had the addreſs to preſerve themſelves, for ſome time, in a ſtate of neutrality, when they were once more diſturbed by domeſtic diſſentions. In the middle of *Auguſt* this year, one *Ameo*, or *Amadeo*, a man of conſequence there, killed in the public market-place, one *Grifoni*, who was his enemy. Thoſe villainous aſſaſſinations, to the reproach of that age and country, were ſeldom puniſhed; the criminal generally finding means either to eſcape or to defend himſelf againſt the purſuits of juſtice. This *Amadeo*, however, was taken and put to death, to the great offence of his party. In the *October* following, *Azo Bonacurſi* of *Frignano*, and his brother, put to death *Giberti* and *Barnfaldini*, of the family of *Caſtel Nuovo*, and then took refuge in a neigbouring caſtle, which they held out by force. The podeſta of *Bologna*, who was that year *Peroano* of *Milan*, reſolved not to ſuffer ſo daring an inſult to eſcape with impunity; and, by the advice of the council, raiſed ſome companies, with which he beſieged the caſtle, and took it with all who defended it. The common people were immediately hanged, but *Azo* was quartered; and the podeſta left a garriſon in the caſtle.

Miſchiefs of the feodal laws.

The reader is to obſerve, that the feudal law, which then prevailed in *Italy*, and almoſt all over *Europe*, was an enemy to the internal tranquility of a ſtate, becauſe it kept up the hereditary animoſities amongſt families. The magiſtrates in the ordinary courſe of juſtice ſeldom had it in their power to puniſh the offenders; and all they could do, was to proſcribe them, or declare them rebels. Hence it was, that thoſe exiles were found all over the country in great numbers, where they commonly fortified themſelves in their family caſtles. Two of them, *Henry Zachi* and *Bonifacio Paniti*, had long ſuffered a ſtate of proſcription; and reſolving to do ſomething to merit the pardon of their country, they ſecretly repaired to *Verona*, with an intention to aſſaſſinate *Icilino a Romano*, the capital enemy of the pope in *Lombardy*; but being detected in their attempt, they were both of them put to death by him.

Preparations of the Bologneſe.

It was now evident, that *Bologna* could not long preſerve its neutrality, and the *Bologneſe* prepared to face the approaching ſtorm. They therefore, in a great council, this year, impoſed a general tax upon their city, territory, and caſtles; and

heir militia was ordered to be drawn out, with an ex-
on, however, to the doctors and ſcholars of their uni-
y, which, notwithſtanding the imperial edicts, conti-
ſtill to flouriſh. An act, both of the general and the
al councils, paſſed, exempting all ſuch from military du-
both in the field and garriſons; but they were to con-
ſubject to all the ordinary taxes equally as other citizens.
lars, however, who were citizens, and held private lec-
s and thoſe citizens who attended the public colleges,
obliged to contribute to military expences; but were at
ty to ſerve in the army by their ſubſtitutes. In the year
the war between the pope and the emperor, notwith-
ling the mediation of other Chriſtian powers, appeared
itable. *Ardoin* of *Piacenza* was then podeſta of *Florence*.
luis emperor of *Conſtantinople*, together with the count
louſe, came this year to *Italy*, to aſſiſt in the mediation;
at *Frederick*'s deſire they repaired to *Rome*, where they pre-
d with his holineſs to promiſe to meet the emperor at *Citta*
ſtella, to accommodate all matters in difference between
is and the pope, in the month of *June*, actually left
et; but while he was on his journey he diſcovered, or
nded to diſcover, that the emperor had formed a deſign
his life or liberty. He therefore turned off towards *Su-*
and from thence to *Civita Vecchia*, where he took ſhip-
r, which carried him to *Genoa* in the end of *June*, with
ntention to take refuge in *France*, and to ſummon a ge-
l council at *Lyons* for depoſing the emperor. In the
n while *Frederick*, hearing of the pope's flight, ſeized
n the church's patrimony, and reduced all *Tuſcany* to his
ience. The departure of his holineſs threw the affairs
Bologna into ſuch diſorder, that a civil war muſt have
en out, had it not been for the arrival of the good father
ino, whoſe authority and mildneſs, ſeconded by the bi-
, the podeſta, and the chief citizens, reconciled the dif-
nces that had long ſubſiſted amongſt the moſt eminent
lies, whoſe names were the *Delfini* and *Malataſci*, *To-*
and *Andali*, *Grifoni*, *Anteniſi*, and *Caſtrobritti*, *Galuci*
Carboneſi, *Lambertini* and *Scannabecci*, and the *Pepuli*
Tettalaſina. The two laſt-mentioned families had been
fference together forty years; but they were now recon-
l by the famous match between *Romeo Pepuli* and a lady
he *Tettalaſina*, from which deſcended *John*, *Taddeo*, *Gerra*,
rew, and *Tarlati Pepuli*, all of them men of eminence.

Council of Lyons *ſummoned.*

Regulations in Bologna,

HE tranquility of the city being thus provided for, the
iſtrates applied themſelves to ſecure that of the univerſity;
upon the application of its heads, it was enacted, that if

and its univerſity.

any perſon ſhould be exiled, for murdering or maiming a ſcholar, it ſhould not be in the power, even of the ſtate itſelf, to recal him, without leave from the next relations of the party injured.

Antiani *reſtored.*

Proceedings of the council of **Lyons.**

THIS year, according to *Sigonius*[a], mention is made of the *Antiani*, the inſtitution of which we have already taken notice under the year 1228, and which, after diſuſe, ſeems to have been revived on account of a diſpute which happened between *Ardoin* the podeſta, and the biſhop of *Bologna*, and which was compromiſed under the authority of the *Antiani*, the conſuls of the merchants, and the ſilverſmiths, the maſters of the wards, and the gonfaloniers of the colleges. The council of *Lyons* was now aſſembled, and is called the thirteenth general council. *Frederick* was ſummoned to attend it, and he ſent thither commiſſioners to plead his cauſe, a proof of the vaſt ſway the papal power then had in *Europe*. Amongſt the numerous prelates ſummoned to attend it, was *Octavian* biſhop of *Bologna*, who reſigning his ſee at this time, was ſucceeded by *James Buoncambi*, a native of that city, *Ugo* of *Breſcia* being then podeſta. In the mean while the emperor, after waſting all the *Guelph* lands wherever he came, retired to *Piſa*; from thence he moved to *Parma* and *Verona*; and, at this laſt city, in order to counterbalance the council of *Lyons*, he ſummoned a meeting of all his friends, amongſt whom was his ſon *Conrade* king of the *Romans*, and *Baldwin* emperor of *Conſtantinople*. He at the ſame time ſent his two natural ſons *Entius* and *Frederick*, with an army into the *Piacentine*. Upon the breaking up of the aſſembly at *Verona*, *Baldwin* repaired to *Lyons*, with offers from the emperor to compromiſe matters.

Debates there.

ABOUT 144 prelates appeared at *Lyons* with a great number of temporal princes; but his holineſs did not find the aſſembly ſo well diſpoſed in his favour as he expected. A biſhop, whom the emperor had driven out of *Naples*, acted as his accuſer, and charged him with atheiſm, polygamy, correſponding with infidels, adopting the opinions of the *Arabian* phyſician *Averroes* about *Jeſus Chriſt*, and a heap of ſuch other inconſiſtent particulars, which either were deſtitute of proof, or if proved, could infer no penalty on a crowned head. The emperor's commiſſioners refuted them with as much acrimony and ſpirit, as they were urged with zeal and ignorance; and the pope, on this occaſion, received many ſevere mortifications, particularly from the *Engliſh* ambaſſadors, who reproached him to his face for his avarice and rapaciouſneſs.

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[a] SIGONIUS, pag. 114.

His holineſs, however, ſoon gave the aſſembly to underſtand, that he was there to judge and not to argue, and actually ſolemnly pronounced the ſentence of deprivation and excommunication againſt the emperor, by which he was declared convicted of ſacrilege and hereſy; and the electors of the empire were by him ordered to proceed to the election of a new emperor.

The emperor excommunicated.

FREDERICK was at *Turin*, on his way to *Lyons*, when he heard of this ſentence. He immediately called for his imperial crown, which the *German* emperors in thoſe days always carried along with them, and placing it on his head, "Many a life, ſaid he, ſhall be loſt, before the pope deprive "me of this." He then ordered his miniſter *de Vignes*, to write a kind of circular letter to the other princes of *Europe*, upbraiding them for their tamely ſuffering themſelves and him to be maltreated by ſuch a worthleſs ſet of men as the clergy of thoſe days were, who were guilty of every thing that was criminal and abandoned, and who, he ſaid, ought to be ſtripped of all their riches, to bring them to a ſenſe of their duty. Soon after, *Frederick* encamped near *Pavia*, where he began a freſh war againſt the *Milaneſe*, and the remains of the pope's party in *Italy*. In this war, *Entius* was taken priſoner by the *Milaneſe*; but was ſoon exchanged for *Simon* the *Milaneſe* general. Excepting this check every thing went proſperouſly for the emperor this year; and all the *Guelphs* were expelled from *Modena*, *Reggio*, and *Parma*; and even the pope's friends and relations ſcarcely eſcaped with their lives.

Oeconomy of the Bologneſe.

THE *Bologneſe* were ſo happy that they were not yet involved in thoſe calamities; but their magiſtrates proceeded to lay up proviſions for the worſt that could happen. *Philip*, who was then podeſta, about the middle of *March* had ſummoned both a general and a ſpecial council, to deliberate upon the manner of proceeding with regard to the epiſcopal tenants, who pretended that they were not amenable to the taxes impoſed by the civil government, nor to the duties of the other ſubjects. Several other cities and places pretended to the like immunities. Upon this, a committee of ſix judges was appointed to enquire into the grounds of thoſe claims, and an advocate was aſſigned to the claimants for their defence. After mature deliberations, the people of *Montibelli*, *Roccavico*, and a few other inconſiderable places were adjudged to be entitled to their claims; but all the reſt were rejected. About the middle of *June*, the people of *Cento* endeavoured to put themſelves under the juriſdiction of the biſhop of *Bologna*; upon which the podeſta applied to him not to ſuffer the ſtate to be injured by ſuch a transference of allegiance, and the biſhop promiſed that he would protect none who were liable to pay taxes, or to perform public ſervices to the community, or who lay under ſentence of exile. The ſame podeſta contributed greatly to the public ornament and utility of the ſtate, by appointing certain overſeers to take care of the roads; and he laid the foundations of a moſt magnificent palace, that was to ſerve for the reſidence of the *Antiani*. About this time the *Bologneſe*, who ſeem to have had always a particular regard to the populouſneſs of their ſtate, ſheltered the *Gibelins*, though of a contrary faction, who were driven from the *Breſciano*, and aſſigned them part of the public revenue for their ſubſiſtence.

A new emperor choſen.

In the year 1246, *Otho Viſconti* was podeſta of *Bologna*, which gained a breathing time, by the troubles which the pope on all hands excited againſt the emperor. His holineſs, after *Frederick*'s excommunication, iſſued his bulls, directed to the *German* princes, for electing a new emperor; and tho' they neither were unanimous amongſt themſelves, nor did they proceed regularly, yet they choſe *Henry* landgrave of *Thuringia*, who was called king of the prieſts, and who defeated *Conrade* the king of the *Romans*, *Frederick*'s ſon; but was himſelf ſoon after killed at the ſiege of *Ulm*. *Entius*, at this time, commanded for *Frederick* in *Lombardy*, while he himſelf was employed in quelling the commotions raiſed againſt him by the papal party in the kingdom of *Naples*. The *Bologneſe*, this year, built the caſtle of *Scaricaleſi*, at the foot of the *Appennines*, for a bulwark againſt the *Florentines*; and at laſt completed the exchange of priſoners with the *Parmeſans* and the *Modeneſe*. They likewiſe ſent aſſiſtance to the *Breſcians* againſt *Entius*. Their open country being greatly expoſed, by the inhabitants taking refuge in the city, a law was paſſed, obliging all who had left it within the five years preceding, to return to their habitations, under pain of being deprived of all the privileges of a *Bologneſe* citizen; nor were they even ſuffered to remain in *Bologna*, or to enjoy any poſt of honour or profit there. A revolution, which at this time happened at *Parma*, now gave a great turn to the affairs of *Italy*.

Siege of Parma *by the emperor.*

Many of the *Parmeſans* had been *Guelphs*, and were expelled from their country by the imperial faction. The emperor, according to the *Parmeſan* chronicle[a], had ſeized the epiſcopal palace and tower, with all the biſhop's revenues, and none durſt preſent a bull or writing from the pope, under the penalty of loſing a hand and foot. *Entius* was, at this time, employed in beſieging a caſtle in the *Breſciano*; and *Frederick*, having finiſhed his affairs in *Naples*, had returned to *Turin*, where he aſſembled a council of all his friends, and was buſy in drawing up propoſitions for a peace with the pope. The *Parmeſan* exiles, who were at *Piacenza*, thought that to be a favourable opportunity to attempt a return to their country. They were headed by *Gerard de Corrigio*; but *Montelongo*, the pope's general, planned the conſpiracy, and furniſhed the exiles with arms and money. Aſſembling on a certain day at *Piacenza*, they ſet out in a body for *Parma*, but were oppoſed by *Henry de Teſta*, the imperial podeſta there, at the head of the *Gibelins*. The *Guelphs*, however, prevailed; and after killing *de Teſta*, with a number of his friends and followers, they entered *Parma*, from whence they expelled all the *Gibelin* faction, and choſe *Corrigio* their podeſta. As ſoon as this revolution came to the ears of the emperor and his ſon *Entius*, both of them haſtened to *Parma*, and encamped on different ſides of the city. *Montelongo* was equally alert; and after performing a very troubleſome march over the mountains, arrived at *Parma* with one thouſand choice ſoldiers. He was followed by count *St. Boniface*, who in his march deſtroyed the *Cremoneſe*; and at laſt the marquis of *Eſte* himſelf, with a body of *Ferrareſe*, arrived on the ſame account. In ſhort, all the military force of *Lombardy* repaired thither, either to defend or beſiege the city. Part of the *Guelphs*, however, were encamped without the walls; but ſtrongly entrenched, and poſted ſo as to interrupt the operations of the emperor againſt the city. The emperor was joined by *Boateri*, who was a ſtrong *Gibelin*, and by *Icilino a Romano*, with all the *Gibelins* of *Cremona*, *Reggio*, the *Bergamaſco*, and *Tuſcany*, with a great body of *Neapolitans* and *Sicilians*, ſo that the whole of his army amounted to ſixty thouſand men.

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[a] Chronica Parmenſe apud Murat. tom. ix. pag. 759.

Bazano *taken.*

WHILE thoſe mighty preparations were making on the ſide of *Parma*, the *Bologneſe* took that opportunity of renewing the war againſt the *Modeneſe*, the ſtrength of whoſe ſtate was in the imperial army before *Parma*. *Guido* the podeſta, and *James Lambertacci*, were the generals of the *Bologneſe*, who brought their ſtandard of ſtate to the field, and vigorouſly beſieged *Bazano*, which had ſo often proved fatal to their arms. On receiving this news, the *Modeneſe* who were in *Frederick*'s camp choſe *Icilino* for their general, and marched to the relief of *Bazano*; but found the *Bologneſe* ſo numerous, and ſo ſtrongly poſted, that they durſt not attack them, but encamped in the neighbourhood, in daily expectation of being reinforced by *Entius*. In the mean while, the ſiege went on with ſuch ſucceſs, that the garriſon, loſing all hopes of relief, propoſed to capitulate, and for that purpoſe they had a conference with the podeſta *Guido*; and the chief of the *Bologneſe*. The terms were ſoon ſettled. It was agreed, that the beſieged ſhould remain in poſſeſſion of all their effects, and have the liberty to ſettle either in the *Bologneſe* or the *Modeneſe*; and that if the capitulation was not approved of, the *Bologneſe* ſhould protect the garriſon. This capitulation being ſigned, it was ratified by the *Modeneſe* generals; and the *Bologneſe* entering the caſtle of *Bazano*, they burnt it down in ſight of *Icilino* and his army. Next day, the *Bologneſe* ſuddenly attacked their enemies; and after defeating them, they reduced ſeveral places in the *Modeneſe*, and returned home with a large booty, and in great triumph. The general and ſpecial councils being aſſembled, a full account of the campaign was laid before them; and the capitulation being ratified, it was entered into their archives, and an act made, that the podeſta and the people of *Bologna* ſhould, on every feſtival of *St. Iſaiah*, the day on which *Bazano* was ſurrendered, preſent forty wax tapers to his church.

Siege of Parma *continues;*

In the mean while, *Frederick* was furiouſly bent upon the reduction of *Parma*; and the chronicle of that city is filled with the cruelties he inflicted upon ſuch of the inhabitants as fell into his hands. Not only men but women were put to death, with exquiſite tortures, till at laſt the *Pavians* interceeded for the lives of thoſe who ſurvived; and their interceſſion procured ſome abatement of his cruelty. We are, however, to make great allowances in reading the repreſentations of the *Guelph* authors, with regard to this great prince; and perhaps the cruelty of their faction gave riſe to that of the *Gibelins*; for we learn, that the ſmalleſt intercourſe between any of the beſieged and the imperialiſts was puniſhed with death; and all who found means to introduce themſelves into the city, were immediately put to the ſword; and ſo great was the enthuſiaſm of the beſieged, that they gloried in the deaths of their party, as if the emperor had made ſo many martyrs. The *Bologneſe* did not fail to improve their late advantages; for though the ſeaſon was now far advanced, they again took the field, being joined by the *Ferrareſe* and the *Mantuans*; and after forcing an imperial poſt upon the *Po*, at *Brixello*, they marched to *Colorno*, from whence they threw a reinforcement of men, and great ſupplies of proviſion, into *Parma*, which now began to be greatly diſtreſſed by famine. Soon after, *Montelongo* forced his way through the imperialiſts, into the ſame city, and gave the citizens and inhabihabitants freſh ſpirits, by aſſuring them of a ſpeedy relief. Winter coming on, the imperialiſts made a furious aſſault upon the city, but were repulſed by *Boniface*; as was *Entius*, in an attempt he made upon *Colorno*, which was garriſoned by the *Bologneſe*. A few days after, the beſieged found means to turn the courſe of their river againſt the camp of the imperialiſts, who were obliged firſt to remove, and at laſt to abandon the ſiege for that year. In *December* the *Bologneſe* aſſigned *Sabiniano* to be inhabited by the *Guelphs* of the *Modena*, who had been expelled from that city.

IN the year 1248, *Boniface de Cario* of *Piacenza* was podeſta of *Bologna*. *Frederick* had not yet given over thoughts of taking *Parma*, and had his head-quarters at *Victoria*; a city which he himſelf built, from whence he uſed ſometimes to make excurſions. *Montelongo* then commanded in *Parma*; and one day while *Frederick*, for the recovery of his health, was taking the diverſion of hawking, *Montelongo* ſurpriſed *Victoria*, put the garriſon which had been left in it to the ſword, and took a vaſt booty, in which was the imperial crown, the military cheſt, and all *Frederick*'s plate and rich furniture, together with the *Cremoneſe* ſtandard of ſtate; and afterwards, partly through wantonneſs, partly through reſentment, the victors ſet fire to the place. *Frederick*, by this time, returning from his diverſion, had aſſembled ſome troops, and attempted to recover the town; but he was repulſed with the loſs of almoſt all his men, and obliged to fly to *Cremona*.

That is raiſed.

THIS ſucceſs, by which the *Guelphs* made three thouſand of their enemies priſoners, and delivered all their own party from the chains of the *Gibelins*, inſpired the pope, who had been extremely active in ſupporting his party, with freſh courage. He had made *Octavian Ubaldini*, then biſhop of *Bologna*, a cardinal; and he ſent him to *Bologna*, to excite the inhabitants there to the continuance of the war, and to concert the military operations of the enſuing year. After mature deliberation it was agreed, that the *Bologneſe* ſhould firſt attempt to reduce all the towns and caſtles in the *Modeneſe* territory, and then march to recover thoſe which *Frederick* had taken from his holineſs in the *Romagna*. This heroic reſolution was dictated chiefly by the hopes of renown which they were to acquire, by being the deliverers and protectors of the church. They were, perhaps, likewiſe influenced by the bad ſtate of the emperor's affairs in *Lombardy*. Be that as it will, it is certain, that the affairs of the *Bologneſe* were, at this time, in a very proſperous condition; and their podeſta, in the beginning of *May* this year, marched againſt the *Mode-*

Biſhop of Bologna *created a cardinal.*

Succeſs of the Bologneſe,

neſe with a very fine army. His firſt acquiſition was the rich abbey and territory of *Nouantola*, which ſubmitted to him. He then reduced *Panſani* and *San Ceſario*, and demoliſhed them by the advice of cardinal *Octavian*. He then paſſed the *Scultemna*, and triumphantly entered the *Romagna*, where he reduced *Dulci* and *Foligni*, and then marched againſt *Imola*; the inhabitants of which, being in no condition to reſiſt, propoſed an accommodation, which was granted them on the following terms; "that the *Imoleſe* ſhould be at peace with the *Bologneſe*, and ſurrender to them their city, which the *Bologneſe* were to preſerve as long as the *Imoleſe* continued in their obedience to the holy ſee." The reader is to obſerve, that during this expedition, and probably in former ones, a committee of councils and magiſtrates of *Bologna* attended the army, with full powers to act for the whole, becauſe no capitulation or agreement was valid till ratified by them. On this occaſion, therefore, a general and ſpecial council with the attending magiſtrates, were ſummoned in the camp, where the articles that had been ſworn to by the podeſta were confirmed. From *Imola* the *Bologneſe* army marched to *Faenza*, *Bagnacavalli*, *Forim Popoli*, and *Forli*, and obliged the inhabitants of all thoſe cities to take an oath of obedience to the church, and the city of *Bologna*; a proof that, notwithſtanding their zeal for the pope, they durſt not loſe ſight of either their own importance or intereſt. They even obliged all thoſe, and many other places, to accept of *Bologneſe* podeſtas, governors, and garriſons. They then marched towards the ſea-coaſt againſt *Cervia*, a place famous for its ſalt-works. The *Cervians* were obliged to ſubmit, as the other cities had done, and conſented, not only to furniſh the *Bologneſe* with ſalt for ten years, at a certain price, but to diſpoſe of none to any other ſtate or people. In ſhort, during this campaign, the *Bologneſe* reduced all the *Romagna*; and though [a] the particular capitulations they made with each city are not now extant in their records, yet there can be no doubt as to the fact; becauſe an ancient law, ſtill in force in that city, commands the *Imoleſe* "to perform their engagements with their neighbours, in the ſame manner they uſed to perform them before the *Bologneſe* reduced the *Romagna*, in the podeſtate of *Boniface*." About the middle of *September*, *Boniface* being about to return with his army to *Bologna*, obliged the *Imoleſe* magiſtrates again to ſwear that they would fight for the *Bologneſe* againſt all their enemies, but eſpecially againſt the emperor *Frederick*.

who take Cervi.

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[a] Sigonius, pag. 118.

In the year 1249, *Philippo Ugo* was podeſta of *Bologna*, when a civil diſcord broke out between the two principal families, the *Briti* and the *Minduli*, which the podeſta was afraid might be of ſervice to the imperial intereſt. He therefore ordered the heads of both families to repair to *Bologna*, where he obliged them to ſwear, that they would obey his orders till the firſt of *January* enſuing; to find twenty good and ſufficient ſureties for the performance, and not to leave the city but by his permiſſion. A public act then paſſed, that *Medicina*, and two thirds of *Argellata*, ſhould from thenceforth be conſidered as part of the *Bologneſe* territory; that the inhabitants ſhould be ſubject to public duties, in the ſame manner as their other towns and caſtles; and that if they ſhould remove to *Bologna*, they ſhould not enjoy the privileges of the city, but be ranked with the inhabitants of the places they came from.

Frederick *goes to* Naples.

The affairs of the emperor in *Lombardy*, continued ſtill to wear a very bad aſpect. In the beginning of the year he attempted to rebuild *Victoria*, but was obliged again to abandon it, to the great joy of the *Parmeſans*. The pope, after the council of *Lions*, had offered the empire of *Germany* to ſeveral princes; but at laſt it was accepted of by *William*, count of *Holland*, whom almoſt half of *Germany* recognized. The emperor's intereſt, however, continued to be ſupported by his ſon the king of the *Romans*. The pope, according to moſt authors, ſought to deprive him of life, as well as empire; and for that purpoſe had bribed his chancellor, chief counſellor, and favourite *Peter de Vignes*, and his firſt phyſician, to poiſon him. But *Frederick* having the good fortune to detect the conſpiracy, put the phyſician to death, and ordered his chancellor's eyes to be put out; upon which he beat his brains out at *Piſa*, to prevent a more cruel death from the *Piſans*, who were his mortal enemies. The truth of this conſpiracy, however, is very queſtionable; and it is more probable, that *de Vignes* fell a ſacrifice to the intrigues of courtiers (A). Whatever may be in this, it is certain that his holineſs found means to oblige *Frederick* to leave *Lombardy* to the care of *Entius*, and to go to *Naples*. Cardinal *Octavian*, who was

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(A) The chronicle of *Francis Pipini*, an author of credit, who wrote ſoon after this time, and was himſelf a native of *Bologna*, takes no notice of this ſtory about the poiſoning, but ſeems to ſuppoſe, that *de Vignes* had been provoked to ſome infidelity againſt the emperor, by the latter's ſtripping him of his money; of which, as we have ſeen, *Frederick* ſtood in great need. Vide *Muratori*, tom. ix. p. 660.

an active agent for the pope, improved that opportunity for ſpiriting up the *Bologneſe* in favour of the holy ſee. By his perſuaſion, *Simon Manfredi*, whom the *Gibelins* had expelled from *Reggio*, ſurpriſed the caſtles of *Novo*, *Arola*, and *San Stefano*, lying within that territory; and aſſembling all the *Guelphs*, who had been baniſhed from thence, he put ſtrong garriſons into them all. *Entius*, upon this, laid ſiege to *Arola*, and having taken it, he hanged all the garriſon, by way of terror to the other *Guelphs*. Cardinal *Octavian* now redoubled his applications, to make the *Bologneſe* ſenſible, how favourable the opportunity was for irretrievably ruining the imperial intereſt in *Lombardy*. He repreſented both *Frederick* and *Entius* as weak and diſpirited, by repeated loſſes and diſgraces, and gained ſo much credit, that the *Bologneſe* reſolved to exert all their force againſt them. But they proceeded cautiouſly, by keeping their reſolution ſecret, and ſending private orders for aſſembling all their friends and dependents in the *Romagna*, and the marquiſate of *Ancona*. The fineſt army that *Bologna* had ever ſeen, was raiſed; and the ſtandard of ſtate was carried to the field, accompanied by cardinal *Octavian*, the whole being commanded by *Philip* the podeſta. The *Modeneſe* applied to *Entius* for relief; and he immediately aſſembled all the troops he could raiſe amongſt the *Pavians*, *Cremoneſe*, and the *Reggians*, with the *Ferrareſe*, and *Parmeſan Gibelins*, and his *German* ſoldiers, who compoſed the flower of his army. The diſpoſition of the *Bologneſe* troops ſufficiently indicated that they intended to attack *Modena* itſelf; and they might have been diſtreſſed in their march, had it not been for the backwardneſs of the *Gibelins* in joining *Entius*. Being arrived at *Modena*, he was in hopes that he might be able to diſpute the paſſage of the *Scultenna* with his enemies, and accordingly marched towards that river; but when he arrived at it, he found the *Bologneſe* had begun their paſſage at a place called the *Deep ditch*, where, ſtung with rage and diſappointment, he immediately attacked his enemy on the 23d of *May*. The battle continued with various ſucceſs for about twelve hours; but, at laſt, the *Modeneſe* were entirely defeated, only a few of them eſcaping to the wood, and back to their capital, which was about three miles diſtant from the place of action. This victory of the *Bologneſe* was the more illuſtrious by the capture of *Entius* himſelf, and *Boſo Douaria*, governor of *Cremona*. *Guido*, governor of *Reggio*, in endeavouring to eſcape, was ſuffocated in a common ſewer. *Gerardo Pio* and *Thomaſini Gorſano*, the heads of the *Modeneſe* nobility, were made priſoners near their capital, together with a great num-

King Entius *defeated and taken by the* Bologneſe, ber both of cavalry and infantry; ſo that, upon the whole, this victory of the *Bologneſe* was the moſt complete of any that had been obtained during the courſe of that long and bloody war.

who return home,

THE cardinal and podeſta of *Bologna* judged it adviſeable, as their ſoldiers were loaded with booty, and encumbered with priſoners, to return to *Bologna*, which they entered with all the pomp of an ancient triumph, attended by pageants and captives. The nobleſt object, however, was the perſon of *Entius* himſelf, who was not above twenty-five years of age, but exceeding in tallneſs and gracefulneſs of figure all his cotemporaries; ſo that his fate drew tears from the ſoldiers as he paſſed along. The captives were thrown into priſon, and a law was enacted, that *Entius* ſhould never be ſet free, but be maintained, during his life-time, at the public charge. It was decreed at the ſame time, that as this ſignal victory was obtained on *St. Auſtin*'s day, that the *Auguſtine* nuns, who lived without the gates of *Ravenna*, ſhould receive for ever on that day one hundred meaſures of corn.

and take Modena *by capitulation,*

THE rejoicings for this victory being finiſhed, the *Bologneſe* turned their thoughts towards the conqueſt of *Modena* itſelf, which now appeared practicable. For this purpoſe, cardinal *Octavian* and the magiſtrates ſecretly engaged the *Parmeſans* to attack *Reggio*, while they beſieged *Modena*, that the one city might not be able to afford any aſſiſtance to the other. Accordingly, in the beginning of *September*, both cities were beſieged. The *Bologneſe* were joined by the *Modeneſe* exiles; and their army, which was very numerous, was well provided with all neceſſaries for a ſiege, particularly a large train of battering engines; ſo that they ſoon obliged the *Modeneſe* to ſhut themſelves up within their walls, which they prepared to defend to the laſt extremity. The *Bologneſe* not being very expert in the art of beſieging towns, tried all means to provoke their enemies to give them battle, by treating them with ſcoffs and opprobrious language; burning their ſuburbs, and, by the help of their engines, throwing the carcaſſes of dead animals into their city, particularly that of an aſs, which fell into one of the principal wells of the city. This indignity exaſperated the beſieged ſo much, that they could be no longer contained within their walls; but made a ſally, in which they took the engine which had diſcharged the carcaſs of the aſs, and carried it in triumph into the city. The *Bologneſe* then had recourſe to mining, by which the beſieged were ſo much diſtreſſed, that they were obliged to liſten to the terms offered to them by the cardinal and the podeſta of *Bologna*. Proper deputies being named on both ſides, about the middle of *September* the capitulation was ſettled, in the following manner, at the town-houſe of *Modena*:

“ THAT there ſhould be a perpetual league and friendſhip between the communities of *Modena* and *Bologna*; that they ſhould, for ever, have the ſame friends and enemies; that the *Modeneſe* ſhould, in peace and war, aſſiſt cardinal *Octavian*, the pope's legate, againſt all perſons; that they ſhould make no alliance with any other people, without conſent of the ſaid cardinal, if preſent, or the podeſta of *Bologna* for the time being, and the *Antiani* of the people, and the conſuls of merchants and ſilverſmiths for the time being, and the community of *Bologna*. All the places deſtroyed on the other ſide the *Scultemna*, were to remain demoliſhed for ever; and even the places undemoliſhed, were to be demoliſhed if the *Bologneſe* ſhould think proper. The inhabitants were allowed to rebuild their dwelling-houſes, but not upon ſpots where caſtles had formerly ſtood. If *Frederick*, the depoſed emperor, or any other for him, within the territory of *Reggio* and *Modena*, ſhould attempt to regain *Modena*, then ſuch a number of *Modeneſe* as the cardinal, the podeſta, and the other magiſtrates of *Bologna*, ſhall think proper, ſhall, at the expence of the community of *Modena*, repair to *Bologna*, or its territory, there to remain eight days after ſuch an attempt ſhall be made. The community of *Modena* ſhall reſtore to ſuch as were citizens of *Bazano*, at the time that place ſurrendered to the *Bologneſe*, all their eſtates: the *Modeneſe* ſhall likewiſe ſuffer a canal of water to be carried through their territory to the *Scultemna*, and mills to be built upon the ſame. The *Modeneſe Guelphs*, who reſide within or without the city, were to chooſe ſuch a podeſta from amongſt the *Bologneſe*, as ſhould be recommended to them by the cardinal, the podeſta, the *Antiani*, and the conſuls of *Bologna*; or thoſe within the city were to chooſe one, and thoſe without it another; or the cardinal, and others of the *Bologneſe* magiſtrates were to name one or two conſuls, as they thought proper, for the government of *Modena*. Thoſe governors of the city, caſtles, and poſts, who ſhould be ſent to the *Modeneſe* by the cardinal and other magiſtrates of *Bologna*, were to be maintained at the expence of the community of *Modena*; and the ſaid caſtles and poſts might be at any time viſited by the cardinal and magiſtrates of *Bologna*, and receive ſuch governors, as ſhould be by them appointed. The *Modeneſe Guelphs* were to be reſtored to their country and eſtates. A reconciliation was to be effected between them and the *Graſulfori*, or the *Gibelins*, upon ſuch terms as the cardinal and the magiſtrates of *Bologna* ſhould preſcribe. On the other hand, the community of *Bologna* were to be at peace with that of *Modena*, and with the *Mo-*

deneſe Gibelins, for ever, and to defend them againſt all other perſons, but with a ſalvo to the *Longobardic* league. Both parties were to be maintained in the city; and if the one ſhould expel the other, the latter was to be reſtored by the *Bologneſe*, who were to puniſh the tranſgreſſors. The *Modeneſe* were to have the rights of gathering the fruits of their lands beyond the *Scultenna*, in the ſame manner as formerly. The *Modeneſe* were to have the ſame ſuperiority over *Nouantola*, as they had before that place came under the juriſdiction of the *Bologneſe*; but they were not to moleſt the inhabitants of *Nouantola* for their revolt. The *Bologneſe* were to do their endeavours, that the *Modeneſe* ſhould not be diſturbed in the enjoyment of their tithes, fees, and improvements of ground, of which they were debarred by the pope's bull, for their adherence to *Frederick*. All the eccleſiaſtical eſtates which they had loſt by the papal bulls, were to be reſtored to the *Modeneſe* clergy. All the *Ferrareſe* captives, who had been taken in the late battle, or during the ſiege, were to be ſet at liberty without ranſom, as were all the *Bologneſe* priſoners; and the *Modeneſe* captives were, in like manner, to be ſet free. The peace was to be ratified by the community and people of *Parma*, *Milan*, the other *Longobardic* ſtates and cities, and, laſtly, by the pope himſelf."

which is ratified.

THE peace being thus concluded by the plenipotentiaries on both ſides, it was ſolemnly confirmed by their publickly embracing one another. The diſpute concerning the property of *Frignano*, which both ſtates claimed, remained ſtill to be adjuſted, which it was by the interpoſition of the *Parmeſans*, who favoured the *Modeneſe*. They propoſed, that *Seſtola* ſhould be given up to the *Bologneſe*, but that the other places of *Frignano* ſhould remain with the *Modeneſe*; and that if any diſpute ſhould hereafter happen on that account, the ſame ſhould be referred to an umpire, who was to be choſen by the pope. About the middle of *December*, the agents of *Bologna* and *Modena*, in the preſence of cardinal *Octavian* and the biſhop of *Bologna*, promiſed, under a certain penalty, to ſubmit to *San Vitelli*, the deputy of *Parma*, and the ſyndics of the ſame city, all the diſpute between the *Bologneſe* and the *Modeneſe*, concerning the poſſeſſion of *Frignano*; and this agreement was, within two days, ratified by the common council of *Modena*, which ſoon after was freed from the interdict that had been laid upon it by his holineſs.

Revolutions in Italy.

THE family of *Manfredi*, about this time, ſurprized *Faenza*, through the negligence of the *Bologneſe* within, who were puniſhed accordingly; but the *Bologneſe* perſiſted obſtinately in their oppoſition to the emperor; for when *Frederick* heard of his ſon's captivity, he wrote a letter, filled with menaces againſt the *Bologneſe*, if they did not inſtantly ſet him at liberty. They treated his threatnings with great contempt, and they ſerved to render the unhappy prince's fate ſtill more deplorable, by his being more ſtrictly confined than before. In the year 1250, *Ricardo* was podeſta of *Bologna*, and cardinal *Octavian*, who ſeems then to have had great ſway in the direction of public affairs, was very active in extinguiſhing the remains of family diſſentions amongſt the citizens. The people of *Parma* had, for ſome years, been ſo much diſtreſſed by famine, that their city loſt a vaſt number of its inhabitants, who were forced to ſettle elſewhere: but it was now generouſly relieved by the *Bologneſe*; for though it was on all ſides beſet with *Gibelin* enemies, who waited to intercept all their convoys of proviſions, yet the *Bologneſe* not only purchaſed for their uſe a large quantity of corn, but eſcorted it to their territory with their own army, and delivered it to that of the *Parmeſans*, which waited to receive it. In the mean time the *Reggians* burnt the ſuburbs of *Nuova*, and took *Campagniola*, carrying off with them a number of priſoners, and a great booty in cattle. About the ſame time *Ugo San Vitelli* ſurprized *Carpi*, a town belonging to the *Modeneſe*, on the canal of the *Secchia*, by the favour of the archbiſhop. Upon this the *Modeneſe* declared war, and obliged the *Carpians* to expel *Ugo*, and both parties within the place to renew their oath of allegiance.

Death of the emperor Frerick.

THE emperor *Frederick* remained ſtill in *Naples*, and, from threatenings, he now deſcended to intreaties and offers for the delivery of his ſon. It is even ſaid, that he offered for his ranſom a circle of gold that ſhould ſurround the city of *Bologna*. This ſtory, however, carries its own confutation with it: the offer itſelf was ridiculous, and the *Bologneſe*, who knew that emperor's neceſſities and want of money, muſt have treated the propoſal with contempt. It is certain, that the *Bologneſe* obſtinately refuſed to depart from their reſolution of never giving their royal priſoner his liberty; and that he died under his confinement twenty-two years after. *Frederick* is ſaid to have been buſied in making preparations for reſcuing his beloved ſon by force, when he died on the 13th of *December*, this year, in the fifty-ſeventh year of his age. In the year 1251, while *Boniface*, of *Breſcia*, was podeſta of *Bologna*, many excellent laws paſſed, to preſerve the inhabitants of the open country of *Bologna* in a due ſubordination, by inſtituting amongſt them new courts of juſtice, and appointing proper judges, who were to hold courts certain days in the year, eſpecially on thoſe of their annual fairs.

Complaints of the Modeneſe.

We have, in the hiſtory of *Florence*, treated of the general revolutions which happened in *Italy*, after the death of *Frederick* II. Pope *Innocent*, who had for ſome years reſided at *Lions*, under the protection of the *French* king, who revered his character, while he condemned his ambition, no ſooner heard of that great event, than he came to *Genoa*, where he was waited upon by deputations from all the cities of the *Longobardic* league; and, amongſt the reſt, by thoſe of *Modena*, who not only ſent their deputies, but their *Bologneſe* podeſta *Andali*, to pay him their compliments. It ſoon appeared that their real buſineſs was to complain of the *Bologneſe* ſtill keeping poſſeſſion of part of the province of *Frignano*; and in an audience they had of the pope on the 15th of *June*, they requeſted of his holineſs to do them juſtice in that matter, by injoining the deputies of *Frignano*, who were then preſent, to return to their ancient allegiance. The pope returned no anſwer to their complaints, but proceeded to *Milan*, where he took meaſures for ſtrengthening the league. From thence he went to *Mantua*, and then to *Ferrara*, where he made a ſolemn harangue to the people, in which he claimed that city as his own property, and exhorted the citizens to unanimity. From *Ferrara* he went to *Bologna*, where he was met without the gates by a ſolemn proceſſion of the magiſtrates and citizens, preceded by their ſtandard of ſtate, and followed by great numbers of the other inhabitants. His holineſs took up his lodging in the epiſcopal palace, and his cardinals reſided in the houſes of the *Prendiparte* and the *Rangone*. Next day he beſtowed the ſignal honour on the city of *Bologna*, of conſecrating two new-built churches, one belonging to the *Dominicans*, or preaching friars, the other to the *Franciſcans*, or minor friars. Thoſe orders, though but lately inſtituted, were of ſignal ſervice to the holy ſee, and are juſtly termed its militia. Though both the founders and the inſtitutions of them differed in their manners and doctrines, yet each vied with the other in their zeal for the ſervice of the popes, who politically winked at their differences, that they might increaſe their devotion to their ſee. After this conſecration, the two founders were choſen by the *Bologneſe* to be their tutelar ſaints, and their members were not only careſſed in private families, but had a great ſway with the magiſtrates themſelves, who privately conſulted with them upon their public meaſures.

The pope's proceedings in Bologna.

After eight days ſtay at *Bologna*, the pope having ordered *Boſo Dovaria*, of *Cremona*, to be delivered from priſon, left *Bologna* in ſome diſguſt with the citizens, who, preſuming on the merit of their ſervices done to the holy ſee, had garriſoned *Medicina*; and had given his holineſs to underſtand, that they expected he would confirm them in the poſſeſſion of it. Being arrived at *Perugia*, he wrote a lettter to the council and podeſta, deſiring that the friars penitents, a ſort of out-lying brothers, belonging to the two orders of the ſaints *Dominic* and *Francis*, and not confined within any abbey or religious houſe, ſhould be exempted from military labours, and all the duties of the field, which was accordingly enacted, upon their names being properly entered in the public regiſters. This year the *Bologneſe* preſented their podeſta *Boniface*, as a mark of their approbation of his conduct, with the freedom of their city; and he, and his family, accordingly fixed their reſidence at *Bologna*.

The Longobardic *confederacy renewed.*

IN the year 1252, while *Henry Morra* was podeſta, cardinal *Octavian*, the pope's legate, ſummoned at *Breſcia* a meeting of deputies from all the confederate ſtates in *Lombardy*, the *Romagna*, and all the other places of *Italy*, in the pope's intereſt, and *Henrigetto Caſtelli* and *Petrizolo Ocelletti*, attended on the part of the *Bologneſe*. The purpoſe of this meeting was to renew the confederacy, and the deputies accordingly ſwore to the ſame in expreſs terms. At the ſame time they agreed to a propoſal made by the legate, for raiſing ſix hundred men at arms, the expence to be proportionably defrayed by the ſtates and cities of the confederacy. The number to be raiſed by the *Bologneſe* amounted to ſixty men at arms; but every man at arms was a gentleman, and of thoſe ſixty, forty-three brought three well-mounted horſemen to the field, and each of the remaining ſeventeen brought two; ſo that the whole number of horſe which the *Bologneſe* were to maintain was two hundred and twenty-two, the expence of which amounted annually to four thouſand marks of *Bologna*. Thoſe horſe were to be under the direction of the pope's legate; and half of them were to be in continual ſervice on one ſide of the *Po*, and half on the other.

New regulations in Bologna.

ABOUT this time the *Benedictine* monks in the *Mantuan*, brought an action before his holineſs againſt the community of *Bologna*, for having demoliſhed the town of *San Ceſario*, the church of which they had received from *Innocent* II. but as this demolition was ordered by the pope's legate, and was then thought to be neceſſary for the affairs of the confederacy, the pope ordered the monks to drop the proſecution. About the 21ſt of *July* that ſame year, it was enacted by the council of *Bologna*, that a podeſta and a governor, to be choſen in the ſame manner as their ordinary magiſtrates were, ſhould be every ſix months ſent to *Caſtel Franco*. The method of that choice was, that three electors were choſen by lot out of the council, and thoſe three electors named the magiſtrates. The ſame precaution was taken with regard to *Imola*, and other places in the *Bologneſe*, with a view probably that thoſe magiſtrates ſhould not continue long enough in office to form cabals againſt the ſtate, and to ſhake off their dependency upon their conſtituents, as happened in moſt other parts of *Italy*. The city of *Milan*, at this time, was torn by domeſtick factions; and having depoſed all their magiſtrates, they choſe for their podeſta *Beno Gozani* of *Bologna*, as the *Sienneſe* did *Bagnolo*, another *Bologneſe*, for their general, and he ſerved them with great ſucceſs againſt the *Florentines*.

Examples of public juſtice.

IN the year 1253, during the podeſtates of *Petro Grilli*, who lived but three months in office, and *Allemanno Torriano*, a confederacy was formed between the *Bologneſe* and the people of *Ravenna*, which gave the *Bologneſe* great influence in that city; for they were made the guarantees of all its rights and territories, and admitted into all its immunities. Some of the towns having made intereſt with *Grilli* to be excuſed from public ſervices, the council of *Bologna* ordered that all ſuch diſpenſations ſhould thenceforth be void. This year was likewiſe remarkable for ſome eminent examples of public juſtice. *Raineri*, the gonfalonier, and *Peter Aſinelli*, a *Bologneſe* of great intereſt, being convicted of having ſuffered a *German* nobleman, who had been made priſoner along with *Entius*, to eſcape, the former was puniſhed by death, and the latter by exile, and the eſtates of both were confiſcated. One *Peter Sagino* about the ſame time confeſſed, that he had thrown his grandſon into a well, where he was drowned, and ſuffered death by being ſhut up within a veſſel ſtuck in the inſide with iron nails, which was rolled about in the ſtreets till he expired. In the year 1254, *Uberto Uzeni*, of *Milan*, being podeſta, a war broke out between the *Cervians* and the *Bologneſe*, upon the former refuſing to fulfil the ſalt contract they had entered into with the latter, to whom it was very beneficial. The *Bologneſe* having raiſed an army, the *Cervians* fled to the *Venetians* for protection, which was readily granted them, and an armament was ordered to be fitted out for that purpoſe. The *Bologneſe*, however, being firſt in the field, defeated all the intentions of the *Venetians*, and obliged the *Cervians* once more to ſubmit. The latter were now conſidered by the *Bologneſe* as a conquered country, and part of their own dominion, and they ſent a podeſta to govern them in the ſame manner as they did to their other towns. Great part of the year was ſpent in religious proceſſions; and a law paſſed, that the podeſta ſhould annually, attended by the council, ſolemnly preſent wax tapers in the chief churches of *Bologna.* Great ſums were likewiſe expended in repairing and rebuilding churches, and other religious edifices. The city of *Bologna*, at this time, exerciſed a right of ſuperiority over that of *Modena*, whoſe two conſuls diſagreeing between themſelves, this year reſigned their office. In the year 1255, while *Ricardo Villa* was podeſta, the government of *Bologna* underwent a material alteration, by admitting of a popular podeſta, who had the cognizance of all affairs relating to the commons, the power of the other podeſta being confined to the council or the nobles. Thus the government of *Bologna* was partly ariſtocratical, and partly democratical. This new officer was termed the captain of the people [d], though choſen by the authority of the council. The firſt nominated was *Giordano Lucio*. *Sigonius*, however, [b] is of opinion, that this office was only a renewal of that of the ancient popular prefect. The podeſta had juriſdiction over all the city, and preſided in the common councils; but the captain of the people had the command of the army, preſided in the councils of the people, and adminiſtered juſtice at the head of the *Antiani*, of whom he was, in fact, no other than the preſident.

Alteration in the Bologneſe *government.*

An arbitration concerning Frignano.

The affair of *Frignano* was ſtill in dependence between the *Modeneſe* and the *Bologneſe*, and, by conſent of both, at laſt it was referred to *Giberto de Gente*, the podeſta of *Parma*. About the 20th of *May* he ſent meſſengers to *Bologna*, to require the podeſta *Ricardo*, the *Antiani*, and the council, either to relinquiſh *Frignano* to the *Modeneſe*, or to ſend procurators to *Parma*, properly authorized, and there to ſtand the award of the podeſta. The *Bologneſe* did not chuſe to comply with this ſummons, and ſent agents to *Modena*, offering to compromiſe the matter without the intervention of the ſentence of a foreign tribunal. The *Modeneſe*, however, refuſed to hear any propoſal of that kind; upon which the *Bologneſe* ſent a deputation, to requeſt the podeſta of *Parma* to delay paſſing ſentence. This requeſt was judged to be nugatory; and the *Parmeſan* podeſta ſent a freſh ſummons, requiring *Ricardo* and the *Bologneſe* to appear before him by their procurators or proxies by a certain day, and to anſwer to the charge brought by the *Modeneſe*. Upon this, when the time was almoſt elapſed, *Ricardo*, and the council of *Bologna*, being afraid that judgment would go againſt them, commiſſioned *Bartolomeo Picciolpaſſi* to repair to *Modena*, and there to apply to the podeſtas and the council to revoke the arbitration, and to recal their proxies from *Parma*, that the matters in debate might be amicably terminated. He was likewiſe inſtructed, if this requeſt ſhould be denied, to inſiſt upon the *Modeneſe* demoliſhing their caſtles on the other ſide of the *Scultemna*, as had been agreed by treaty. He then was to go to *Parma*, and again to requeſt the podeſta and council there, to defer pronouncing ſentence, and to appoint a ſafe place for the *Bologneſe* deputies to appear in; which they did not conceive they could do at *Parma*, becauſe they were in danger of being intercepted by the *Reggians*. The procurator executed his commiſſion with the greateſt punctuality at *Modena*, by applying to the podeſta, the council of the *Antiani*, and the other tribunals there; but all was to no purpoſe. Next day he ſet out for *Parma*, where he applied to *Giberto* the podeſta, who told him that he muſt deliberate upon the matter; and, after various trifling adjournments, the *Modeneſe* inſiſting upon his pronouncing ſentence immediately. *Giberto* rejected the petition of the *Bologneſe* for adjourning the place; and told them, that there was no reaſon to be afraid of the *Reggians*. The deputy was confounded at this harſh treatment, and demanded, that the podeſta ſhould aſſemble a general and ſpecial council, which requeſt was flatly denied him. At laſt, about the middle of *Auguſt*, a general council only being convoked, the proxies of the two cities, *Bologna* and *Modena*, were ſummoned; and the *Modeneſe* only appearing, the podeſta pronounced the following ſentence: " We, *Giberto de Gente*, podeſta of *Parma*, arbiter between the community of *Bologna* and that of *Modena*, in the diſpute concerning *Frignano*, having duly obſerved the ſolemnities of law, pronounce, that *Frignano*, its inhabitants, towns, places, juriſdictions, belong to the community of *Modena*; and that, without the ſmalleſt exception, they ought to be given up by the community of *Bologna*. We likewiſe command the ſaid community of *Bologna* to evacuate the ſame within the ſpace of one month, otherwiſe they ſhall pay the penalty expreſſed in the compromiſe."

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[d] Capitaneus Populi. SIGONIUS, p. 125.

[b] SIGONIUS, ibid.

A. D.
1256.
Affairs of
Romagna.

ABOUT this time the *Manfredi* again got the upper hand at *Faenza*, and were commanded by the *Bologneſe* to fill up the ditches of their city. This they complied with; but on the 1ſt of *January*, 1256, *Manfredi Marengo* of *Aleſſandria* being podeſta of the council of *Bologna*, and *Giordano Lucino* captain of the people, the *Faventines* again broke out into tumults, which were headed by the counts *Azo* and *Rogerio*, in the town of *Bagnacavalli*. Upon this, *Giordano* ſummoned a council of the people, where it was debated, whether an army ſhould not immediately be ſent againſt the *Faventines*. This queſtion was carried in the negative; but the people bound themſelves by an oath to drive the *Faventines* from *Faenza*, unleſs they gave up that city, and *Bagnacavalli* likewiſe, to them that very month; and orders were given, in the mean while, to raiſe an army, which ſhould be ready to take the field in the ſpring, in caſe the *Faventines* ſhould continue to be refractory. This oath was ſworn, in the preſence of the people, by *Viviano*, their common cryer. That very day *Manfredi*, the podeſta, held a general and ſpecial council upon the ſame affair; and the queſtion being put, the members came to a reſolution to ſtand by a decree of the people, which was read in both aſſemblies. This reſolution being divulged, the *Bagnacavallians* were ſo daunted, that, on the 28th of *January*, they ſent a deputy to *Bologna* with a formal ſurrender of the town to the podeſta, and the captain of the people there. Upon this, the *Bologneſe* received *Bagnacavalli* into their protection and government, aſſigning it a podeſta and a garriſon, with free acceſs to the magiſtracy and council of *Bologna*, as often as they ſhould have occaſion to apply, either for their better government, or redreſs of their grievances. On the 1ſt of *February*, *Manfredi* again aſſembled a general and ſpecial council, which ratified all that had been done by the people in the affair of *Bagnacavalli*, ſo far as was conſiſtent with the laws of the ſtate, and the oath of the podeſta. In the ſame month, the captain of the people made his report of the manner of government of the *Bagnacavallians*. It was agreed, that twelve pieces of paper, diſtinguiſhed by a certain mark, ſhould be put into a balloting-box, with as many other pieces of paper as (including the twelve) there were members of the council, the *Antiani*, conſuls, and prefects; that every one of them ſhould draw a piece of paper, and they who drew the twelve marked pieces were to be the electors of the podeſta of *Bagnacavalli*; but the whole proceeding was to be under the controul of the general and ſpecial council of *Bologna*; but ſtill with a ſalvo to the laws of the ſtate.

Method of electing magiſtrates.

Letter of the Faventines *to the* Bologneſe.

In the mean while, the *Faventines*, being diſtracted with civil animoſities, on the 25th of *February* wrote the following letter to the magiſtracy of *Bologna*. “ To the podeſta, the “ captain of the people, the *Antiani*, the conſuls of the city “ of *Bologna*, the council and community of *Bologna*, *William* “ *Goſo*, the podeſta, and *Rainerio Liazari*, the captain of the “ people of *Faenza*, their council and community, wiſh “ public proſperity. Relying upon your power and wiſdom; “ and conſidering you as our lords, we fly to you, at a time “ when one part of our city rages for the deſtruction of the

“ other part, and ſeems prepared to reduce our ſtate to total “ deſtruction; begging of you, as being our fathers and maſters, to give us aſſiſtance, and to relieve the city of *Faenza*, “ which is your own. You may be aſſured, that we are fully “ intentioned to obey whatever you ſhall command, and we “ beg you to receive this city into your protection and ſubjection; which if you ſhall delay to do, we are utterly un-“ done.”

THIS very extraordinary letter created ſome difficulties in *Bologna*, and a demur was made about anſwering it; ſo that no army was directly ordered to march for *Faenza*. This gave an opportunity for the *Manfredi* to expel the *Acariſii* and the podeſta *Goſo* out of *Faenza*; while *Rogerio* made himſelf maſter of *Bagnacavalli*, by which it was ſecured to the *Bologneſe*. About the middle of *March*, *Odorico Abaluffi*, upon whom the election of the podeſtate of *Bagnacavalli* had fallen, received that town into the protection of the podeſta, and the general and ſpecial council of *Bologna*, together with a power of exerciſing juriſdiction there, equally as at *Bologna*, in public and private cauſes, and in commanding armies and expeditions, in the ſame manner as the community of *Bologna* did within their own territory.

complied with.

BONACURSIO, of *Milan*, ſucceeded *Giordano* as captain of the people of *Bologna*; and, during his podeſtate, on the 28th of *March*, an ambaſſador came from *Azo*, marquis of *Eſte*, demanding a great council to be called, which was accordingly very formally complied with. The ambaſſador, being introduced into it, made vaſt profeſſions of his maſter's affection towards the *Bologneſe*; but inſiſted upon ſome immediate reſolution being taken concerning *Faenza*, and that an ultimate ſettlement ſhould be made of that ſtate. This propoſition was far from being agreeable to the *Bologneſe*, who voted, not to depart from their ordinary forms of public proceeding; but to take the *Faventines* under their protection, if they ſhould voluntarily ſubmit themſelves, if it ſeemed proper to the general council, the *Antiani*, and the conſuls. This meſſage from the marquis of *Eſte* ſeems to have been deſigned to weaken the power of the nobility in *Bologna*, by taking from them the privilege of judging in the laſt reſort, by throwing the ſame into the ſcale of popular power. When the reſolution of the *Bologneſe* was known at *Faenza* and *Bagnacavalli*, the councils of both places appointed one *Beltali*, a lawyer, to be their procurator, for ſubmitting to *Bonacurſio* all complaints of injuries, breaches of the peace, loſſes, and damages between *Manfredi* and the community of *Faenza*, on the one part; and *Acariſio* and his party, on the other; and for delivering up the poſſeſſion of the city of *Faenza* to the ſaid captain of the people, who was to be lord thereof. The ſaid captain was likewiſe to take cognizance of all differences between the marquis of *Eſte* and *Manfredi*, and their friends, on the one part; and the counts *Rogerio* and *Acariſio*, and their party, on the other. In the beginning of *April*, a decree paſſed, that the captain of the people ſhould raiſe ſuch an army, and appoint ſuch officers as he pleaſed, for reducing the *Faventine* outlaws; and all thoſe meaſures were confirmed in the council of *Faenza*, as well as *Bologna*. *Bonacurſio* then ſet out for *Faenza*; but upon his journey he was met by two deputies from the *Faventine* outlaws, who intirely ſubmitted themſelves to his government, and that of the people and community of *Bologna*. The like ſubmiſſion was made by count *Rogerio*, on the part of the *Bagnacavallians*; and, on the 16th of *March*, *Bonacurſio* held a general council at *Faenza*, where it was voted, that he ſhould have the power of that city and ſtate transferred to him; and that he might inflict what penalties he pleaſed upon the ſubjects. This was ſtraining matters very far; and nothing but the moſt abject deſpair, through civil diſſention, could have brought the *Faventines* to ſubmit to it. *Bonacurſio* ſoon entered upon the exerciſe of his power, by enacting what laws, and proſcribing what perſons, he pleaſed; and appointed *Conrade* of *Sutri* to be the podeſta of *Faenza*. *Conrade*, on the 15th of *May*, repaired to *Bologna*, where he took an oath of fidelity, upon the ſtandard of ſtate, in the following words: "In honour of God and the "holy church, and the community of *Bologna*, I, *Conrade* of "*Sutri*, podeſta of *Faenza*, ſwear that I will govern the ſaid "city to the 1ſt of *March*, enſuing, with good faith, to the "honour and advantage of the community and people of "*Bologna* and *Faenza*, and according to the pleaſure of the "podeſta and captain of *Bologna*; and that I will obey their "orders." *Bonacurſio* then proceeded to ſettle the affairs in difference between the community of *Faenza* and *Goſo*, their late podeſta; and pronounced, that the community of *Faenza* ſhould pay him, by way of indemnification, ſixteen hundred marks of *Ravenna*.

Proſperity of Bologna.

New regulations there.

THE *Bologneſe* now began to think themſelves the umpires of all their neighbours; and ſome differences happening between the people of *Forli* and *Forim Popoli*, the podeſta and captain of *Bologna* ſummoned the podeſtas of both thoſe cities to appear before them, and to make up all their differences, without farther breach of the public peace. Both parties ſubmitted

this demand, and named procurators, who were to abide
e deciſion of the people and magiſtracy of *Bologna*, and
were to take an oath for that purpoſe. The procurators
arrived at *Bologna*, they ſwore upon the ſtandard of ſtate,
e names of their cities, that they would be obedient to
ver award the *Bologneſe* ſhould decree, under the penalty
y marks of ſilver. About the end of *Auguſt*, ſentence
pronounced by *Manfredi* the podeſta of *Bologna*, and
urſio the captain of the people, in their own names, and
f the other magiſtrates, that the city of *Forli* ſhould be
ce within itſelf; and that, if one party ſhould invade the
, the aggreſſor ſhould make good all damages that ſhould
arded by the community of *Bologna*; and that the com-
ty of *Forli* ſhould make no war but by conſent of the
nunity of *Bologna*. It was likewiſe agreed, that the
le of *Bologna* ſhould have free acceſs to and commerce
the citizens of *Forli*; that they were to have the ſame
ds and enemies; but the *Forlivians*, in all reſpects, were
obedient to the *Bologneſe*, and to receive every year a
ta and a captain from *Bologna*; and that the ſaid law
d not be altered in the ſmalleſt reſpect, without the con-
f the people of *Bologna*.

The ſlaves manumitted.

HE ſame agreement was made with the *Forim Popolians*;
law paſſed, that the treaties which had been concluded
the *Imoleſe*, the *Faventines*, the *Forlivians*, the *Forim Po-
ns*, and the *Cervians*, ſhould every year be faithfully in-
ed, and entered into the public regiſters. The law
h had been made in other *Italian* ſtates, giving peaſants
iberty of the city, had ſo good an effect, that *Bonacurſio*,
odeſta, was this year encouraged to propoſe another of
ſame kind. He accordingly, about the 24th of *June*,
noned together the *Antiani*, the conſuls, the maſters of
nd arms, with all the members both of the great and
eſſer council; and made a motion, that all the men and
en ſlaves (they ſeem to be in a ſtation ſomewhat reſem-
that of the ancient *Engliſh* villainage) might repair to
community and people of *Bologna*, ſo that they might be
inhabitants both of the city and the country. This mo-
being agreed to, another was made, and carried, that
perſon who had men or women ſlaves ſhould bring them
e the podeſta and captain of the people, who were to
the option of purchaſing them. It was farther enacted,
the price to be paid for each, ſhould be ſettled by thoſe
magiſtrates; and that every man or woman ſlave, ſo pur-
d, ſhould be enrolled in the tribe of the *Fumanti*. This
matter

matter being agreed on, another general council was ſummoned on the 23d of *Auguſt*, where the podeſta and the captain declared, that the price to be paid for all ſlaves, at or above the age of fourteen, ſhould be ten marks each, and eight marks for thoſe who were under that age; that the ſaid money ſhould be paid to their maſters at three different payments; that the ſlaves, thus freed, ſhould be enrolled as above, and ſubject to public duties, as free citizens. *Sigonius* acquaints us, that in his time the names of all ſlaves, thus enrolled, were ſtill to be read in the public regiſters. Though this muſt be acknowledged to have been a very public-ſpirited meaſure, and muſt have greatly added to the ſtrength of the ſtate; yet it was a ſevere blow upon the nobility, and could not fail of laying the land-holders under great difficulties: add to this, that ſome of the free peaſants had reaſon for complaining, that they had been obliged to purchaſe with money the ſame privileges that their ſlaves had received for nothing.

The Bolognese *threatened by the pope.*

THE arbitration that had been pronounced by *Giberto*, podeſta of *Parma*, againſt the *Bologneſe* in the affair of *Frignano*, had never yet been executed by them; and the *Modeneſe*, at this time, plied the pope with daily ſolicitations that he would confirm the award. His holineſs, therefore, iſſued his bull, directed to the biſhop of *Mantua*, acquainting him of the complaint of the podeſta and community of *Modena*, together with the contumacy of the *Bologneſe*; and requiring him, that, without further appeal, he ſhould compel the *Bologneſe* to fulfil the terms of the award, under the penalty expreſſed in the agreement; but that he ſhould not lay the univerſity of *Bologna* under any eccleſiaſtical cenſure, without an expreſs order from him for that purpoſe. This year the Friars Penitent, which now began to make a conſiderable figure, were received and entertained in *Bologna*; and the magiſtrates and people there ſhewed themſelves very generous in relieving the wants of the *Florentines*, the *Lucqueſe*, and other *Tuſcan* ſtates, which were preſſed with famine.

The regulations ratified.

IN the year 1267, *Bonacurſio* of *Sutri* was podeſta, and *Gregorio Freddo* captain of the people. In a ſpecial general council held in *March*, the affair between the *Bologneſe* and *Bagnacavallians*, concerning their reciprocal indemnification, and the ſubjection of the latter to the former was reſumed, and *Bonacurſio* pronounced ſentence, that each people ſhould thenceforth conſult the good and the intereſt of the other; that they ſhould have the ſame friends and enemies; that the *Bagnacavallians* ſhould have in readineſs the arms and horſes they were to furniſh as long as the *Bologneſe* ſhould think proper; that they were not to open their ditches without conſent of the people of *Bologna*; that they were to have a free trade every where, but that they ſhould not diſpoſe of their corn to any but to the *Bologneſe*. In *June* this year, a public law paſſed, which appears to be not a little arbitrary with regard to the peaſants who had purchaſed their freedom, and which obliged them to furniſh the public every year with a certain quantity of corn. Podeſtas were, at the ſame time, appointed for receiving this tax; and they were named podeſtas of the ſack. This law, with others enacted at the ſame time, were ſolemnly promulgated in a council of the people regularly ſummoned.

NOTWITHSTANDING the pope's bull, directed to the biſhop of *Mantua*, the *Modeneſe* had as yet received no ſatisfaction in the matter of *Frignano*. For this reaſon they applied to the ſtates of the *Longobardic* league; and they intereſted themſelves ſo far in their favour, that the *Milaneſe*, the *Breſcians*, the *Mantuans*, the *Ferrareſe*, the *Parmeſans*, and the *Reggians*, named their deputies, who attended the podeſta and deputies of *Modena* to *Bologna*. They had their audience in a general council; but though the ſuit of the *Modeneſe* was there very ſtrongly preſſed, they could obtain no ſatisfactory anſwer. This year the *Bologneſe* completed ſeveral noble public works. They built a magnificent bridge over the *Reno*, near the ancient *Æmilian* way, and appropriated a large eſtate for keeping it in repair. The ſuburbs of the city being now very ſpacious, the walls and gates of the ancient city were taken down, and all was incloſed within one wall. The *Bologneſe* were, at this time, in ſuch high reputation, that the cities of *Genoa*, *Milan*, *Perugia*, and *Modena*, choſe their podeſtas out of *Bologna*. *Alberto Mulavolta* was the podeſta of *Genoa*; but ſoon after entering on his magiſtracy he reſigned it, becauſe the popular faction at *Genoa* impoſed upon him a colleague, a native of their own ſtate. *Reno Gozano* was podeſta of *Milan*; but was publicly put to death, for not being able to give a ſatisfactory account of the public money.

Public works completed;

THIS year the *Imoleſe* fell off from their friendſhip with the *Bologneſe*, and ſeized upon *Monte Catino* by ſurprize; but the *Bologneſe* ſoon retook it by force of arms. Some difficulties remained with regard to the late regulations, which *Alberto* the biſhop of *Bologna* at firſt refuſed to ratify; but at laſt he was perſuaded to do it, with a ſalvo to his epiſcopal right, and thoſe of his churches. *Sigonius* is of opinion, that the affairs of the *Bologneſe* were now in ſo flouriſhing a way, that the two famous horſe races, which are ſtill continued at *Bo-*

and races inſtituted.

logna, were inſtituted about this time; the firſt being
brated on the feſtival of *St. Peter*, the other on that
Bartholomew: the victor in the former was rewarded
ſcarlet robe; and in the other, by a palfrey and a hawk.
this period the hiſtory of *Bologna*, by *Sigonius*, concl
and it has from henceforth little or nothing that doe
fall within the hiſtory of the other *Italian* ſtates.

WE ſhall, however, for the ſake of order, endeavo
give the reader a general idea of it. The differences bet
the *Lambertazzi* and the *Jeremies* raged to ſuch a degr
Bologna, that no fewer than fifteen thouſand of the f
were driven out of the city. This diminution of inhabi
with the civil diſſentions that reigned amongſt the prev
party itſelf, reduced the *Bologneſe* ſo low, that, in the
1324, they applied to pope *John* XXII. for protection
relief. His holineſs ſent them a cardinal legate, who b
them with the citadel of *Galeria*, and exerciſed the mo
human cruelties upon them, by murdering or baniſhir
who were not in his intereſt; ſo that, in the year 1334
Bologneſe drove him out of their city, and reſumed thei
cient form of government. Being apprehenſive, howev
the legate's return, they choſe *Taddeo Pepoli* for their g
nor; and he obtained a confirmation of his power from
dict XII. who was ſatisfied with that recognition of his
reignty. *Pepoli* held his power for about twelve years,
left it to his two ſons, *John* and *James*, who, not poſſ
their father's abilities, ſold their government to *John Vi*
archbiſhop of *Milan*, who built a new citadel, in whic
placed one *John* of *Oliggio* as its governor. This *O*
proved a cruel tyrant; and, about the year 1360, the *B*
neſe returned to the ſubjection of *Egidio Carillo*, legate to
Innocent VI. This prelate ruled with great moderation
he was ſucceeded by another legate, who proved a tyrant
alienated the *Bologneſe* territory, ſo as to reduce it to leſs
one half of its original revenue. The *Bologneſe*, tired
his government, again revolted, and put themſelves un
gonfalonier, ſixteen antiani, and twelve tribunes. At
ſame time they fortified their city, and recovered the
and poſſeſſions they had loſt; but, in proceſs of time, the
under the power of *Bentivoglio*, who is ſaid to have b
deſcendant of king *Encio*, who died in the priſon of *Bo*
Upon his being murdered, two years after, the citadel
again demoliſhed; and *Galeazzo Viſconti* claimed the poſſe
of *Bologna*, in right of the grant which had been mac
the archbiſhop. They ſoon grew tired of his government,
they again put themſelves under the protection of the p

Innocent VII. named the famous *Balthazar Coſſa*, who was himſelf afterwards pope *John* XXIII. legate of *Bologna*, and he immediately rebuilt the citadel of *Galeria*. Six years after, this legate likewiſe was driven out, the citadel was again demoliſhed, and the people inſtituted a new form of government, from which the nobles were excluded. In the year 1412, the nobles again prevailed; and pope *John* XXIII. arriving at *Bologna*, perſuaded the *Bologneſe* to return to his allegiance. Next year the exiles, who had been driven out under the late revolutions, diſplaced the pope's governor, and again demoliſhed the citadel; but, about the year 1420, they ſubjected themſelves to *Martin* V. upon condition that the citadel never ſhould be rebuilt, and that the people ſhould have the choice of their own magiſtrates. *Martin*, who was a pontiff of great ſpirit, diſliked thoſe conditions; and his legate drove ſix ſcore of the principal inhabitants out of *Bologna*, amongſt whom was *Antonio Galeazzo Bentivoglio*. Thoſe exiles, however, at laſt prevailed againſt the legate, impriſoned him, and choſe a new ſet of magiſtrates. Upon reflection, it was found that the papal government was preferable to any other; and in the year 1429 they received a new legate, who did not continue long in office. In the year 1434, pope *Eugene* IV. ſent them for their legate his nephew, *Marc Condulmiere*, who took ſo great ſtate upon him, that he treated with *Gattamala Malateſta* to introduce foreign troops, and to make himſelf ſovereign. His deſign was ſuſpected by the *Bologneſe*, and he was expelled the city; ſo that they once more returned to their former government. *Eugene*, however, in the year 1437, reduced them to their duty; but his legates behaved ſo ill, that the *Bologneſe* put themſelves under the protection of the famous *Nicholas Picinino*. He likewiſe, aſpiring to ſovereign power, rebuilt the odious citadel, changed the magiſtracy, and, partly by force, partly through perſuaſion, he had almoſt made himſelf abſolute; when the people, reſuming their ſpirit, drew *Annibal Bentivoglio*, whoſe father had been put to death by one of the legates, out of priſon, and put in his place *Francis Picinino*, the ſon of *Nicholas*, who had been left by his father to govern them. Again the citadel was demoliſhed; but *Bentivoglio* was himſelf murdered in 1445. The reader, in the hiſtory of *Florence*, will ſee the ſurpriſing revolution which happened after his death.

In the year 1507, that warlike pontiff, *Julius* II. drove the *Bentivoglio* out of *Bologna*, and eſtabliſhed a new form of government under his own and forty hereditary ſenators, and the citadel was again rebuilt. The *Bologneſe* could n endure the ſight of that hated monument of their ſubjectio and they recalled the *Bentivcglio* family in the year 1511, wh put themſelves under the protection of *Lewis* XII. of *Franc* but his party declining in *Italy*, the *Bentivoglios* were oblig to retire from *Bologna*.

In the year 1515, pope *Leo* X. re-eſtabliſhed the cou cil of forty ſenators, and renewed the government of the l gate. Ever ſince that time the *Bologneſe* are to be conſider as part of the pope's dominions; but they have the vani ſtill to boaſt of ſome remains of their ancient liberty, par cularly the privilege of not being bridled with a citadel.

END of the HISTORY *of* BOLOGNA.

The HISTORY of PARMA and PIACENZA, or PLACENTIA.

SECT. I.

Containing the general Deſcription of Parma *and* Piacenza; *with the Hiſtory of the ſame from the Year* 1038 *to* 1309.

Deſcription of Parma *and* Piacenza.

THOSE duchies have been always united. Towards the North and Weſt they border upon the *Milaneſe*; towards the South, on the territories of *Genoa*; and Eaſtward, on the duchy of *Modena*. The extent of both is but ſmall, being from Weſt to Eaſt no more than about fifty-ſix *Engliſh* miles in extant, and about forty-four from North to South. The ſoil of both duchies is extremely fertile. The paſtures and cattle are fine. Salt works and minerals every where abound; and in ſome places, particularly towards the *Apennines*, or Highlands, mines of copper and iron have been diſcovered. The revenues of the two duchies amount to about one hundred thouſand pounds ſterling a year. *Parma* itſelf is a large and well peopled city, and divided by a river of the ſame name. Its citadel is ſtrong, though the city itſelf is weak. The ducal palace ſtands on the ſouth ſide of the river, and has a communication by a bridge with the citadel. The greateſt curioſity in *Parma* at preſent is its noble playhouſe, which is built in the form of a *Roman* amphitheatre. Its churches are ſpacious, and arched; and it has an univerſity, together with an academy for the nobility, under the direction of the Jeſuits. Its chief manufactures conſiſt of ſilk, which is fabricated into ſtockings; and the dukedom of *Parma* is famous for containing *Caſtello Guelfo*, which lies on the river *Taro*, and is ſaid to have given name to the party of the *Guelphs*.

THE city of *Piacenza*, or *Placentia*, diſputes with *Parma* itſelf the pre-eminence in point of rank. It is moſt delightfully ſituated near the *Po*; and the church of the *Auguſtines* in it, is of the architecture of the famous *Vignola*. Both cities contain within them a great number of other curioſities; and each has ſeveral towns dependent on itſelf.

Their hiſtory.

THE cities of *Parma* and *Placentia*, ſo far as we can trace hiſtory, formed part of the *Roman* empire; and its modern

hiſtory commences from the year 1038, when it was b
down by *Conrade*, a *Longobardic* prince. The like cala
befel it about the year 1055. Nothing remarkable is
corded of *Parma* for ſeveral years after; but according t
chronicle, it ſuffered many viciſſitudes of earthquakes
other public calamities; and in the year 1121, the peopl
Parma defeated thoſe of *Cremona*, and made one thou
three hundred of them priſoners. Soon after they had a
with the *Placentines*, whom they defeated; and in the
1152, they invaded and ſubdued the *Reggians*; as next
they did the *Cremoneſe* and *Placentines*, and took their ſtr
fortreſs of *Guaſtalla*. In 1167, the *Placentines*, *Cremon*
Breſcians, and *Mantuans* were confederated againſt *Par*
but were defeated; and for ſome years after *Parma* and
centia followed the fate of the other cities of *Italy*, as
popes or the emperors prevailed. In the year 1180, the
of *Parma* ſuffered a great deal by an inundation; and ab
the ſame time we find, that, like the other *Longobardick* ſta
the *Parmaſans* ſo far recovered their liberties, that they w
governed by podeſtas and magiſtrates of their own.
firſt podeſta we meet with, was *Niger Graſſo* of *Milan*;
he held his office for three years. This magiſtrate, howe
was only occaſional; for the conſtant courſe of juſtice
government in the city was adminiſtered by conſuls. In
year 1182, the *Parmeſans* were at war with the *Reggi*
whom they defeated, and brought many of them priſoner
Parma. From that year to 1199, we know little or not
of the hiſtory of *Parma*, but the names of the podeſtas
chief magiſtrates, which can convey no information to
reader. In the laſt-mentioned year, we find the *Parme*
in a confederacy with the *Cremoneſe*, the *Reggians*, and
Modeneſe, againſt the *Placentines*, the *Milaneſe*, the *Breſci*
and many of the neighbouring people, who beſieged *Borg*
San Domino; but were defeated by the *Parmeſans* and t
aſſociates. For ſome years after this, nothing remark
occurs in the hiſtory of *Parma*, but what is to be fo
blended with thoſe of the other *Italian* ſtates. In the
1216, when *Iſaac Dovaria* of *Cremona* was podeſta of *Par*
the *Parmeſans* defeated the *Placentines* at *Ponte Nura*,
made an inroad as far as *Montale*, where another action h
pened, to the advantage of the *Parmeſans*. Two years a
they defeated the *Pavians* and the *Placentines*; and in the
1221, they built a magnificent town-houſe. We have
the hiſtory of *Bologna*, given an account of the *Bologneſe* b
defeated by the *Parmeſans* near *Bazano*, in the year 12
in which year they entered into a confederacy with the

rentines. Next year they again defeated the *Bologneſe*, and took their ſtandard of ſtate. In the years 1230 and 1231, the *Parmeſans* had wars with the *Maleſpini* of *Pontremoli*, in which they had the advantage. Two years after friar *Cornetti*, of the new order of preaching friars, was admitted with great pomp into *Parma*, and compoſed all the inteſtine differences in that city. Next year, while *Rainerio* of *Monte Mario* was podeſta of *Parma*, a war broke out between the *Parmeſans*, the *Cremoneſe*, and the *Pavians*, on the one ſide; and the *Placentines*, *Milaneſe*, and *Breſcians*, on the other; and a drawn battle enſued; but the difference at laſt ended in a truce. In the year 1236, the people of *Parma* ſided with the emperor *Frederick* II. againſt the *Milaneſe*, the *Breſcians*, the *Bologneſe*, and the *Mantuans*, and obtained many advantages over the *Longobardic* confederacy. This year is remarkable for the puniſhment of an eccleſiaſtic, who had been guilty of murder, and who, being diveſted of his clerical habit and character, was boiled alive in a cauldron in the open ſtreet of *Parma*. The ſubſequent ſucceſſes of that emperor, which have been mentioned in other parts of this work, were in a great degree owing to the *Parmeſans*. In the year 1239, *Parma* ſeems to have been entirely under the imperial juriſdiction, and was governed by *Simon*, a *Neapolitan* count, as the emperor's podeſta. This year they defeated the *Bologneſe* at *Vignola*, and took *Plumati* and *Crevacori*, with a great number of the *Bologneſe*. In the year 1241, a peace was made between the *Parmeſans* and the *Bologneſe*; but next year domeſtic diſſentions broke out in *Parma*, and were with difficulty quieted by the emperor's authority, who, to ingratiate himſelf with the *Parmeſans*, ordered the fortifications of *Pontremoli* to be demoliſhed; upon which occaſion a ceſſation of arms took place between the inhabitants of *Pontremoli* and *Parma*. In 1244, *Guido Maritini* was podeſta of *Parma* for the emperor; but in his magiſtracy the people began to be uneaſy under the imperial yoke, and plundered the houſe of *Henrico Vaghi*; for which offence *Ugo de Sancto Vitale*, the preſident of the merchants, was depoſed and fined in four marks of *Parma*; and the community was bound to make every thing good to *Vaghi*. This ſeverity, however, was far from quieting the people; and the imperial intereſt ſeems, for ſome time, to have loſt ground at *Parma*. In the year 1245, the *Lupi*, the *Corregii*, and the *Rubei*, and ſeveral other *Guelph* families, were driven out of *Parma* to *Piacenza* by the imperial faction, who likewiſe ſeized the epiſcopal palace, and appropriated to themſelves all the revenues of the church; and puniſhed, with the loſs of a hand and a foot,

Cruelty of the emperor Frederick.

all who brought any papal bulls or letters into the city. The reader has already, in the hiſtory of *Bologna*, ſeen the great revolution which happened to the imperial intereſt by this impolitic cruelty, and in what manner *Frederick* firſt loſt *Parma*, and how he was obliged to abandon the ſiege of it. In the year 1248, the *Parmeſan Guelphs* were defeated by thoſe of the oppoſite faction, who were then exiles; and *Bernard Rubei*, one of the leaders of the *Guelphs*, being taken priſoner, was put to death; on which account the *Guelphs* executed four of the principal *Gibelins*, who were impriſoned in *Parma*. This brought on cruel repriſals on the part of the emperor; ſo that no quarter was given for ſome time on either ſide. This year all communication was ſtopt between *Parma* and *Mantua*. Nothing remarkable happened at *Parma*, but what has been already mentioned in the hiſtory of *Bologna*, till the year 1250, when the *Guelph Parmeſans* were again defeated by the *Gibelin* exiles; but they afterwards obliged *Alverio*, the imperial general, to raiſe the ſiege of *Bazano*. This year was fatal to *Parma*, by a number of fires that happened in the city, which burnt down three hundred and ſeventy-three houſes. Next year the *Cremoneſe Gibelins* took *Brixello*, and carried the garriſon priſoners to *Cremona*. In the year 1252, *Montelongo*, the papal legate and general, at the head of an army of *Parmeſans* and *Placentines*, marched to the relief of the caſtle of *Mendaxo*, which was beſieged by the *Gibelin Cremoneſe* and *Parmeſans* under *Uberto Palavicini*, and obliged them to raiſe the ſiege. After which *Montelongo* took *Caſtel Bercito* by capitulation, the garriſon being ſuffered to march with their arms to *Borgo di San Domino*; and in like manner he reduced *Caſtel Miari*.

who dies.

THE death of the emperor *Frederick* II. ſomewhat abated the cruelties exerciſed by the two parties, the *Guelphs* and the *Gibelins*, upon each other; and in the year 1253, a nobleman, one *Giberto de Gente*, being made podeſta of *Parma* for ſix years, found means at laſt to effect a reconciliation. A mutual amneſty paſſed on both ſides, and all priſoners were releaſed. It is remarkable, however, that few on either ſide ſurvived the cruelties of the priſons in which they were ſhut up; for no more than three hundred and eighteen *Gibelin Parmeſans* returned alive to that city, out of ſome thouſands who had been made priſoners. This year likewiſe the ſalary of the podeſta was ſettled; but the undetermined denominations of money, at that time, renders it difficult to aſcertain the ſum (A).

An amneſty in Parma.

(A) *Salarium vero primum dicti podeſtatis fuit librarum quingentarum quinque millium Imperialium* (1).

(1) *Chronicon. Parmenſe ad Ann.* 1253.

Guelphs *prevail.*

Icilini a Romano *conquered.*

An agreement with Palavicini.

e neareſt computation we can make, it amounted to
one thouſand two hundred pounds ſterling a year, which
al to about two thouſand imperial marks. This *Gi-*
however, by a long poſſeſſion of power, degenerated
into a tyrant, and ſeized on all the revenues both of
urch and ſtate; ſo that the *Parmeſans*, for ſome years,
ery little figure. In the year 1257, *Uberto Palavicini*
imſelf maſter of *Piacenza* and *Pavia*. Next year all
Parma eſpecially, was afflicted with famine, which
l the podeſta to be very ſevere againſt ingroſſers of
nd victuals of all kinds. He is, however, accuſed of
partiality towards the *Gibelins*, and for ſuffering none
faction to be puniſhed for the death of a *Guelph*. In
ar 1259, the city of *Breſcia* was ſurpriſed by *Icilini a*
to, and *Uberto Palavicini*, who afterwards quarrelled and
. *Palavicini* was conqueror, and carried *Icilino* in chains
im to *Cremona*. *Palavicini* then attempted to become
of *Parma*; but though he was diſappointed in his am-
he had ſufficient intereſt to remove *Giberto* from the
te, after he had enjoyed it ſix years and ſix months.
ear 1260 was remarkable for the good diſpoſition
the *Guelphs* and *Gibelins* all over *Italy* manifeſted to-
a reconciliation, and which had been long oppoſed by
podeſta. *Palavicini* affected to be very active in pro-
this reconciliation all over *Lombardy*. The people of
and *Modena* paid a formal viſit to thoſe of *Parma*;
thing was any where ſeen but religious proceſſions, on
t of this new pacification. Thoſe in *Parma* were
by the podeſta *Franzelaſta*, a *Piſtoian*, who diſciplined
f in public with a whip, his example being followed
reſt of the people. *Palavicini*, however, thought that
rit of reconciliation ran too favourable for the *Guelphs*;
ither he nor the *Cremoneſe* encouraged it. In the year
the animoſities between the two parties broke out with
ry, through the intrigues of *Palavicini*, whoſe faction
ry ſtrong in *Parma*. At laſt an accommodation being
d, it was agreed, that the *Parmeſans* ſhould always
y and aſſiſt *Palavicini* and his heirs, and pay him every
ne thouſand imperial marks. He on his part agreed,
o come to *Parma*, without the conſent and good liking
inhabitants. The truth is, fear ſeems to have been
revalent than any other motive in bringing about this
odation; and it is remarked, that *Palavicini*'s friends
zled his ſalary, ſo that he never enjoyed any part of it.
ear the city of *Parma* was put under an interdict by
rban; and next year, when the marquis of *Eſte*, and

count *St. Boniface*, marched to the aſſiſtance of the *Modeneſe Guelphs*, the *Parmeſans* apprehending that their city might be ſurpriſed, put themſelves under arms for a whole week, and kept watch and ward under the command of four of their chief citizens. The *Guelphs* being defeated, *Baldichini* the imperial general attacked the *Guelphs* of *Parma*; but was himſelf driven out of the city. After this *Manfredi* and *Matteo de Gorzano* were choſen joint podeſtas of *Parma*, as *Giberto de Gente* and *James Tavernier* were the next year, the former a *Gibelin*, the latter a *Guelph*; ſo that matters continued quiet there for ſome time, both parties ſolemnly ſwearing, on the high altar of the great church, to maintain the peace. In the year 1266, towards the end of *March*, the public diſſentions were again renewed; and both parties taking arms, the imperialiſts were entirely driven out of *Parma*; and the houſes of the chief amongſt them being ſet on fire, the flames ſpread ſo as to endanger the whole city. Thoſe diſorders continued with vaſt fury for three days, *Palavicini* again endeavouring, but in vain, to recover his influence in *Parma*. At laſt both parties, by tacit conſent, ſuſpended their hoſtilities; and a new ſet of magiſtrates, compoſed of the heads of the people, took upon them the government; though it does not appear that the podeſtate had been formally abrogated. In *Auguſt* this year, the *Gibelin* faction ſurpriſed *Colorno*, a town in the neighbourhood of *Parma*, and made the garriſon priſoners; but in a few days, the people of *Parma* being joined by a party of the *Reggians*, and another of the *Modeneſe*, who being tired with their long march, were left in garriſon at *Parma*, marched out under the command of their podeſta *Albizi*; and retaking *Colorno*, they burnt it to the ground, after putting to death ſuch of the citizens and garriſon as they thought to be in the imperial intereſt. After this the *Parmeſan* army marched to *Monte Palerio*; but the ſeaſon was ſo bitter, that they could not beſiege it. Upon their return, however, they came up with a detachment of *Palavicini*'s army, whom they defeated at *Viaroni*, and reduced the caſtles of *Soragno* and *Nuceto*, with ſeveral other places of leſs importance to the power of the church. This weakened *Palavicini* ſo much, that his rival *Boccio Dovaria* drove him out of *Cremona* itſelf, and obliged him to take refuge in *Borgo di San Domino*. Next year *Alberto de Fontana*, a *Placentine*, being podeſta of *Parma*, the *Parmeſans* undertook the ſiege of *Borgo di San Domino*, which appears to have been part of *Palavicini*'s private fortune. While they with their aſſociates of *Modeno* and *Reggio* were preſſing this ſiege, they had intelligence that *Boccio* had attempted to expel the pope's legate from *Cremona*, becauſe

Diſſentions in Parma.

Conqueſts of the Parmeſans.

he was endeavouring to reconcile the two parties. Upon this they abandoned the ſiege, and marched directly to *Cremona*, from whence they expelled *Boccio*'s party, and demoliſhed their houſes. After that they took and demoliſhed the caſtle of *Monte Palerio*, which they took and razed to the ground, hanging up all the garriſon excepting three noblemen, whom they beheaded. The garriſon of *Borgo di San Domino* ſurpriſed the caſtle of *Medixano* by a ſtratagem. The *Parmeſans*, on the other hand, took and demoliſhed *Caſtel de Perola*, belonging to *Palavicini*, and hanged thirty-ſix of the garriſon; but beheaded their officers. They likewiſe deſtroyed ſeveral other caſtles belonging to the ſame leader; and the war in thoſe parts was carried on with the utmoſt barbarity and rancour.

Borgo San Domino *taken.*

In the year 1268, *Roberto de Roberti* podeſta of *Parma* beſieged *Borgo di San Domino*, with an army which is ſaid to have amounted to thirty thouſand men. But if this number is not miſtaken, it muſt have chiefly been compoſed of *French*, which about this time marched to the aſſiſtance of *Charles* of *Anjou* king of *Naples*, whoſe party was very powerful in *Parma*. While this ſiege was carrying on, the wife of *Charles* of *Anjou* came to *Parma*, where ſhe was received with great honour; and ſoon after, on the twenty-firſt of *October*, *Borgo di San Domino* was ſurrendered by capitulation to the community of *Bologna*; an accommodation at the ſame time taking place between the *Parmeſan Guelphs* and *Gibelins*. It is obſerved, that when this pacification was proclaimed and ratified at *Parma*, the croud was ſo great in the town-houſe, that many perſons were trod to death. In *November* the podeſta and captain of the people went to *Borgo di San Domino*, under pretence of building a fortreſs, which had been mentioned in the capitulation; but in reality to remove from thence *Uberto Palavicini*, which they did, and appointed *Adegherio de Henzola* to act as their podeſta in the place. While the podeſta and captain of *Parma* deliberated upon building the fort, and upon ſeizing into their own hands the town and caſtle, the podeſta, and ſome of the chief inhabitants of *Borgo di San Domino*, repaired to the church, where the *Parmeſan* podeſta and deputies were aſſembled, and there made a formal ſurrender of the keys of their town and caſtle to the *Parmeſans*, waving all the terms of the capitulation, and ſubmitting without reſerve to be ſubjects of *Parma*. This act was not unuſual in thoſe days, becauſe the condition of towns bridled by garriſons, was the moſt deplorable of all others; and the inhabitants of the *Borgo*, as the price of their ſubmiſſion, required only that no fort ſhould be built over them. The *Parmeſans*, after mature deliberation, reflecting, as they pretended, that *Borgo* had been always a bone of contention between them and their neighbours, came to a reſolution to demoliſh all the fortifications. This reſolution was ratified and carried into execution by the community of *Parma*, who made a law, that the ſaid place never ſhould be refortified, and ſtrengthened it with ſevere pains and penalties. We have given this event, as it is recorded in the chronicle of *Parma*; but there is great room for ſuſpecting, that the proceedings of the *Parmeſans*, on this occaſion, were not quite void of art, if not treachery. As to *Palavicini*, who ſeems to have had the greateſt reaſon to complain, he died ſoon after overwhelmed with trouble.

and demoliſhed.

Diviſions in Parma,

In the year 1269, the civil commotions of *Parma* were renewed, and continued all that and the next year; but they afford little or nothing for hiſtory to record, only that in the year 1270, the houſe of *Giberto de Gente* was plundered and deſtroyed. In the year 1271, *Philip* king of *France* came to *Parma*, on the firſt of *April*, and generouſly laid out a ſum of money to repair ſome damages which the town of *Colorno* had ſuffered from his ſubjects. This year the *Placentines* ſupplied *Parma*, which was diſtreſſed by famine, with corn by land and water. The *Cremoneſe* likewiſe gave the *Parmeſans* leave to ſupply themſelves from their territory. Towards the middle of the ſame year, the *Parmeſans* beſieged the caſtle of *Corvaria*, a diſtrict of *Reggio*, which was held out by ſome of the *Gibelin* exiles; and having taken it, they razed it to the ground, by the advice of the biſhop of *Parma*. In the year 1273, a diſference broke out between *Simon Donati* the podeſta of *Parma* and *Uberto*, which ended in the death and baniſhment of many of *Uberto*'s friends. The ſame year the *Parmeſans*, at a great expence, built two ſhips, for the convenience, probably, of ſupplying their city with proviſions; but they proved unſerviceable. Next year the podeſta and army of the city of *Parma*, with ſome *Reggian*, *Cremoneſe*, and *Modeneſe* troops, marched to the aſſiſtance of the *Guelphs* of *Bologna*, as far as *Reno*, where they endeavoured to accommodate matters; but with ſo little ſucceſs, that after they had returned to *Parma*, they were again ſummoned to the aſſiſtance of their *Bologneſe* friends; and a deſperate war enſued between the *Geremei*, for ſo the *Bologneſe Guelphs* were called, and the *Lambertazzi*, which was the denomination of the *Gibelins*: the former, however, prevailed, and delivered their friends out of the priſons which they filled with their enemies. The reſt of the ſervices done on this occaſion by the *Parmeſans* to the *Bologneſe*, are mentioned in the hiſtory of the latter. In the year 1275, the

Par-

which aſſiſts the Bologneſe.

Guaſtalla *ſurprized.*

Parmeſans again marched to the aſſiſtance of their *Bologneſe* friends, who, on that occaſion, were defeated and loſt their ſtandard of ſtate. That year the city of *Parma* had the honour of a viſit from pope *Gregory* X. and the community, in a public aſſembly, ſwore allegiance to his holineſs, and to the emperor *Rodolph*. Next year *Rolandino Teſta* aſſaſſinated *Anſelmino de Zeſſo*, upon the ſtreets of *Parma*; but the aſſaſſin was ſeized in the church of the monaſtery of *St. John*. He was befriended by the ſoldiers, who intimidated the podeſta from proceeding againſt him in the common courſe of juſtice; but the people took upon them his office, and publickly beheaded the aſſaſſin near the place where he had committed the murder. This year was remarkable for an inundation of the river of *Parma*, which aroſe to ſuch a height, as to threaten the deſtruction of the whole city. This inundation was followed by a general mortality and famine. In the year 1277, the caſtle of *Petra*, in the diſtrict of *Pavia*, was beſieged by the *Gibelins* of *Pavia*, *Milan*, *Montſerrat*, and other ſtates. The *Parmeſans*, however, immediately raiſed an army for the relief of the place, and marched to *Piacenza* for that purpoſe, where they underſtood that the ſiege was raiſed. This year *Guaſtalla*, a fortified town on the river *Croſtollo*, and the capital of the duchy of that name, was ſurprized by the exiles and banditti of *Parma* and *Cremona*, who took it from the *Guelphs*. But they ſoon after recovered it; and the aggreſſors being taken, they were all ſent priſoners to *Cremona*, except one of the banditti, who was hanged at *Parma* for the murder of an inhabitant of that city. After this, the community of *Parma* baniſhed *Pino de Gente*, for having betrayed *Guaſtalla*, and confiſcated his eſtate. In *November*, this year, the podeſta of *Parma* marched to the aſſiſtance of the *Bologneſe*, with an army of *Parmeſans*, *Modeneſe*, and *Reggians*, and kept the field for thirty-three days. This ſame year *Paſſoni de la Turre*, ſurprized the city of *Lodi* in the month of *June*. The *Milaneſe* and the *Pavian Gibelins*, endeavoured to recover it; but the patriarch of *Aquileia*, who was of the family of *Turre*, applied for aſſiſtance to the *Parmeſans*, who with their allies obliged the *Milaneſe* to raiſe the ſiege. During the abſence of the podeſta and the army, ſome of the *Gibelin* priſoners found means to corrupt their keepers, and to make their eſcape; for which the offenders were condemned to baniſhment. Next year the *Milaneſe*, and the marquis of *Montferrat*, renewed the ſiege of *Lodi*; but were again obliged by the *Parmeſans*, and their allies, to abandon the ſame. This year *Franceſco de Catena* was aſſaſſinated by one of the family of *Zeſſa*; upon which

War with the marquis of Montferrat.

which the podeſta marched at the head of his troops to *Pratocelli*, the reſidence of that family, and laid the whole town, and all that was in it, in aſhes. Next year the heads of the common people of *Parma* were turned, by the great opinion they had of a *Cremoneſe* porter, who died with ſuch reputation of ſanctity, that his picture being brought to *Parma*, was ſaid to cure all kinds of diſeaſes; and the magiſtrates raiſed a large ſum, which was applied to public uſes, from the credulity of its votaries. This year the marquis of *Montferrat*, and the *Milaneſe*, attempted to take *Lodi*, by diverting the courſe of the river *Adda*; but they were interrupted by *James de Rodelia*, then podeſta of *Parma*, who obliged them to retire with precipitation, while the *Parmeſans*, and their allies, marched to *Pizzighitone*. This year a lady was burnt alive in the public ſtreet of *Parma* for hereſy. Soon after an inſurrection happened in *Parma*, and the mob broke violently into the houſe of the preaching friars, whom they plundered, and otherwiſe abuſed; one very old man being killed in the riot. Upon this the friars left *Parma*, to make their complaint to the pope's legate at *Florence*: they were followed by the podeſta, the captain of the people, the *Antiani*, and the canons of the church of *Parma*, who uſed their utmoſt intreaties to perſuade them to return, promiſing to repair all their damage; but all was to no purpoſe. The good friars proceeded to *Florence*, where they complained of the whole community of *Parma*, as being acceſſary to the inſurrection, which was falſe, for the community had done every thing in their power to prevent it. They eſtabliſhed a court of inquiry, and ſeverely puniſhed all who had been concerned in the inſurrection by exile, impriſonment, and even the loſs of limbs, and voluntarily made good all the damages the brotherhood ſuſtained in their houſes and effects.

Injuſtice of the pope to the Parmeſans.

NOTWITHSTANDING this ample reparation, the complaint of the friars was ſo well received, that the legate ordered the podeſta, the captain of the people, the *Antiani*, the council, and twelve of the chief citizens of *Parma*, with an aſſeſſor, who was to be a lawyer, to appear before him at *Florence* by a certain day, with full powers to ſtand by his award. Upon this the *Parmeſans* appointed *Bartolini* of *Breſcia*, then their captain of the people, ſix ambaſſadors, aud one ſyndic, but without being furniſhed with the powers that were required, to appear before the legate, and to inform him truly of the ſtate of the caſe. The haughty prelate refuſed to give them ſo much as an audience, laid their city under an interdict, and excommunicated their magiſtrates; and his ſentence was publiſhed at *Parma* on the 14th of *December*. That

conti-community then ordered four deputies to attend the pope, and to make their defence; but all they could obtain, was to be allowed an auditor to take legal cognizance of their cauſe. This cenſure, however, had no conſequences; for the *Parmeſans* continued to act for the *Guelphs* at *Bologna*, *Lodi*, and other places; ſo that his holineſs and his ſucceſſors did not proſecute their cenſures.

Aſſaſſinations puniſhed at Parma.

The infamous practice of aſſaſſination was now very common at *Parma*, where one *Calzolari*, a man of figure, was murdered by one of the family of *Putali*. This exaſperated the public ſo greatly, that the podeſta, the captain of the people, and the other magiſtrates, at the head of the inhabitants, utterly demoliſhed all the houſes belonging to the *Putali*, and made ſeveral ſtrict laws againſt the dangerous powers of the nobility. Another expedition was this year undertaken by the *Parmeſans*, to ſuccour the *Geremei* of *Bologna*, in which they were ſucceſsful.

Peace with Cremona.

In the year 1280 the caſtle of *Caſſades* was built by the *Parmeſans*, and conſiderable privileges allotted to thoſe who were willing to inhabit the ſame. This year the *Bologneſe* loſt *Faenza*, but freſh aſſiſtances coming from *Parma*, they ſoon recovered it. Next year the *Parmeſans*, who went to aſſiſt the family of *Turre*, were defeated by the *Milaneſe*, with a conſiderable loſs. This year was attended with another ſcarcity of grain, and it was enacted, that every citizen who was poſſeſſed of three hundred marks, ſhould lend twenty of them to the community, to buy corn for ſupplying the public. In the month of *Auguſt*, a general meeting of deputies from the *Guelph* ſtates and cities of *Lombardy*, was held in the town-houſe of *Parma*, where it was agreed to ſend freſh troops to the relief of *Lodi*, now again beſieged by the marquis of *Montferrat*. At this time the *Parmeſans* and the *Cremoneſe* exchanged the chariots of ſtate which each had taken from the other; and that of *Parma* was introduced next day into that city by a grand proceſſion of the clergy and magiſtrates. In the month of *September* the army of *Parma* took the field, and encamped near *Pizzighitone*, while their allies rendezvouſed at *Cremona*; and the two armies, after obliging the marquis of *Montferrat* and the *Milaneſe* to raiſe the ſiege of *Lodi*, with conſiderable loſs, returned to their reſpective habitations. About the middle of *December*, *Boccia Dovaria*, at the head of eight hundred men, ſurprized *Crema*; upon which the podeſta of *Parma* marched with all his troops, and thoſe of the *Placentines* and *Breſcians*, to ſecure *Cremona* itſelf. In the year 1282, ſome of the *Placentine Gibelins* ſurprized the town of *Petra Scarmona*; but it was ſoon retaken by the *Placentines*, with the aſſiſtance of the *Parmeſans*. Shortly after a general aſſembly, or parliament, was held at *Cremona*, conſiſting of deputies from the *Parmeſans*, the *Placentines*, the *Reggians*, the *Modeneſe*, the *Bologneſe*, the *Ferrareſe*, and the *Breſcians*, all of them in the intereſt of the ſee of *Rome*; and a reſolution was taken, to ſend ambaſſadors directly to ſolicit his holineſs to become a party in the league.

The Longobardic *confederacy renewed.*

The great end of this meeting appears to have been to guard the *Cremoneſe*, which had generally ſerved the imperialiſts as an inlet into *Italy*. About the ſame time, *Boccio Dovaria*, at the head of ſome *Cremoneſe* exiles, ſurprized the caſtle of *Toncino*, belonging to *Cremona*; upon which the *Parmeſans* ſummoned together all their allies, and, with their podeſta at their head, ſet out for *Cremona*, to prevent its being ſuprized likewiſe. They alſo demoliſhed *Senaza*, for a murder that had been committed upon one of its citizens by the lord of it, and ſent two hundred foot ſoldiers to *Modena*, to bring to juſtice one of the *Guidotti*, who had been guilty of another murder, which they did by ſtriking off his head, and thoſe of ſeveral others of his aſſociates, in the market-place. This, however, created a dangerous mutiny at *Modena*, which was with difficulty quieted by the *Parmeſans*. After this the armies of *Parma* and *Cremona* marched againſt *Toncino*, which was ſtill in the hands of *Boccio*. About the ſame time the *Parmeſans* ſent *Matteo Corregio*, and *Andrea de Morano*, a doctor of laws, to make their peace at the court of *Rome*, and to procure abſolution from the interdict, and excommunication that had been laid upon them upon account of the preaching friars; both which they obtained by the friendſhip of the cardinal of *Parma*, but not till after they had undergone many, and ſome mortifying formalities. His holineſs even required them, to give ſecurity for their future obedience to his will, and to ſtand by the award which he was to pronounce in the caſe of the friars; but the whole of the allegations were ſo falſe and frivolous, that the affair went no farther. The *Parmeſans* then ſent a ſolemn deputation to *Bologna*, to requeſt the provincial prior of the preaching friars, to ſend ſuch of the brotherhood as had left *Parma* back to that city, there to celebrate divine offices.

War continues with the marquis of Montferrat.

In the beginning of *June*, the marquis of *Monferrat* made a new irruption into the *Cremoneſe*, with a large army of the *Milaneſe* and other people. The people of *Cremona*, as uſual, had recourſe to thoſe of *Parma*, who ſent them three hundred croſs-bows, a weapon then greatly in requeſt. Theſe were followed by the podeſta of *Parma* with the main army, which encamped at *Aqualonga*, as the *Cremoneſe* did at *Padarno*, upon the frontiers of the *Cremoneſe*. In a few days after they were joined by the *Reggians*, *Modeneſe*, *Ferrareſe*, and the *Placentines*, beſides other allies, and their appearance was ſo ormidable, that the marquis durſt not attack them, though oth armies lay in ſight of each other four weeks. On this ccaſion, the people of *Parma* ſent ambaſſadors to the marquis of *Eſte*, to the *Florentines* and other ſtates of *Tuſcany*, o rouſe them to a ſenſe of their danger, if *Cremona* ſhould all into the hands of the *Gibelins*; and all of them promiſed o ſend their complements of troops to its defence. It afterwards appeared, that the marquis could not prevail with the *Milaneſe* to act in earneſt againſt *Cremona*, on account of the diffidence they had of the imperial power, and the oath they had taken to be true to the *Longobardic* league; ſo that the *Parmeſans*, and their allies, marched back to their reſpective capitals in triumph. A part of the *Parmeſan* army, however, was left at *Cremona*, for the ſafety of that city and territory, ill their enemies went into winter quarters. *Garſoni* of *Modena* was, at this time, podeſta of *Parma*, and *Guidotti* archdeacon of *Cremona*, was captain of the people.

IN *Auguſt*, this year, the *Longobardic* league was ſtrengthened; and there was a great reſort of nobility at *Parma*, where he two ſons of *Jacobino Rubei* were made knights, and married *Parmeſan* ladies; ſo that, for ſome time, all civil diviſions ſeem to be aboliſhed in that capital, and for a whole month nothing took place there but feaſting and diverſions. The ſame year an act paſſed in the general council of *Parma*, hat all their ſubjects without the city, who were willing to ay a tithe of their goods, ſhould be admitted citizens of *Parma*; but not to be members of the council. This law brought into the public treaſury eleven thouſand imperial marks; and the new citizens admitted by it amounted to three houſand. The reader, from this, may have ſome idea of he wealth of thoſe inhabitants; though there is reaſon to believe, that the tax was not rigorouſly levied, as the whole, at an average, did not amount to four marks a-head. The author of the Chronicle tells us likewiſe, that the terms were very ill obſerved by the community.

THOUGH it was now the beginning of winter, a freſh aſſembly of the *Longobardic* alliance was held at *Cremona*; and the *Cremoneſe*, by the aſſiſtance of their *Parmeſan* confederates, that very year recovered *Toncino* from *Boccio*, and obliged him to retire with diſgrace to *Crema*. In the beginning of the year 1283, the ſtate of *Parma* was in a flouriſhing condition, and their capital adorned with ſeveral noble public edifices. On the 5th of *February*, this year, in a general council, held in the town-houſe of *Parma*, a perpetual truce and peace was ſworn between the magiſtrates of that city and the *Mantuan* deputies; and, what is pretty remarkable, each promiſed to ſatisfy the demands of the other, without going to law, and without delay. On the 7th of the ſame month, the podeſta of *Parma*, at the head of a thouſand foot-ſoldiers, appointed to that ſervice by the community, inveſted the palace of the *Adigheri*, one of whom, *Ubertino*, had been guilty of a murder, and razed the ſame to the ground. This year the affairs of the popedom were likewiſe in high ſplendor, by the ſubmiſſion of almoſt all the cities of the *Romagna* and *Lombardy* to the authority of his holineſs; and the people of *Parma* were amongſt the moſt forward. *Public buildings in* Parma. The bridge of *Galeris*, which the *Parmeſans* had been for many years building between the palace and the citadel, was now finiſhed, at the expence of ſixteen hundred imperial marks. In proportion as the power of the church increaſed, ſo did that of the eccleſiaſtics; for, in the year 1284, we find a *Florentine* cardinal podeſta of *Bologna*; and he ſeems to have given full ſcope to his revenge, by demoliſhing, upon a private pique, the palace of *Gerard de Sancto Marco*. He likewiſe, at the head of one thouſand ſoldiers, deſtroyed and plundered the houſes of four other noblemen, whom he thought not to be well affected to his intereſt. His violences ſeem to have given ſome umbrage to the other magiſtrates of *Bologna*; for we find, in the ſame year, A. D. 1284. the *Antiani*, and the other heads of the people, entered into a combination together, by oath, to ſupport one another, and to maintain the rights and privileges of *Parma*. At this time, the civil diſſentions in *Modena*, between the *Boſchetti* and the *Savignani*, broke out ſo fiercely, that the *Parmeſans* were obliged to ſend two hundred foot-ſoldiers to maintain their intereſt there. The former, however, got the better, expelled their antagoniſts out of the city, and ſtript them of their eſtates. The exiles ſeized upon *Saxola*, *Savigni*, and ſeveral other places; and preſſed the other party ſo hard, that the *Parmeſans* were obliged to call together the deputies of the *Longobardic* league, to reduce the *Modeneſe* to peace. The *Boſchetti* proved ſo refractory, that the aſſembly came to a reſolution to abandon all communication with them; while the *Reggians* and the *Parmeſans* united together more cloſely than ever. At laſt, the pope's legate interpoſed, and prevailed with the *Parmeſans* to make another effort for reſtoring the peace of *Modena*; but it was found impracticable. An open war then broke out between the *Parmeſans* and the *Modeneſe*. The latter intercepted convoys of proviſions that were coming to *Parma*, with a large quantity of ſalt. The *Parmeſans*, at firſt, ſent deputies to reclaim their property; but the *Modeneſe* juſtified what they had done, and appealed to a general aſſembly of the *Longobardic* league.

Affairs of Lombardy *continued.*

THE diſtractions of *Lombardy*, about this time, rendered *Parma* the common refuge of the harraſſed and unfortunate. In the year 1285, no fewer than twelve deputies were ſent from that city; and being joined with thoſe of *Reggio*, *Bologna*, and *Ferrara*, they repaired to *Modena*, where they made a new demand of reparation for injuries; but they met with a freſh repulſe, through the obſtinacy of the *Boſchetti*. The *Parmeſans*, after this, endeavoured to raiſe a mutiny in *Modena*; but that ſcheme likewiſe failed them, and they again had recourſe to negociation, in which they had better ſucceſs, becauſe they received half their demand, and a time was fixed for repaying the remainder. A formal treaty of peace between *Modena* and *Parma* enſued. In the year 1286, two ambaſſadors came from the contending parties in *Modena* to *Parma*, there to negociate a mediation between the *Boſchetti* and their antagoniſts; but the demands of the *Boſchetti* were ſo extravagant, that the negociation came to nothing. The *Parmeſans* then applied to the *Bologneſe* to join with them, in preventing the intire ruin of *Modena*, through the civil diſſentions of its inhabitants; but the *Bologneſe* declined intermeddling in the affair. The *Parmeſans* then threatened to declare war againſt the *Boſchetti* of *Modena*, unleſs they ſent deputies, properly inſtructed, to terminate all differences. Very little regard, however, was paid to that or any other application for compoſing the diſſentions of *Lombardy*, which the people of *Parma* ſeemed to have had greatly at heart. This year the *Boſchetti* attacked their antagoniſts the *Savignani*, who were ſupported by the *Parmeſans*. The *Modeneſe*, on the other hand, invaded the *Reggians*, who were the confederates of *Parma*; but the latter were ſo well ſupported by the *Parmeſans*, that the aggreſſors were defeated with great loſs. This defeat ſeems to have brought the *Boſchetti* of *Modena* to a pacific diſpoſition, eſpecially as the *Parmeſans*, at this time, had on foot a conſiderable army. They were ſeconded by the deputies of *Cremona*, *Breſcia*, and *Placentia*, who, in the names of their maſters, threatened to declare war againſt the *Modeneſe*, if they did not ſubmit to the *Parmeſans*. The *Modeneſe* accordingly ſent deputies, with their captain of the people, to *Parma*, where a peace was concluded. In *June*, this year, the pope made a demand upon the *Parmeſans* for ſatisfaction, on account of the Preaching Friars; but this demand was ſo abſurd, and ſo ill-ſupported, that it appears to have fallen to the ground. This year was remarkable for a

Succeſs of the Parmeſans,

great mortality in the *Parmeſan* territory. In the year 1287, the podeſta of *Parma*, whoſe name was *Barufaldini*, marched at the head of one thouſand men to *Flaviano*, which they demoliſhed, and put to death *Carolo de Palude*, whoſe eſtate was likewiſe confiſcated, on account of his murdering *Henry de Toretto*, and another perſon. After that, the podeſta and his army marched to *Reggio*, where ſome civil diſſentions had broken out; and being there joined by other deputies of the *Longobardic* league, they reſtored the public tranquility. On the death of pope *Honorius*, the *Parmeſans* ſent ambaſſadors, who, after great difficulty, prevailed upon the provincial prior of the Preaching Friars to return to *Parma*. Their entrance was very magnificent; and ſo great was the benefit reſulting to the community, from the reſidence of thoſe friars amongſt them, that the podeſta and the magiſtracy not only gave them a ſumptuous entertainment, but ſettled on them annually two hundred marks for five years, to enable them to build a church.

who are alarmed for their liberties.

THIS year a kind of a panic ſtruck the people of *Parma*, as if their liberties had been endangered; ſo that the podeſta, and all the chief citizens, took an oath to ſtand by one another in defence of their rights and privileges. On the 17th of *May*, *Pino*, the ſon of *Giberto de Gente*, was murdered in *Parma* by his grand-children; but, having been proſcribed as a *Gibelin*, the aſſaſſins were not proſecuted. In *September*, the ſame year, the *Gibelin* exiles of *Modena*, being joined by a great number of the ſame faction from various parts of *Italy*, made an attempt to get poſſeſſion of that city; but the *Guelph Modeneſe* were ſo ſeaſonably ſupported by the podeſta and people of *Parma*, that the *Gibelins* were defeated, and their ringleaders, who were found in the city, were publicly executed. This ſervice to the papal cauſe ingratiated the *Parmeſans* ſo greatly with the *Bologneſe*, that deputies were appointed on both ſides, who met at *Caſtel Franco*, and ſwore to a new union. The year 1288 affords little remarkable, excepting that *Manfred*, marquis of *Maleſpina*, ſurpriſed *Pontremoli*, belonging to the *Parmeſans*, and expelled their podeſta there. After that, he ſent a meſſage, with great profeſſions of his friendſhip towards the community of *Parma*, promiſing to keep *Pontremoli* for their benefit. The *Parmeſans*, however, renewed their leagues with the *Reggians*, the *Cremoneſe*, and the *Bologneſe*, and recovered the place. In the year 1289, the *Parmeſans* took up arms in defence of their allies the *Ferrareſe*, who had been inſulted by *Roland*, the lord of *Anciſa*; and they lent three regiments to the *Florentines*, while they were at war with the biſhop of *Arezzo*.

Reggians, at this time, again ſplitting amongſt themſelves,
uelph party applied to the *Parmeſans* for aſſiſtance. Two
red ſoldiers immediately marched to their aid, under the
mand of the podeſta. This force not being ſufficient, a
ger body was ſent; upon which the people of *Reggio*, ac- *They take*
ng to our authority [a], ſurrendered the keys of their gates Reggio;
citadel, together with all their power, civil and military,
the hands of the podeſta of *Parma*, who took poſſeſſion
e ſame, as well as of the ſtandard and common ſeal of
ity. The *Parmeſans* ſeem to have made a moſt unmer-
advantage of this acquiſition. They put to death ſome
e heads of the *Guelphs* at *Reggio*, and demoliſhed their
es: they carried others in chains to *Parma*, where they
them cloſe priſoners. This tyranny giving umbrage to
other allies of the *Longobardic* league, the ſtates of *Bo-*
a and *Cremona* interpoſed, and obliged the *Parmeſans* to
re the *Reggians* to their liberty. Notwithſtanding this
fication, the *Parmeſans* kept in their hands the caſtle of
oli, which was beſieged by *Guido de Tripoli*, a *Reggian*,
ſet fire to the place; and ſo obſtinate were the *Parmeſans*
efending it, that moſt of them choſe to be burnt alive,
er than ſurrender it.

the year 1290, the *Reggians*, tired of the tyranny of *but loſe it.*
Parmeſans, unanimouſly offered to put themſelves under
protection of the marquis of *Eſte*. He ſeemed, at firſt,
ecline their ſuit; and pretended, that he would do nothing
out the conſent of the community of *Parma*. He ac-
ingly ſent a ſolemn embaſſy to conſult the *Parmeſans* on
head; and, as he was at that time maſter both of *Ferrara*
Modena, the *Parmeſans* found it in vain to ſtand out; ſo
he directly entered upon the ſovereignty of *Reggio*. *Rai-*
, a *Florentine*, was then podeſta of *Parma*; but, behaving
rarily in his office, the ſyndics of the common council
rced him in a fine of two hundred and fifty marks. This
eeding exaſperated the merchants of *Parma*, who were
podeſta's friends, ſo greatly, that the ſyndics durſt not
d to their ſentence; nor did the podeſta ever pay the

HE ſpirit of croiſading was at this time very prevalent in *They are*
; and no fewer than ſix hundred *Parmeſans* took upon *zealous for*
n the croſs, and bound themſelves by oath to ſerve againſt *the croi-*
infidels in the Holy Land; and, to encourage the adven- *ſade;*
rs, the community of *Parma* made them a preſent of one
ſand marks. Their captain was *Raimond Baretti*. In

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[a] Chronicon Parmenſe, apud MURAT. p. 216.

the year 1291, *Lombardini de Gente*, having inſulted a *Parmeſan* nobleman, the podeſta of *Parma* marched againſt him, and demoliſhed his houſe. Soon after, the cardinal of *Sabina*, in his return from *France*, paid a viſit to *Parma*, where he was received in a moſt magnificent manner. He being a *Parmeſan* himſelf, expended vaſt ſums of money for the honour and intereſt of the community. This year many of the *Parmeſans*, who had taken upon them the croſs, returned to their native country, heartily tired of their undertaking; and, being deſtitute of other employment, they liſted themſelves in the pope's army. In the year 1292, a quarrel happened between the podeſta and the biſhop of *Parma*; and the former was excommunicated for having impriſoned an eccleſiaſtic. This quarrel was followed by ſome public commotions, and the podeſta demoliſhed ſeveral houſes belonging to the friends of the biſhop. About this time the marquis of *Eſte* dying, he was ſucceeded by his ſon *Azo*, who ſent an embaſſy to *Parma*, courting the friendſhip of that ſtate. The *Parmeſans* returned the compliment, by ſending him a deputation to congratulate him upon his acceſſion to his dominions, and to reconcile ſome differences that had ariſen between him and his brothers, on account of his father's teſtament; by which the eldeſt ſon was to inherit *Ferrara*; *Aldobrandini*, the ſecond ſon, *Modena*; and *Franchesini*, the third, *Reggio*. The ſame year, the podeſta of *Parma*, at the head of above one thouſand men, deſtroyed the houſe of *Ægidioli Scorca* at *Torclarea*, on account of an offence againſt the ſtate. We mention this chiefly to ſhew how little regard was paid amongſt the *Italian* ſtates to civil authority, it being generally found impracticable to bring an offender, who had an eſtate and a following, to juſtice; but by the people, with the podeſta at their head, taking arms, and deſtroying him, his family and habitation. This year the inhabitants of *Pontremoli*, having intirely thrown off their dependence upon *Parma*, put themſelves under the protection of the *Lucqueſe*; and *Azo*, the marquis of *Eſte*, with whom the *Parmeſans* had lately entered into friendſhip, drove his brother *Aldobrandini* to *Bologna*, and fortified *Modena*.

but loſe Pontremoli.

NOTHING remarkable occurs in the hiſtory of *Parma*, after this, till the year 1294, when one *James de Canonica* was privately murdered at *Ulmo*, and buried in his own eſtate. The murder was diſcovered twenty-eight days after it was committed; and the magiſtracy of *Parma*, of which *James de Canonica* was a member, ordered two of the murderers to be apprehended, one of whom was hanged, and the other condemned to perpetual impriſonment. After inquiry, it appeared that many others had been concerned in the ſame fact, and

Murders in Parma.

and all of them were baniſhed. In the month of *April*, the ſame year, the podeſta of *Parma*, with one thouſand foot-ſoldiers, went to *Medexano*, where they demoliſhed the houſe and effects of *Manfredoci*, one who had been guilty of a like murder. After this, the ſame podeſta deſtroyed the houſes, both in town and country, of the family of *Senaza*, for murdering *Bernardo Malabranca*. The reader, from thoſe occurrences, which form the whole of the hiſtory of *Parma* at this period, may eaſily conceive that the *Parmeſans* were then greatly inferior, in point of civil policy, to many other ſtates of *Italy*. Their enthuſiaſm was equal to their barbarity; for, this year, two men and two women were burnt by the community of *Parma*, for what they called hereſy; and another heretic was condemned to perpetual impriſonment by the biſhop. *Florino de Pontecarali* was then podeſta of *Parma*; but ſo low was all public authority now ſunk under him, that neither he nor any other of the magiſtrates durſt, for ſome weeks, venture to appear in public, for fear of being ſtoned to death. At laſt, a new podeſta being choſen, the offenders were given up to juſtice, and reſtitution was made to the injured. This year, *Magnano de Cornazano* of *Parma*, who had been baniſhed for his crimes, aſſociating himſelf with other exiles, ſurpriſed the caſtle of *Grondula*, belonging to the *Parmeſans*; upon which the latter marched to retake it. The rebel being ſummoned to ſurrender, refuſed to comply, unleſs he was ordered ſo to do by the biſhop of *Parma* and the marquis of *Eſte*, both of whom were then at variance with that community. The *Parmeſans* reſented his inſolence ſo much, that they offered extraordinary pay to all who were willing to aſſiſt in reducing the place, and above one thouſand preſented themſelves; upon which it was abandoned by the garriſon: ſome of the chief rebels, however, were taken, and being dragged at the tails of mules to *Parma*, they were there hanged. As to *Magnano* and his other aſſociates, they were executed in effigy, and ſentenced to baniſhment.

A new league in Lombardy.

THE affairs of the *Longobardic* league, this year, drew together a meeting of its principal members to *Ferrara*, where a reconciliation was effected between the marquis of *Eſte* and his brother *Francheſini*. Four *Parmeſan* ſubjects, on this occaſion, were knighted, with great ceremony, by the marquis, after he himſelf had received the ſame honour from the lord of *Treviſo*. In the year 1295, *Umberto* was podeſta of *Parma*, and ſeveral revolutions happened in the neighbouring ſtates. Some mercantile differences having ariſen between the *Parmeſans* and the *Cremoneſe*, they were amicably terminated, both of them being apprehenſive of the power of the marquis of *Eſte*, which was every day increaſing. He had ſtript the *Reggians* of their freedom and territory; and, by fomenting diviſions amongſt the neighbouring ſtates, he bade fair to become maſter of all *Lombardy*. Thoſe of *Parma* ſtill continued; for though all parties profeſſed themſelves to be *Guelphs*, yet the city was ſplit into two factions; the one headed by the biſhop, and the other by the family of *Correggio*, which at that time bore the chief ſway in *Parma*. The podeſta had put to death one who pretended to be an eccleſiaſtic, for murdering a woman, for which he was excommunicated by the biſhop. *Correggio*, and the magiſtrates of *Parma*, taking part with the podeſta, the biſhop excommunicated them likewiſe, together with all the chief inhabitants of the city. This brought party-diſſentions to ſuch a height, that bloodſhed enſued; but at laſt the wiſer part of the community nominated a deputation, to lodge an appeal with the pope againſt the biſhop. The names of the deputies were, *Gerardo de Botono*, a civilian, and *Peter de Prandis*, a judge, aſſiſted by a notary; but both of them died ſoon after their arrival at *Anagni*, where the pope then kept his court. It appears as if they had died by poiſon, it being with difficulty that the notary himſelf eſcaped the ſame fate; but the public of *Parma* generouſly ſettled the ſecretaryſhip of the podeſta upon the two ſurviving ſons of the deceaſed for ten years. The biſhop being favoured by the marquis of *Eſte*, the *Parmeſans* applied to the *Bologneſe*, who gladly embraced their friendſhip; and it was ſtipulated between the two ſtates, that deputies from both ſhould, every month, meet at *Caſtel Franco*, or *Loretto*, to concert meaſures for their common good. This year the podeſta of *Parma* attacked and deſtroyed the houſes and effects of *Simon de Angeli*; and fined him in one thouſand marks, for his confederating with other traitors againſt the independency of the city.

Diſſentions in Parma, *between the government and the biſhop.*

THE biſhop of *Parma* about the ſame time, being choſen archbiſhop of *Ravenna*, acquired ſuch an acceſſion of power, that the family of *Correggio* were obliged to keep upon the defenſive. The people underſtanding that the archbiſhop, who appears to have been a *Gibelin*, had fortified his houſe, took arms, and obliged the podeſta, who was ſecretly in the archbiſhop's intereſt, to march at their head to the epiſcopal palace; from whence the prelate eſcaped with great difficulty to the monaſtery of *St. John*, upon *St. Bartholomew*'s day, from whence he went to his archbiſhopric at *Ravenna*. After this *Boniface* of *Parma* was paid the arrears of his ſalary, but diſmiſſed from his office; and the *Parmeſans* ſent a deputation to intreat their friends the *Bologneſe* to ſend them any of their citizens they pleaſed to be their podeſta; they accordingly ſent them *Pelegrino de Simonpizoli.* Notwithſtanding this, the prelate and his faction diſtreſſed the magiſtracy ſo much, that the *Bologneſe* were obliged to ſend two hundred horſe and five hundred foot to their aſſiſtance. This reinforcement gave the ſuperiority to the magiſtrates, who immediately baniſhed the *Gibelins* out of their city, ſome to the diſtance of ten, and others to that of fifty miles, for conſpiring to betray the ſtate. Not contented with that, the new podeſta, at the head of the people, demoliſhed the houſes and ravaged the eſtates of all whom they ſuſpected to be in an oppoſite intereſt to theirs; and they even deſtroyed a noble palace that had been begun to be built by their late biſhop. That prelate, aſſembling his friends, returned to *Parma,* where the magiſtracy had the boldneſs to put him under arreſt; and the pope named another biſhop, at the requeſt of the cardinal of *Parma.*

A new regulation there.

THE government of that city ſtill appears to have been unſettled; for this year, in the beginning of *November,* in a general aſſembly, at which no fewer than eleven hundred and ſeventeen counſellors are ſaid to have aſſiſted [a], *Gotio de Foro,* captain of the people of *Parma,* voluntarily reſigned his office, and was paid all the arrears of his ſalary. Upon this, the people elected their podeſta, *Pelegrino,* in his room; and he was the firſt magiſtrate who held both offices at the ſame time. The effects of this election produced great harmony in the ſtate, which was followed by a very extraordinary meaſure; for an act of parliament (ſo it is called in the Chronicle of *Parma*) paſſed to repeal the baniſhment of all malefactors, provided they were not *Gibelins*; and to free ſuch of them as were in priſon from their confinement, upon each paying to the community five marks of *Parma.* About this time, the community of *Parma* was ſo jealous of their liberties, that they paſſed an act for demoliſhing all fortifications erected in or near their city. This act was occaſioned by the magiſtrates receiving intelligence, that ſome of the nobility had begun to fortify not only their own palaces, but the monaſtery of *St. John.* The podeſta, upon this information, ordered a guard to ſearch the monaſtery, and not only to eraſe the fortifications, but to carry off all the arms that could be found in it: but the podeſta's guard met with ſo obſtinate a reſiſtance from thoſe within, that they were driven from their attempt with conſiderable loſs, and obliged to take refuge in the palace of the podeſtate. Upon this, that magiſtrate, though it was then midnight, ordered the great bell to be rung, and ſummoned the council, who came to a reſolution to defer all farther proceedings till the morning, when it was reſolved vigorouſly to attack the monaſtery, which was held out by the biſhop, as well as to ſearch all the palaces of his faction for arms and warlike ſtores. The podeſta was immediately joined by two thouſand men under arms, and by all the friends of the *Correggio* family; while the nobility in the biſhop's intereſt fortified their palaces, to prevent the intended ſearch. *Criſtoforo de Marano*, brother to the abbot of *St. John*, commanded under the biſhop, and attempted to make head againſt the podeſta; but he was driven out of the city, as was *John de Sancto Vitali*, another nobleman in the ſame intereſt, with all his followers; ſo that the podeſta and the magiſtracy remained conquerors. The monaſtery of *St. John* was then entered and plundered; but the fugitives, being ſupported by the marquis of *Eſte*, made themſelves maſters of ſeveral forts and caſtles in the country, belonging to the community, particularly of the caſtles of *Cuvracho* and *del Cruce*. Next day the marquis of *Eſte* came to *Modena*, where he put himſelf at the head of the exiles, in hopes of being able to ſurpriſe *Parma* itſelf. But *Correggio* and the magiſtrates there were now upon their guard, and had aſſembled, from all quarters, a large body of troops. They could not, however, prevent the exiles, whoſe numbers every day increaſed, through the great reputation which the marquis had acquired in war, from deſtroying the open country to the very gates of the city; ſo that the *Parmeſans* were obliged to call in their allies to their aſſiſtance. *Alberto Scotti*, the leading man or prince of *Placentia*, ſent his nephew with ſome troops to their aid. Theſe were followed by others from the city of *Milan*. The *Bologneſe* likewiſe ſent their quota; but the *Cremoneſe* only ſent two ambaſſadors, with their compliments of condolance upon their danger.

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[a] Chronicon Parmenſe, apud MURAT. p. 132.

Civil diſſentions continue.

THOUGH it was then the middle of winter, the exiles ſtill kept the field, and fortified the caſtle *del Cruce*, in the neighbourhood of *Parma*, with an intention to continue their ravages all the winter. The *Bologneſe*, underſtanding this, ſent ambaſſadors to offer their mediation; but that being rejected, their magiſtracy came to a reſolution of ſending them further ſuccours, in which they were joined by the *Milaneſe* and the *Placentines*. In the beginning of the year 1296, *Albizi* of *Florence* was podeſta of *Parma*; and the force of the *Parmeſans* this year conſiſted of three hundred and fifty men at arms, and one thouſand foot, well armed, beſides their auxiliaries. To defray this expence, a tax of eight thouſand marks was impoſed upon the tenants of the biſhopric, and five thouſand upon the citizens. Two thouſand were likewiſe borrowed of the

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the clergy, and the ſame ſum from the ſtates of *Tuſcany.* Their firſt expedition was againſt *Guardaxoni*, which was in poſſeſſion of the exiles. They ſoon reduced this place, killed ſome of the garriſon, and ſent the reſt priſoners to *Parma.* The marquis of *Eſte* continued ſtill at their head; ſo that the *Bologneſe*, and the other allies of the *Parmeſans*, were obliged to haſten their ſuccours; and the magiſtracy of *Parma* themſelves increaſed their own army with a conſiderable addition of horſe. The Chronicle of *Parma* ſcarcely mentions the great power which *Matthew Correggio* then had in that city; but other contemporary authors ſpeak of him as being the prince of *Parma*, and the marquis of *Eſte*'s rival. It is certain the *Parmeſans* were ſo ſtrong at this time, that the marquis, deſpairing to reduce them, all of a ſudden turned his arms againſt the *Bologneſe*, and ſeized *Bazano.* After that, he attacked *Imola*, then in the poſſeſſion of *Bologna*, with ſo much fury, that he took it, with great ſlaughter of the garriſon.

Their expeditions.

It was then time for the *Parmeſans* to ſhew their gratitude for the important aſſiſtance they had received from the *Bologneſe*, which they now repaid by ſending them ſupplies both of men and money. They were favoured by *Matteo de Foligni*, who ſurpriſed the caſtle of *Guerzola*; while the *Parmeſans*, taking advantage of a ſtormy night, ſurpriſed *Monte Vecli*, and ſent the *Modeneſe* governor in chains to *Parma.* Soon after *John de Palude*, one of the *Parmeſan* exiles, delivered up *Caſtel Montezano* to the magiſtrates of *Parma*; for which ſervice his attainder and baniſhment were taken off. About the ſame time *Rangone*, a *Modeneſe* exile, was in the ſervice of the *Parmeſans*; and, being an excellent ſoldier, he took *Frignano*, and many other places of importance, from the marquis.

Though the ſtates of the *Longobardick* league ſtill continued to aſſert their independency, yet it was at this time little better than a phantom, for each of them was governed by ſome great man who controuled the magiſtracy. When he was popular, and acted in concert with the magiſtrates or community, his friendſhip was of great importance; and for that reaſon the heads of the *Longobardick* league this year reſolved to give it a new form, by making thoſe great men, or princes, parties in the league, as well as the communities they governed. Thoſe ſtates were the communities of *Bologna* and *Parma*, the community of *Placentia* and *Alberto Scotti*, who was deſigned the captain of *Placentia*, the community of *Milan*, and *Matteo Viſconti* captain of *Milan*, the community of *Breſcia*, and the exiles of *Reggio* and *Modena.* All thoſe ſtates and perſons now entered together into a ſo-

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lemn confederacy againſt the marquis of *Eſte.* He, on the other hand, put himſelf at the head of the *Reggians*, the *Modeneſe*, the *Ferrareſe*, and other ſtates under his ſubjection, and attacked *Montecuculi*; but was unable to take it. He then, by way of bravado, ſent a meſſage to provoke the *Parmeſans* to a battle, telling them that he had waited ten days for them; but they appeared to have paid no regard to his invitation. At this time the *Parmeſans*, unleſs upon extraordinary occaſions, changed their podeſtas twice a year, in *January* and *June*; and *Rolandino Scotti* of *Placentia*, acted the latter part of this year both as podeſta and captain of the people. To repay the inſults of the marquis of *Eſte*, he no ſooner entered upon his office, than he invaded the territory of *Reggio*, and deſtroyed it as far as *Rivolta*, carrying off with him no fewer than two thouſand head of cattle; and a few days after he entered the ſame territory at another quarter, deſtroying and plundering wherever he came; but according to the *Parmeſan* chronicle, he proceeded with great inhumanity, by putting to death ſome of his priſoners. He then attacked and took the caſtle of *Bibbienna*, which he burnt, and made the garriſon priſoners. Thoſe ſucceſſes emboldened him to march towards *Reggio* itſelf; but he was oppoſed by the inhabitants and the marquis of *Eſte*'s troops, whom he entirely defeated, and made many priſoners, amongſt whom were ſeveral of *Eſte*'s chief officers; all of whom were carried in chains to *Parma.* Upon his return, he was intercepted near *Correggio* by the *Parmeſan* exiles, and the marquis of *Eſte*'s army, who, after a bloody engagement, were defeated with loſs; and many perſons of great rank were ſent priſoners to *Parma.* The marquis himſelf was defeated, about the ſame time, by the *Bologneſe* at *Ovignano*, which they took and fortified.

Succeſs of the Parmeſans,

BEFORE the *Parmeſans* and their allies left the field, it was ſecretly agreed upon by the heads of both armies, that they ſhould, in the month of *November*, make a joint attack upon the dominions of the marquis of *Eſte*, by the *Parmeſans* again invading the territory of *Reggio*, while the *Bologneſe* were to fall into the *Modeneſe.* The *Bologneſe* had at their head *Malateſta*; and being aſſiſted by a conſiderable body of troops from *Florence* and the *Romagna*, they beſieged and took *Bazano*, and defeated the marquis, who came to its relief. The *Parmeſans* indeed took the field at the time appointed, but proceeded no farther than *Colorno*, on account of the rainy ſeaſon, which diſcouraged their auxiliaries ſo much, after the fatiguing campaign they had already made, that the whole army returned to *Parma.*

who ravage Reggio.

IN the year 1297, *Bernardino de Rolento* was podeſta of *Parma* for the firſt ſix months; during which the *Parmeſans* renewed their uſual ravages in the territory of *Reggio*, where they made *Simon de Manfredi* priſoner, and burnt his caſtle of *Scandiano*. They then took poſſeſſion of *San Paolo*, which they fortified in behalf of the community of *Parma*, as they did that of *Monte Luzuli*. The firſt of thoſe places belonged to *Azolini di Canuſio*, who ſurrendered it, or rather ſold it, to the *Parmeſans*, with all his eſtate in the neighbourhood, for a ſalary of one thouſand florins a year, and for his admiſſion to the rights and privileges of *Parma*, where he and his friends took up their reſidence. Soon after this, *Manuel de Valeſneria*, at the head of the *Gibelin* exiles, entered the caſtle of *Cornelio*, belonging to the epiſcopal ſee of *Parma*, and fortified the ſame. The *Parmeſans* immediately marched againſt it; and after ſeveral attempts, in which they were defeated, they obliged the rebels to capitulate, on condition of their being permitted to depart with the ſafety of their lives and effects; but the caſtle itſelf was razed to the ground.

A peace concluded;

THOSE mutual ravages being deſtructive to all parties, *Matthew de Correggio*, whoſe eſtate had ſuffered greatly in the war, and the marquis of *Eſte*, began to treat of peace, in which they found great difficulties. The *Gibelin* exiles, and the biſhop's party, exclaimed againſt the marquis for entering upon any treaty without their conſent, and their receiving ſatisfaction for all they had loſt and ſuffered. Add to this, that *Correggio* himſelf had many powerful enemies in *Parma*. The *Bologneſe* likewiſe complained of the *Parmeſans* entering into a ſeparate treaty, and accuſed them of ingratitude, after the great things they had done to ſerve them. Their friends in *Milan* and *Placentia* had likewiſe complaints of the ſame kind; and to appeaſe them, the *Parmeſans* ſent an ambaſſador to each of thoſe cities; but the war ſtill continued between the *Bologneſe* and the marquis of *Eſte*. At laſt the peace was proclaimed, and by it all priſoners on both ſides were ſet at liberty, which ſeems to have been the only article it contained. It is obſerved, that *Bernardino*, in his podeſtate, acquitted himſelf with great honour. He was ſucceeded by *Guaſpar de Garbagnate*, a *Milaneſe*, who was recommended to the *Parmeſans* by *Maffeo Viſconti*. During his podeſtate, a general conſpiracy was formed amongſt all the *Gibelin* exiles, both of the epiſcopal and imperial party; and it was headed by *Manfredoti* of *Cornazano*, who was nearly related to the family of *Rubeis*, one of the moſt powerful in *Parma*. The intention of the conſpirators was to ſurpriſe *Parma*, at the time when the chiefs of the governing *and a conſpiracy defeated.*

party were employed in a negotiation of peace between *Maffeo Viſconti* and the marquis of *Montferrat.* But the conſpirators were too numerous for their deſign to be kept a ſecret; and a terrible ſtorm falling, prevented their ſeveral bodies from marching time enough to the rendezvous. Thus the magiſtrates of *Parma*, being upon their guard, eaſily diſſipated the conſpiracy; and many of the country people, who were found in the place of rendezvous, were executed upon gibbets: as to *Manfredoti* and the other chief conſpirators, being proclaimed traitors, their eſtates were confiſcated, and their houſes demoliſhed.

THE conſpirators being thus diſcovered and defeated, ſeized upon *Monte Saxo*, which they fortified, and thereby harraſſed the open country of *Parma.* Upon this the podeſta and the other magiſtrates aſſembled their army; and though it was then the month of *November*, they laid ſiege to *Monte Saxo*; but through the ſeverity of the ſeaſon they loſt many men, while the ſurvivors, without waiting for the word of command, abandoned the ſiege, and retired firſt to *Borgo di San Domino*, and then to *Parma*, with ſuch precipitation, that the podeſta and the officers left their proviſions behind them on the road. This check ſeems to have inclined the people of *Parma* to a peace with the exiles of *Monte Saxo*; and a negotiation was ſet on foot, under the mediation of *Maffeo Viſconti* and *Alberto Scotti.* In *Parma*, at this time, as well as through all the other cities and ſtates of *Italy*, no fewer than four or five different factions prevailed, beſides the general diſtinction of *Guelphs* and *Gibelins.* The biſhop, whoſe revenues appear to have been greater than that of the ſtate, had ſtill great intereſt there, and a powerful party. The emperor pretended to the direct dominion of the city, and ſo did the pope. *Correggio* and the podeſta, with the magiſtrates, had likewiſe different intereſts; and thoſe of the *Longobardick* league were likewiſe to be ſupported, not to mention the vaſt heart-burnings and diſſentions of the great families amongſt themſelves, independent of what related to the public. The difficulty therefore in making a peace, was to find a proper authority under which it could be concluded.

A new peace and conſpiracy.

MAFFEO and *Alberto* were choſen commiſſioners for the biſhop, and the late podeſta was made a ſyndic or plenipotentiary for the community of *Parma*, to take care of their intereſts againſt the claims both of the biſhop and the emperor; and the place of meeting was the city of *Milan.* After great altercations, the arbiters at laſt pronounced their ſentence, which was, that *Monte Saxo* ſhould be given up to the community of *Parma*, who afterwards demoliſhed it; and that the exiles of all denominations of the epiſcopal as well as the imperial faction, ſhould be at liberty to ſettle in the territory or city of *Parma*, as they thought proper.

THIS year the podeſta, at the head of his militia, demoliſhed the houſes and eſtates of the lords of *Barga*, for having committed ſome violences upon the ſalt-works, and other public edifices belonging to the community. But this was far from reſtoring the tranquility of the ſtate. Notwithſtanding the late pacification, party rage ran as high as ever. *Rainerio Gato* of *Viterbo* was podeſta of *Parma* during the latter end of this year, when *Rolandini de Marano* was accuſed of a deſign to betray the city, and impriſoned, in order to be tried for his life on that charge. *Bernardino della Porta* was baniſhed on the ſame accuſation. *Bariſelli* and *Peter de Sancto Vitale*, both of whom had been baniſhed *Gibelins*, were put to the torture, to make them confeſs a conſpiracy againſt the ſtate; and *Bariſelli* died upon the rack; but *Sancto Vitale*, though he ſurvived it, confeſſed nothing. Notwithſtanding this, the ſpirit of party ran ſo high, that the magiſtrates inſiſted upon his being put to death; but the podeſta, rather than be guilty of ſuch cruelty, abdicated his office, and privately left *Parma* in the night-time with his family. Next morning, his flight being known, a general aſſembly was convoked; and *Melio Mariano*, who was then captain of the people, was choſen podeſta likewiſe; ſo that he held both offices. He was not ſo ſcrupulous as his predeceſſor had been; for perceiving that the governing part of *Parma* were intent upon *Sancto Vitale*'s death, he was beheaded in the public market-place, by his order. As to *Rolandini*, he confeſſed, upon promiſe of life, all that his judges required of him. Thoſe illegal proceedings renewed all the troubles of the republic; ſo that in the beginning of the year 1299, all the *Parmeſan* was filled with robbers, many of whom were executed. The ſame year the community of *Parma* ſent one hundred horſe to the aſſiſtance of *Maffeo Viſconti* at *Milan*; and they ſerved him for two months. This year is remarkable for great ſcarcity of proviſions at *Parma*, as well as for the lightnings that happened in it, and damaged ſome of its public buildings.

Public diſorders in Parma.

GERARDO DE GAMBARA was, the latter part of this year, podeſta of *Parma*; but being called to *Florence* a month before his magiſtracy expired, he was allowed to leave a deputy, who ſerved for the reſt of the time: his name was *Mazalino* of *Breſcia*; and during his government *Magnano de Cornazano*, the chief of the baniſhed *Gibelins*, was taken and brought priſoner to *Parma*, where his head

Revolutions there.

was cut off in the open ſtreet. *Brodario de Saxoferrato* was podeſta of *Parma* in the beginning of the year 1300; but being choſen by the *Florentines* likewiſe to be their chief magiſtrate, he too had a diſpenſation granted him for exerciſing his office by a deputy. About this time the *Parmeſan Gibelins* ſurpriſed and fortified *Cornioli*. Upon this, the captain of the people for that year, and the deputy podeſta, marched with an army to diſlodge them, which they effectually did, and returned in triumph to *Parma*. Soon after this a great revolution happened in the affairs of *Lombardy*, by *Galeazzo* the ſon of *Matteo Viſconti* marrying the daughter of the marquis of *Eſte*. The nuptials were extremely magnificent; and *Galeazzo*, in his way to *Modena*, went through *Parma*, where he was received with vaſt honours, and knighted by the marquis. In his return after his marriage, the new-married couple returned to *Parma*, where a continued courſe of feſtivities laſted for ſome weeks. Amongſt other compliments paid them, the community of *Parma* made preſents to the principal inhabitants of a particular kind of robe, which they wore in honour of the nuptials, as the deputies of *Bologna* likewiſe did; and when the *Milaneſe* court left *Parma*, they and the *Bologneſe* deputies attended them to *Milan* in thoſe robes, where they ſolemnly preſented them to the bride and bridegroom. In ſhort, all *Lombardy* on this occaſion exhibited but one continued ſcene of feaſting, dancing, and other diverſions.

and in Lombardy.

The firſt jubilee.

POPE *Boniface* VIII. this year inſtituted the jubilee which continued thoſe rejoicings at *Parma*, by bringing an immenſe number from the different parts of *Europe* as well as *Italy* to *Rome*; and moſt of the *Tranſalpine* gueſts paſſed through *Parma*, where, the year being remarkably fruitful, they were furniſhed for their money with all kinds of delicacies and refreſhments, which enabled the *Parmeſans* to indemnify themſelves for the expences they had been at in entertaining the court of *Milan*. Next year, in the podeſtate of *Paul Branati* of *Breſcia*, a new officer was appointed by the *Parmeſans*, for the preſervation of their encloſures and vines, which had ſuffered by the vaſt armies of viſitants to the jubilee. The ſame year *Galeazzo* of *Milan*, whom we have already mentioned, ſurpriſed *Bergamo*, from whence he drove all the families that were not in his intereſt, deſtroying their effects, and demoliſhing their houſes. *Parma* was, about the ſame time, honoured by a viſit from *Charles*, brother to the king of *France*, and his wife, the daughter of the emperor of *Conſtantinople*, in his way to *Rome*. The hiſtory of this prince, and his attempt upon *Florence*, has been touched upon in the *Florentine* hiſtory.

Proſperity of Parma.

Revolution in Milan.

y. The *Parmeſans*, at this time, appear to have been in very flouriſhing condition; and they ſet up a mint, in ich they coined pieces of ſilver. They depended greatly the protection of *Maffeo Viſconti* of *Milan*, for whoſe ſer- e they ſeldom entertained fewer than one hundred men at ns, each attended by two horſes, who, this year, received advance of four months pay. To do his family the greater our, their ſocieties of notaries or lawyers, now choſe his for their provoſt, or preſident. But the family of the *nti* became then ſo powerful in *Lombardy*, that a ſtrong federacy was formed againſt them, conſiſting of the *Cre- ſe*, the *Placentines*, with *Alberto Scotti* at their head, *Phi- ni* the lord of *Pavia*, the *Pavians*, the people of *Lodi*, *maſco*, *Novara*, *Vercelli*, the marquis of *Montferrat*, the *ſandrians*, and the powerful houſe of *la Turre*, who headed exiles whom *Galeazzo* had driven out of *Bergamo*. The ple of *Parma* proved faithful; and while he went out to t the confederates, their men at arms remained in *Milan* h *Galeazzo*, to keep the inhabitants there in awe. The federacy, however, was too ſtrong for both father and to withſtand. The people of *Milan* took arms, and drove *eazzo* and his garriſon to *Bergamo*; while the father, ring that *Milan* was irrecoverably loſt, and perceiving ; all reſiſtance was uſeleſs, reſigned his batoon of com- d to *Alberto Scotti*; and was by him carried priſoner to *centia*, to the great grief and mortification of the people *arma*; while his army, which was moſtly compoſed of cenaries, was ſhut out from *Milan*, ſtripped of their arms baggage, and forced to return to their reſpective homes. h is the account given us of this revolution in the chro- e of *Parma*; but *Ferreti* of *Vicenza*[a] is more explicit in relation; and informs us, that the whole was owing to craft and reſentment of *Alberto Scotti*, on account of the mmodation that had been made between *Maffeo* and the quis of *Eſte*; that *Alberto*, being at the head of twenty ſand men, had a ſecret interview with *Maffeo*, who de- d to give him battle; and under falſe pretences per- ed him to reſign his command; and after making his retire, to put himſelf into *Alberto*'s power, who promiſed ake a peace to his advantage.

OON after this the people of *Parma* took proper meaſures rtifying their city, expecting to be attacked; but a ge- l meeting of the confederates was, in the mean while, at *Placentia*, where it was reſolved to reſtore the exiles of all parties in *Lombardy*; and the *Parmeſans* were ſtrongly preſſed by ambaſſadors to enter into the alliance, to ſuffer the biſhop's party to be readmitted into *Parma*, and to receive ſix hundred of the confederated troops into the city, for the preſervation of the public peace. The ſame ambaſſadors likewiſe inſiſted upon the *Parmeſans* joining with them in declaring war againſt the marquis of *Eſte*, unleſs he relinquiſhed *Modena* and *Reggio*. The *Parmeſans*, by inſtructions from their principals, poſitively rejected thoſe terms, and upon their return to *Parma*, freſh troops and money was there levied, and new fortifications were added both to the city and the frontiers for their defence. It was then propoſed by the magiſtracy to enter into a league with the marquis of *Eſte*, and his friends in *Lombardy* and *Tuſcany*, which, in the month of *Auguſt* following, was actually formed. This year a new tax was laid upon the fruits of the earth, to defray the public expences.

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[a] Ferreti apud Murat. tom. ix. pag. 1020.

All thoſe meaſures were exceedingly diſagreeable to the men of property, and of pacific diſpoſitions in *Parma*; and their diſcontents were heightened by a proſpect of famine, in the beginning of the year 1303. At laſt both parties prepared to come to blows; but a body of troops was ſent from *Placentia*, by *Scotti*, to ſupport his faction. While they were upon their march, the marquis of *Eſte* advanced to fight them; but both departed without coming to any action. The near approach of the *Placentines* to the city, gave ſuch an alarm to the *Parmeſans*, that a vote paſſed for carrying a ſtone wall quite round *Parma*, and for adding other fortifications for its ſecurity. This was a proceeding ſo agreeable to both parties, that a vote paſſed in the common council, for giving a power to the podeſta and the captain of the people, to ſettle terms between the two parties, and for compelling all thoſe who ſhould prove refractory to obey them. Accordingly, in the month of *July*, they propoſed a reconciliation between the community, and the exiles of the biſhop's party. This negociation was interrupted by *Gilbert do Correggio*; and the two parties muſt have come to action, had not three of the chief citizens of *Cremona* arrived at *Parma*, and offered them their mediation. This was moſt ſolemnly accepted of, and they were, by the magiſtrates and common council, inveſted with full powers for doing and ordering whatever they thought might be for the peace and benefit of the city. Their award was, that all the exiles and priſoners of the biſhop's party, ſhould be immediately free from all cenſure and puniſhment, and reſtored to *Parma*, with liberty of entering into full poſſeſſion of their eſtates and effects. They ordered,

An accommodation.

as

the ſame time, that a full act of grace ſhould paſs in fa-
ur of all malefactors, who were, in like manner, to be
donned and reſtored. This award being publiſhed, the
ſcopal exiles, with garlands on their heads, returned in
mph to *Parma*, where the party of *Correggio*, to whom they
ed their reſtoration, became now by far the moſt power-
[illegible]

Correggio *made lord and protector of* Parma.

TOWARDS the end of *July*, the friends of *Correggio*, a-
ngſt whom were all the biſhop's party, appeared in great
mbers before the public palace, with ſhouts and exclama-
ns for the long life of *Correggio*, upon whom they imme-
ely laid hands, and by force hurried him into the palace,
ere every thing was in confuſion and uproar. A council
ng ſummoned, *Correggio* was therein created the lord, the
ender and protector of the ſtate, community, and people
Parma, and the conſervator of the above-mentioned award.
was then ſolemnly inveſted in the ſame council, with his
r powers, by his being put into poſſeſſion of the ſtandard
he Bleſſed Virgin, and the chariot that bore it, which
carried into the palace. The next day was appointed
he formal ratification of all that had been agreed upon.
ouncil was accordingly ſummoned, where the members
nt ſwore that they would defend and maintain *Correggio*
is ſaid power; and it was farther ordered, that all the epiſ-
il and other exiles, who had been by the violence of fac-
driven out of the council, ſhould be reſtored to the
e; and if they were not alive, their ſons ſhould fill their
s. Thoſe proceedings gave offence to ſeveral great fa-
s, particularly that of *Rubies*, who retired to their eſtates
he country; but contributed greatly to reſtore the pub-
nquillity. In *October* this year, *Maffeo Viſconti* having
ped from his confinement at *Placentia*, his party became
n ſo powerful, that *Alberto Scotti* and he were recon-
d, upon condition that *Scotti* ſhould aſſiſt him and his ſon
gaining their power at *Milan*; but that was more than
could perform. The family of *la Turre*, or, as they
often called, the *Turriani*, had got abſolute poſſeſſion of
city; and though *Maffeo* and *Scotti* appeared before it
a conſiderable army, they were obliged to draw off with-
making any farther attempt. The *Mantuans* and the
eſe, however, followed the example of *Scotti* by joining
ffeo, as did great numbers of the *Parmeſans*, both horſe
foot, and ſome troops belonging to the marquis of *Eſte*.
the ſame time the magiſtrates of *Parma*, or rather *Cor-*
io, in whoſe perſon the magiſtracy was now fixed, or-

dered a body of their country troops to march into *Placentia*, for the ſecurity of that city.

He is choſen protector of Placentia.

IN the year 1304, the peace of *Parma* was again broken, by one of the family of *Senaza* murdering a kinſman of the protector *Correggio*, in his own palace; upon which the *Senaza* family, with all their friends and dependents, who ſeemed before to live in a good correſpondence with the protector, were driven out of *Parma*, their houſes demoliſhed, and their eſtates confiſcated. About this time *Alberto Scotti*, finding he could do nothing againſt the *Milaneſe*, marched againſt their allies the *Pavians*, and ſent for aſſiſtance to *Parma*, which was readily granted him. While he was upon this expedition, the territory of *Placentia* was invaded by the *Milaneſe*, and their confederates; and this obliged *Scotti* to demand a freſh reinforcement of troops from the *Parmeſans*, who ſent him two hundred men at arms, under the command of *Matteo de Correggio*, brother to the protector. These were followed by a great number of volunteers, and two thouſand of the country troops, all of whom threw themſelves into *Placentia*, and thereby prevented its coming to the poſſeſſion of *Scotti*'s enemies, who were obliged to draw off, and then the *Parmeſans* returned to their own country. This ſeaſonable aſſiſtance enabled *Scotti*, in the mean time, to make ſeveral important conqueſts upon the *Pavians*. But he being returned to *Placentia*, found that a ſtrong party had been formed againſt him, which had been kept in awe by the *Parmeſans*, and his other confederates, during his abſence. They now broke out into open violence, and appeared in arms in the ſtreets, calling out for peace. They were attacked by *Scotti* and his friends, who having ſuppreſſed them with ſome bloodſhed, ſent to *Parma* for freſh reinforcements, which he received. Soon after the territory of *Placentia* was ſuddenly invaded by the *Milaneſe*, under *la Turre* and his confederates, who deſtroyed the open country. The account of this invaſion arriving at *Parma*, *Matteo de Correggio*, at the head of the foot, marched to *Borgo di San Domino*, to the aſſiſtance of the *Placentines*, as *Nicholas de Foliano*, with the horſe, did to *Florenzola*, and obliged the invaders to return home. A few weeks after a ſtronger confederacy than ever was formed againſt *Placentia*, under count *Philipponi* of *Pavia*, who took *Bobbio* and *Rivalgario*, towns within the diſtrict of *Placentia*. This encouraged the malecontents within *Placentia* to form new cabals againſt *Scotti*. The protector of *Parma* came to his aſſiſtance with all the country militia of *Parma*, the horſe, and hired ſoldiers, and two thouſand of the citizens, to aſſiſt *Scotti* and his party. When *Correggio* arrived at that city, he

Revolutions of the Parmeſans.

he found the confederacy againſt *Scotti* to be ſo univerſal and powerful, both within and without *Placentia*, that he adviſed *Scotti* and his family to retire to *Parma*, which they were obliged to do. His retreat ſomewhat pacified the minds of the *Placentines*, and gave *Correggio*, who ſeems not to have been diſintereſted in his advice to *Scotti*, ſo much influence, that he prevailed with the *Placentines* to remove their podeſta from his government, and to receive in his room one of his kinſmen. After this *Correggio*, having formed a party in *Placentia*, and being ſupported by his army, was created, or rather nominated, lord of that city, with all *Scotti*'s powers, for five years. This was done without the conſent of the body of the citizens, who publickly declared, that they never meant to drive out one maſter and receive another, and reproached *Correggio* for his treachery to *Scotti*. *Correggio* now found that he had miſtaken his meaſures; nor did he know how his proceedings would be taken at *Parma*. He therefore left the city of *Placentia*, with all his troops, in great confuſion; and thus the *Placentines* recovered their popular government, or, as they called it, their liberty.

Revolutions in Placentia.

As to *Scotti* himſelf, he and his ſon *Franceſco*, whom he deſigned for his ſucceſſor, and thereby diſobliged his other ſons, remained for ſome time at *Parma*; but never was readmitted into *Placentia*, from whence he, his friends, and family, were either baniſhed or impriſoned. The leagues formed amongſt the ſtates and cities of *Lombardy*, were commonly ſubject to ſo many interruptions and accidents, that they often required to be renewed. *Parma* was this year the place of congreſs, where the *Parmeſans* and the *Cremoneſe* firſt ſwore to a new alliance, into which they invited or admitted the people of *Milan*, *Bergamo*, *Lodi*, *Cremaſco*, *Cumani*, *Vercelli*, *Novara*, and *Pavia*. This year the marquis of *Eſte* married the daughter of *Charles*, king of *Naples*, and, upon his return home, he was met at *Sienna* by deputies from *Parma*, who attended him to *Modena*, where they were magnificently entertained, and preſented the principal perſons of the court there with robes, on the part of the protector and community of *Parma*, where civil diſſentions again broke out. One of the family of *Rubeis* had taken up arms at *Segalaria*; and the protector having ſent his ſervant to examine how matters ſtood, he was murdered on his return by one of the ſame family, and his body brought to *Parma*. Upon this the people ſet fire to the houſes of the *Rubeis*. Soon after the two factions of the *Guelphs* and *Gibelins* were again in arms in *Parma*; but the former were defeated and driven out of the city, and were, at the ſame time, declared exiles and rebels. Theſe advantages rendered the protector, and the *Gibelin* faction, abſolute maſters of the government; and many *Gibelins* who had been baniſhed, and had refuſed to accept of the late pacification, now returned. Notwithſtanding this the *Guelphs* ſtill continued in arms, but the podeſta was ſent againſt them with all the force of *Parma*, and with orders utterly to deſtroy all their eſtates and houſes in the country, particularly thoſe of the *Rubeis* in the diſtricts of *Colliculo*, *Segalaria*, and *Noviano*. The *Parmeſans*, on this occaſion, were aſſiſted by a detachment of horſe belonging to the marquis of *Eſte*, under the count *de Sartiana*; and the barbarous orders were executed with the utmoſt punctuality.

Affairs of the Guelphs, *who are protected by the marquis of* Eſte.

THIS perſecution of the *Guelphs* ſerved only to render their party more powerful, as it was now plain that *Correggio* had rendered himſelf the tyrant of *Parma*. *Gerard de Henzola* and *Paul Ruffa*, two men of note, and greatly in favour with the protector, entered into a conſpiracy againſt him, in which they were privately encouraged by the marquis of *Eſte*, who never had loſt ſight of his deſign to become the maſter of *Parma*. The conſpiracy was diſcoverd, and *Henzola* and *Ruffa* were thrown into the common priſon. *Correggio*, finding that the marquis of *Eſte*, who was already too powerful in *Lombardy*, was at the bottom of the conſpiracy, ſent ſecret agents who treated with the *Bologneſe*, the *Mantuans*, the *Veroneſe*, and the exiles of *Modena* and *Reggio*, for ſurprizing the two latter cities. This negociation was carried on ſo ſecretly, that it never was ſuſpected, till in *October* the protector appeared with a body of troops before *Reggio*, and attempted to ſcale its walls; but he was repulſed. He found means, however, to take *San Gemminiani*, and ſome other places belonging to *Reggio*, which he demoliſhed, but fortified the epiſcopal palace there, and returned without any farther action to *Parma*. While this paſſed at *Reggio*, the *Bologneſe*, who had undertaken to ſurprize *Modena* in like manner, and on the ſame day, made themſelves maſters of the bridge of *St. Ambroſe*, and an adjacent caſtle, which they intirely demoliſhed, and then went to *Borgo*, for ſo the ſuburbs of *Modena* were called, where they did great damage, and then they beſieged and took the town of *Nouantola*, upon which they had an old claim; but found its rich abbey ſo well fortified, that they could not take it, and winter coming on, they were obliged to return to *Bologna*.

THE *Mantuans* and the *Veroneſe*, who were two other capital parties in the league againſt the marquis of *Eſte*, had undertaken to prevent the *Cremoneſe* from coming to his aſſiſtance. Upon this the protector of *Parma*, with two thouſand men, renewed his attempt upon *Reggio*; but, after lying before it fifteen days, the rain and ſnow that fell, together with the advanced ſeaſon of the year, obliged him to return to *Parma*. Their viſit was repaid by the troops of the marquis of *Eſte*, who invaded the territory of *Parma* in their turn, and laid great part of it waſte with fire and ſword. About the ſame time, *viz.* in *December*, the *Rubeis* and the other exiled families of the *Guelph* faction, took and fortified the caſtle of *Serano*. This being known at *Parma*, notwithſtanding the rigour of the ſeaſon, the protector and podeſta took the field with all the troops they could raiſe, and laid ſiege for twenty-two days to the place, which at laſt, with great difficulty, was taken, by granting the garriſon an honourable capitulation, and ſafety as to their effects and perſons. During this ſiege the *Rubeis*, and their aſſociates, proffered their ſervices to the marquis of *Eſte*, who had been before their enemy; but now received them into his protection, and aſſigned them their reſidence in *Reggio*, and a body of men, with which they invaded and deſtroyed the eſtates of the protector, and attempted, but in vain, to raiſe the ſiege of *Serano*.

War between the Reggians quelled.

THIS invaſion, and the deſtruction of the protector's eſtates, ſerved but to exaſperate him the more againſt the marquis of *Eſte*; and in the beginning of the year 1306, he again took the field, and became maſter of ſeveral places belonging to *Modena* and *Reggio*, particularly *Caſſalo*, *Carpi*, *Ganazeto*, and *Budrioni*. This was followed by the expulſion out of *Reggio* and *Modena* of all the party and dependents of the *Eſte* family, many of whom were killed or wounded. This done, *Correggio* marched, at the head of his *Parmeſans* and his *Bologneſe* auxiliaries, into *Reggio*. The *Reggians* imagined that he had deſigns upon their liberties, and ſome of them took arms; but not being properly ſupported by their fellow citizens, the inſurrection was quelled by *Correggio*, with the deaths of ſeveral *Reggians*. This commotion made *Correggio*, from what he had experienced at *Placentia*, cautious of farther provoking the *Reggians*, and he affected to leave their government to their own diſpoſal, the rather as his *Bologneſe* auxiliaries were now returned home. He even reſtored to them the epiſcopal tower, together with *Budriano*, and all that he had taken from them while they were the ſubjects of the marquis of *Eſte*. By thoſe proceedings he induced the *Reggians* to chuſe his brother *Matteo* for their podeſta; and he accordingly ſettled at *Reggio* with his family. All the *Guelph* faction, however, who were at *Reggio*, and who were both rich and powerful, left that city, and retired to their eſtates in the country, by which the *Mantuans* and *Veroneſe* were enabled to take the caſtle of *Razoli*.

Marriage of Correggio's *daughters.*

CORREGGIO, who was now at the height of his reputation, gave away two of his daughters, and a grand-daughter, in one day in marriage: the eldeſt to *Alloin de la Scala*, lord of *Verona*; the ſecond to *Franceſco*, ſon to *Puperini* of *Mantua*; and the grand-daughter to *Boylardino* of *Verona*. Thoſe ladies were attended with a noble cavalcade of *Parmeſans* to the place of their nuptials, which was *Verona*; and thoſe matches greatly ſtrengthened the *Gibelin* intereſt in *Lombardy*. This year the cities and ſtates of *Parma*, *Bologna*, *Modena*, *Reggio*, *Verona*, and *Breſcia*, met by their deputies and plenipotentiaries, created for that purpoſe, at *Bologna*, where they entered into a ſolemn confederacy to take *Ferrara* from the marquis of *Eſte*. At this time the chief *Bologneſe* had ſo good an opinion of *Correggio*, that the podeſta of *Bologna* was in every reſpect directed by him. This podeſta was a *Parmeſan*, and his name was *Simon Ferrapecora*. But the common people were in general for the *Guelphs*; and two of that faction being impriſoned and tried for a charge of high treaſon (upon which they were acquitted) the common people of *Bologna* diſcovered the moſt extravagant expreſſions of joy, and at laſt drove the *Gibelins* out of the city, and pillaged their houſes. Notwithſtanding this they had ſo great a regard for the ſervices that had been done to the ſtate by *Correggio*, that they offered to continue his podeſta in his office; but the latter was ſo apprehenſive of the conſequences of their fury, that he reſigned it, and went back to *Parma*. But, in fact, the *Guelphs* of *Bologna* cared as little for the pope as they did for the emperor; for when the legate from his holineſs appeared in *Bologna*, and harangued the people to perſuade them to ſubmit to the holy ſee, he was driven out of the city, and moſt contumeliouſly uſed. It was about this time, that the inhabitants of *Val di Taro* expelled the *Gibelin* faction, for which the *Placentines*, their maſters, beſieged their town, and by the help of the *Parmeſans* reduced it to their obedience.

Commotions in Italy.

About the middle of *July* this year, the confederates took the field againſt the marquis of *Eſte*, and, amongſt others, were joined by the *Parmeſans*, and by two hundred ſoldiers furniſhed by *Correggio* from his own private fortune. They marched directly for *Ferrara*, and encamped ſo near it, that the trumpets of the allied army were diſtinctly heard within that city, the marquis of *Eſte* not daring to attack them. The exiles of *Placentia*, in the intereſt of *Scotti*, laid hold of that opportunity to ſurprize the caſtle of *Vigolini*, which the *Placentines* immediately beſieged, with the aſſiſtance of four hundred horſe and foot, ſent to them by the *Parmeſans*; and having obliged the garriſon to capitulate, they demoliſhed the place. The government of *Bologna* being now in the hands of the *Guelphs*, entered into a league with the marquis of *Eſte*, and had ſent a body of troops to his aſſiſtance, which obliged the *Parmeſans*, and their confederates, to raiſe the ſiege of *Ferrara*; but they took the caſtle of *Braganti*, belonging to the marquis. The *Parmeſans*, about the ſame time, fortified their bridges upon the river of *Parma* and *Entia*, to prevent the incurſions of their enemies.

Arts of the protector of Parma.

IN the year 1307, *Tadde* of *Reggio*, ſerved *Parma* both as podeſta and captain of the people; but the *Parmeſans* being now deſtitute of military commanders, applied to the *Lucqueſe*, who ſent them one *Landi* to be their captain of the people. A civil war at the ſame time broke out in *Modena*, between the *Guelphs* and *Gibelins*, in which the latter were ſo roughly handled, that *Azo*, the *Parmeſan* podeſta's ſon, was ſent with a body of troops from *Parma* to the aſſiſtance of the *Modeneſe Gibelins*. All this was done by the direction and authority of the protector and *Correggio*, who becoming now intolerable by the cruel exerciſe of his government, hired troops from *Verona* and *Mantua*, and even many *German* ſoldiers of fortune, who were extremely odious to the *Parmeſans* to protect him in his tyranny. His conduct at laſt obliged the other heads of the *Parmeſan* government to enter into a ſecret conſpiracy againſt him. Even ſome who were thought to have been of his own party left *Parma*, and joined the *Rubeis*, the *Lupi*, and other exiles, who, at the invitation of the lords of *Canoſſa*, a famous caſtle in the *Modeneſe*, took poſſeſſion of *Seſſo*, a caſtle in the ſame neighbourhood, and fortified it as other exiles did *Corvaria*. *Rodolfo Garſoni* of *Modena*, was then podeſta of *Parma*, and he, with *Matteo de Correggio*, marched with the *Parmeſan* troops, and laid ſiege to *Corvaria*; but they were defeated with conſiderable loſs by the exiles, which obliged the beſiegers, after laying waſte the eſtates of the *Paleoti*, to whom the caſtle of *Corvaria* belonged, to return to *Parma*.

He is defeated;

but aſſiſted.

AFTER this misfortune, the protector was obliged to apply to his allies of *Verona*, *Mantua*, and *Breſcia*, who ſent a conſiderable body of troops to his aſſiſtance. This reinforcement enabled him to favour the *Gibelins* of *Placentia*, who expelled many of the *Guelphs* from that city and diſtrict.

A famine.

THE uninterrupted wars which the *Parmeſans* had ſuſtained, in fighting in the quarrels of their tyrant *Correggio*, had occaſioned ſuch a ſcarcity of hands for agriculture, that the ground had for ſome time lain uncultivated; and proviſions were this year ſo dear, that the magiſtrates were obliged to order a general ſearch to be made, both in the city and country, for grain; where ſo inconſiderable a quantity was found, that they were obliged to buy it at an exceſſive rate, and to ſell it at great loſs in the open ſtreet, to prevent the people from ſtarving. This dreadful calamity was attributed to the ambition of *Correggio*, and added ſo much to his unpopularity, that in *June*, this year, a meeting was held of the chief citizens of *Parma*, *Gibelins* as well as *Guelphs*, to concert meaſures for depoſing him from his government. *Correggio*, who is ſaid to have been a man of great abilities and addreſs, found out the purport of this meeting, and immediately ſummoned all his friends and dependents to attend him at *Parma*. The conſpirators, whoſe head was one *Anſelmo de Marano*, perceiving that they were diſcovered, fled out of the city, and were baniſhed; while ſome, who had come to *Parma* on the protector's ſummons, were impriſoned; and no fewer than twenty-ſeven of the heads of the *Guelphs* were thrown into the common jails. This ſeverity, for that time, quelled the conſpiracy; and the *Paleoti* family, who had been baniſhed, and their eſtates forfeited, had their ſentences reverſed, and returned to *Parma*; as did ſeveral other of the chief conſpirators, who, upon promiſe of pardon, were ſeemingly reconciled to the protector; but *Anſelmo de Marano* died ſoon after his flight. The family of *Rubeis* ſtill ſtood out, which obliged the protector and the podeſta to aſſemble all the force of *Parma*, and their auxiliaries of *Reggio*, and once more to beſiege the caſtle of *Seſſo*, which was held by the *Rubeis*; but all the beſiegers could do was to lay waſte the open country, and to return to *Parma*. While this expedition was going forward, the *Placentines* laid ſiege to *Bardi* on the river *Sevo*; and the protector of *Parma* ſent them one hundred foot-ſoldiers, to remain in garriſon at *Placentia* during the abſence of their army.

The protector unpopular.

His power decreaſes.

It appears, that the power of the protector began now to decreaſe in *Parma*; for the community there, at this time, delivered ſome of the capital conſpirators, who had been impriſoned, out of their confinement; and re-admitted others, who had been baniſhed, into the city. In the month of *June*, the podeſta, at the head of his militia and ſoldiers, again invaded the eſtates belonging to the lords of *Canoſſa*; while the *Reggians* deſtroyed the lands of *Padarno*, as far as *Felini*, belonging to the ſame lords, and then returned home. In *July*, the exiles of *Placentia*, *Milan*, *Lodi*, and *Cremona*, aſſembled and ſurpriſed the monaſtery of *Columba*; from whence they marched to *Monticelli*, which lies in the neighbourhood of

Ronchaglia, a place belonging to *Placentia*, and ſeized and fortified the ſame. The inhabitants of *Placentia*, upon this, ſent to *Parma* for ſuccours, to enable them to diſpoſſeſs the exiles from their new acquiſition, which were immediately ſent them; while the protector, with the reſt of the army, marched to *Fiorenzola*, and from thence to *Borgo di San Domino*; from whence he moved to the diſtrict of *Fontana*, where he expected to have been joined by the *Placentines*, according to agreement, that they might march in conjunction againſt the exiles. He was at laſt joined, but by a few of the latter, and the whole army marched to *Ronchaglia*; but the heats of the ſeaſon were ſo exceſſive, that neither water nor forage could be had; ſo that many of the *Placentines*, their cavalry eſpecially, periſhed in their march; and the podeſta was obliged to bring back his army to *Fiorenzola*, from whence he returned to *Parma*. A part of the *Placentine* army was ſtill lying before *Bardi*; but hearing of the diſaſters of their countrymen, they raiſed the ſiege, and retired with precipitation to *Placentia*.

The Placentines *war with the* Cremoneſe.

THIS year the *Placentines*, who were in garriſon in the towns of *Fiorenzola*, and others in its neighbourhood, were driven out of the ſame; and they were taken poſſeſſion of by *Alberto Scotti*, and the *Florentine* exiles under *Lupi*, upon the invitation of the inhabitants. From thence *Scotti* and the exiles of his party marched againſt *Placentia* itſelf, where every thing was in confuſion; and, by the aſſiſtance of *Lupi*, he got poſſeſſion of one of the gates, and expelled from thence all the heads of the party againſt him, many of whom were *Parmeſans*, obliging them to take refuge in *Bobbio*. Upon the news of this unexpected revolution arriving at *Parma*, the podeſta of that city marched with his army to the ſuccour of the *Placentines*; but did not venture to proceed farther than *Borgo di San Domino*, on account of the diſcontents that broke out in *Parma*. It was now known, that *Lupi* and *Rubeis* had conducted the enterprize againſt *Placentia*; and they were juſtly ſuppoſed to be irreconcileable enemies to the podeſta and his friends in *Parma*.

WHILE this conſternation laſted, a murder was committed, in the preſence of the protector, in the church of *St. Peter*. This rendered it neceſſary to reconſecrate the church; which ceremony was performed by the biſhop of *Reggio*, becauſe the biſhop of *Parma* refuſed to do it, and continued upon his guard againſt the protector at *Colorno*; all his eſtate within the city being ſeized by the protector, who was now more unpopular than ever. Underſtanding that the exiles had been ſheltered and aſſiſted in the *Cremoneſe*, he confederated with the *Mantuans* to lay waſte that diſtrict, and, if poſſible, to make themſelves maſters of *Cremona* itſelf. Towards the end of *Auguſt*, having made extraordinary preparations for that purpoſe, he and the podeſta marched out of *Parma* to *Briſſello*, with all the force they could muſter; while the *Mantuans*, having fitted out a number of ſmall veſſels, attacked the *Cremoneſe* by water, and took *Ponte de Doxolo*. The confederates then laid waſte *Monteſori*, *Vidali*, *Portioli*, *Caſal Maggiore*, *Rivarola*, and *Luzzara*, with many other places, thereby intirely ruining that delightful country. *Guaſtalla* ſubmitted to the protector; but he intirely razed its fortifications. The *Veroneſe* and the *Breſcians* at the ſame time, as being the allies of *Parma*, entered the *Cremoneſe*, and had their ſhare of the plunder.

The magiſtracy of Parma *diſguſted.*

THOSE barbarities were extremely diſguſting to the magiſtrates of *Parma*, from whoſe knowledge the whole expedition had been kept a ſecret; ſo that it was undertaken without the conſent of the council or community of *Parma*, which the protector was obliged, by his oath of office, to have conſulted. All he ſaid in his defence was, that the *Cremoneſe* were the enemies of *Parma*; and at the ſame time he gave orders for fortifying *Briſſello*, *Colorno*, *Seſſo*, and *Borgo di San Domino*, under pretence of defending them againſt the *Cremoneſe*; but, in reality, to hold them againſt the *Parmeſans* themſelves, who were now every day conſpiring his ruin. His intentions were ſo viſible, that *Rubeis* and the other exiles joined with the *Milaneſe*, the *Cremoneſe*, the *Lodeſe*, and the *Pavians*, and laid waſte the lands of their enemies about *Parma*. The protector's enemies were equally active againſt him within the city; but having the army at his devotion, and being well ſerved by ſpies, all their intrigues were diſcovered, and the conſpirators were puniſhed, either by death or baniſhment.

A new expedition.

THE protector and the podeſta then paſſed the *Taro*, and again marched into the *Cremoneſe* by another quarter, where they renewed their devaſtations; as the *Breſcians* did in the country about *Ponte Vico*, and even in the neighbourhood of *Cremona* itſelf. On the other hand, the *Cremoneſe* marched againſt *Briſſello*, which was garriſoned by *Parmeſans*, who defeated the *Cremoneſe* with a conſiderable ſlaughter. In the middle of *October*, *James della Smaza* and *Palamede*, the natural ſon of *William de Rubeis*, at the head of ſome exiles, were defeated by the *Parmeſans* near *Borgo di San Domino*, and both the leaders, with many of their ſoldiers, were carried priſoners to *Parma*, where the common men were executed upon gibbets; but the leaders were led away to

Guardaxoni. The farther operations of this campaign were prevented by a prodigious ſwell of the rivers all over *Lombardy*. The late conqueſt obtained by the protector had rendered him ſo inſolent, that, when the term of the podeſta's government was expired, none choſe to ſucceed him in that command, till *William de Foligni*, who was then captain of the people, took it upon himſelf, and exerciſed both offices at the ſame time. At laſt, one *Malavolta* of *Sienna*, who had been podeſta of *Breſcia*, was invited to the podeſtate of *Parma*, which he accepted of, upon the ſalary being augmented, and entered upon his office with great pomp and popularity.

Differences between the Venetians *and the* Parmeſans.

THIS year the *Venetians*, at the requeſt of the marquis of *Eſte*, the *Cremoneſe*, the *Milaneſe*, the *Pavians*, and the *Bergameſe*, attempted to carry ſalt and other merchandizes up the *Po*, to ſupply the inland parts of *Italy*; but the *Parmeſans*, dealing largely themſelves in ſalt, oppoſed the navigation. The *Venetians* remonſtrated, again and again, by their ambaſſadors, that this oppoſition was unjuſt, and that they had a right to the free navigation of the *Po*: but all their remonſtrances were in vain; for the *Parmeſans* would not yield; and thus ſalt, and other commodities, became ſo exceſſively dear at *Cremona*, *Pavia*, and other places, that they could not procure the proper ingredients, then in uſe, for their *Chriſtmas* feſtivities. A quarrel, about this time, happening between the *Cremoneſe* and the *Breſcians*, the *Parmaſans* ſent four hundred ſoldiers to the aſſiſtance of the latter, who thereby recovered the territory of *Gicdo*, which had revolted to the enemy, and brought the garriſon priſoners to *Breſcia*. In the year 1308, *Malavolta* of *Sienna* being ſtill podeſta of *Parma*, an accommodation was concluded between the protector *Correggio*, and the then abbot of the monaſtery of *St. John*, who returned home with all his adherents. This year died the marquis of *Eſte*; and, by the aſſiſtance of the *Bologneſe* and the *Venetians*, he was ſucceeded by his natural ſon *Friſco*, or *Francis*. Some hiſtorians ſay, that *Friſco*, fearing his father might have legitimate children by his wife, put him to death. But *Parma* was now on the eve of a great revolution.

Conſpiracy againſt the protector.

THE protector, thinking that his power could not now be ſhaken, went to take a few days diverſion upon his eſtate at *Correggio*, which gave his enemies an opportunity to put into execution the conſpiracy they had ſo long meditated againſt him. Upon his return to the epiſcopal palace, where he ſtill had his reſidence, near *Parma*, he found that ſome of his chief domeſtics had made an attempt to ſeize the palace; into which with ſome difficulty he forced his way, and, being aſſiſted by thoſe who were ſtill true to him, a ſharp diſpute enſued; but he drove the conſpirators out of the palace. Fearing, as indeed was the caſe, that the conſpiracy had ſpread farther, he and his retinue immediately took horſe, and rode to *Parma*; but his entrance was oppoſed by a great number of the *Guelphs* at the head of the bridge. The protector, however, who had now received a conſiderable reinforcement, beat his enemies from their poſt, and entered the city, where his party took arms, and plundered or ſet fire to the houſes of the chief *Guelphs*, many of whom they put to death; and, amongſt others, *Oddovrandi*, a venerable old nobleman. As thoſe diſorders were, in fact, as much owing to rapacity and avarice as to party or religion, the mob every hour grew ſtronger; and the murders, plunderings, and robberies, continued for a whole day. A party of the *Guelphs*, however, took poſſeſſion of *St. George's-ſtreet*, crying out, "Peace, "peace, the people, the people;" and cut off the communication between *Saxoli de Saxolo*, captain of the mercenaries, and the protector. The captain found means to join the protector by another quarter; but, it being now dark, nothing farther happened that night; and all parties continued under arms, fortified their houſes, barricading the ſtreets, and preparing for action next morning. No ſooner did light appear, than every ſtreet of *Parma* became a ſcene of tumult and bloodſhed; but the *Guelphs* muſt have prevailed, had not the podeſta interpoſed, and, by undertaking an accommodation, perſuaded them to forego their advantage. The *Gibelini*, being reinforced by the protector, availed themſelves of this truce, and put to flight their enemies, moſt of whom fled out of the city towards *Cremona*; while the *Gibelini*, as uſual, plundered and ſet on fire their houſes.

who is driven out of Parma.

DE RUBEIS and *Lupi*, with the other exiles of *Parma*, were all this while at *Cremona*, ſtrengthening their party; and they no ſooner heard that the inſurrection was begun at *Parma* than they ſet out for that city, attended by the podeſta of *Cremona*, with his militia and the *Breſcian* exiles: but upon their march being met by the *Parmeſan* fugitives, who informed them of the diſcomfiture of their party, they returned to *Grugni*, beyond the *Taro*, where they remained for a whole night. The protector interpreted their retreat as a flight, and perhaps was the leſs ſolicitous about the care of the city. The exiles, however, had many even amongſt thoſe who appeared in his party, who correſponded with them, and who promiſed, if they appeared before the gate of St. *Hilary*, to open it, and admit them into the city. In conſequence of this agreement, *Rubeis* and *Lupi*, with the other exiles, and not above thirty of the *Cremoneſe*, preſented themſelves before that gate, which was opened to them by their friends; but marching on to the gate of the *Holy Croſs*, they found it ſhut, and were preparing to force it, when the protector, looking over the wall, and ſeeing them but a handful, ordered the gate to be thrown open, and attacked the exiles with great vigour. The latter, however, behaved with ſuch intrepidity, that they obliged the protector to fall back; and this ſmall advantage encouraged the concealed *Guelphs* in his train to declare openly againſt him; ſo that the exiles found means to enter the gate of the *Holy Croſs* along with the fugitives, and were thereupon joined by great numbers of the inhabitants, ſo that all the cry in that quarter was now for the people. The protector ſtill maintained his ground, and made a moſt obſtinate reſiſtance, in which many on both parties were killed or wounded; but at laſt, towards night, the protector and all his friends and followers were obliged to fly through the quarter of *St. Benedict*. Night favoured their retreat, and they eſcaped partly to *Reggio*, which city was ſtrongly in the protector's intereſt, and partly to *Correggio*. In this rout, *Saxoli*, who has been already mentioned, was taken, and delivered to *Rubeis*, who treated him with the greateſt reſpect and humanity, partly on account of his valour, and partly becauſe of his great intereſt.

The *Guelphs* made the ſame cruel uſe of their ſucceſs as the *Gibelins* had done of theirs. All the fugitives of their party returning home, the robbings and burnings were renewed, and the *Gibelins* were perſecuted and murdered in their turn. The public ſuffered moſt by the followers of *Rolandino Sarcza*, who were compoſed of ruſtics and banditti of every denomination, and had been baniſhed on account of their crimes. Thoſe wretches, being joined by all the needy and neceſſitous of the city, took poſſeſſion of the two public palaces, the houſes of the podeſta and the captain of the people, the collectors of the revenue, the judges, and the courts of juſtice, where they tore into ſmall pieces the records and ſentences againſt all malefactors, and throwing them out of the window, the air was filled with them, ſays my authority, as with flakes of ſnow; by this proceeding getting rid of their baniſhments, and paying their debts. They even cut in pieces the robes of the podeſta, and the other magiſtrates, civil and criminal. When thoſe violences were ſomewhat abated, by the interpoſition of the heads of the magiſtracy, who ſtill reſided at *Parma*, *James de Cavalcabo* of *Cremona*, who, with his two ſons, had been highly inſtrumental in the late revolutions, was choſen podeſta of *Parma*; and the firſt exerciſe of

Diſorders there.

his office was to put a total end to the ravages and plunderings in the city and ſuburbs. All this while, the podeſta and ſoldiers of *Cremona* had remained at *Grugni*; but the new podeſta, to ſtrengthen his authority, invited them to *Parma*, where they remained for ſome days. They then ſet out for *Cremona*, after inſulting *Correggio* and *Campignani*, where the late protector and his brother were ſhut up. Before their departure, their chief officers received from the community of *Parma* preſents of ſcarlet robes, lined with furs. In their return, they ravaged the territory of *Bruſolo*. An exchange of priſoners was then ſet about, in which *James della Senaza*, *Palamede de Rubeis*, and other noble *Guelphs* of *Parma*, were exchanged for *Saxolo*. This new eſtabliſhment of *Parma* did not long continue, becauſe the individuals of the party that had prevailed were united in no principle, but in that of oppoſition to *Correggio*. *Benno* of *Bologna* was made captain of the people; and had no ſooner entered on his office, than all who were known or ſuſpected to be of the *Gibelin* or biſhop's party, were put under arreſt. This did not content the common people, whoſe chief view was plunder; and about the middle of *May* they ran to arms, and the ſtreet reſounded with the cry of "Down with the *Gibelins*." They then fell upon the houſe of *Oppizoni de Henzola*, the *Thomaſini*, and *Altarmani*; and, after plundering them, ſet them on fire, and the flames communicated to many other houſes in the neighbourhood. It was no wonder, that the moſt ſenſible of the *Guelph* leaders began now to think, that the tyranny of the mob was leſs ſupportable than that of *Correggio* had been, and that ſome of them entered into a private treaty with him. *Correggio*, by all accounts, was a man of parts and addreſs; and perhaps had been, for his own ſafety, forced to give way to many of the exceſſes that had been committed under his government. He readily yielded to the propoſal for an accommodation; and promiſed, if he was reſtored, to replace the people of *Parma* in their juſt rights, and, if poſſible, to aboliſh all heats and diſtinctions of party. *James della Senaza* was the principal agent in this accommodation. He had obtained leave from the community of *Parma* to fortify the caſtle of *Henzola*, or, as others call it, *Inzola*; which he did, according to the manner of thoſe times, very ſtrongly; and then ſent a meſſage to the community, complaining that *Lorioli Burencato*, and *Pinati della Senaza*, who had been baniſhed for the murder of *Ugardi de Correggio*, had been re-admitted into the city. Though there was great weight in this complaint, yet it was diſregarded; upon which *Senaza*, receiving a ſupply of troops from *Correggio*, bade defiance to the community

Treaty for reſtoring the protector.

munity of *Parma*, and began to ravage their lands, eſpecially of ſuch as held any in the biſhopric.

THOMASINI and *Oppizeni de Henzola*, who had been amongſt the moſt forward to expel the protector, reſenting the burning of their houſes, declared themſelves of the ſame party with *Senaza*, and ſurpriſed *Opilio*, into which they likewiſe admitted *Correggio*'s troops. The ravages in the *Parmeſan* territory were now renewed; and *Correggio* himſelf taking the field, he ſpread devaſtation to the very gates of *Parma*. It may juſtly be wondered at, by our readers, how a ſmall country, ſuch as that of *Parma*, could ſubſiſt under ſo many repeated ravages. We have, in another place, made the ſame remark, and ſhall only add here, that thoſe ravages are not ſuppoſed to be univerſal, and that each party only deſtroyed the poſſeſſions of the other; and perhaps in ſome places the words plundering and burning are only uſed of courſe, to ſignify any hoſtile invaſion.

who is joined by the chief exiles.

The *Guelph* party within the city were equally active; and ſo forward were all ranks of people to aſſiſt in keeping out the late protector, that when oxen were wanting to draw a large battering engine, the boys in the ſtreets performed the ſervice. Every thing being ready for taking the field, the community came to a reſolution to defend themſelves to extremity, and while their podeſta was abſent, to make freſh levies againſt the late tyrant and his new allies. The podeſta next marched with all the force he could then bring together againſt the enemy, and advanced to *Henzola*, which lies about nine miles from *Parma*, but is now a place of no note; but all they could do was to renew their ravages; for they found *Correggio*'s party ſo ſtrong, that they were obliged to return to *Parma*. By this time the new levies had been raiſed with ſurpriſing ſucceſs; and a general council being called, colours were formally delivered to the reſpective companies, and a promotion of officers took place. The podeſta then took the field, at the head of the moſt numerous and beſt appointed army that *Parma* ever had ſent out, and marched by *Sorbolo* towards *Henzola*. In their march, ſo ſure did they think themſelves of ſucceſs, that they detached two hundred horſe and two hundred foot, to the aſſiſtance of their allies the *Cremoneſe*, who were hardly preſſed by the *Milaneſe*, *Pavians*, *Placentines*, and all the neighbouring people, in revenge of their having invaded *Breſcia*. This detachment advanced to *Bina Nova*, lying on the banks of the *Lodio*, over which they propoſed to throw a bridge; but after various debates and attempts, they did nothing more than draw off part of the enemy to attend their motions. Their appearance

A fruitleſs expedition.

however was of great uſe to the *Cremoneſe*, who, with the aſſiſtance of their allies of *Mantua* and *Verona*, defended themſelves ſo bravely, that their enemies were obliged to break up their camp, while the *Parmeſan* detachment returned to their main army, which lay before *Henzola*. At this time *Zefredini della Turre* of *Milan* came to *Parma*, with two hundred men under his command, to join the *Parmeſan* army; but, at the requeſt of the inhabitants, he remained in *Parma* for the defence of the city.

The protector entirely defeats the Parmeſans,

But *Correggio* now had aſſembled all his force, conſiſting of the *Gibelins* of the imperial as well as epiſcopal party, a great number of *Reggians*, though they ſerved without conſent of the community of *Reggio*, the militia and ſoldiers of *Modena*, who were commanded by their own captain and officers, all the *Bologneſe* exiles, the counts *Punigo* and *Paleoti*, the *Parmeſan* exiles, with their tenants, *Malaſpina* of *Lunigiana*, and many others, who moſt of them, at this time, ſerved in *Correggio*'s pay, and were by him well equipped in all the neceſſaries of war, beſides his own tenants. At firſt *Correggio* ſent them propoſals for an accommodation, the ſame as he had agreed upon with *Senaza* and his friends; and though they were rejected by the majority, who were afraid of truſting him, yet they created a diviſion in the *Parmeſan* army; but a battle appeared unavoidable. *Correggio* was ſenſible that his force was not equal in number to that of the *Parmeſans*; but being ſuperior to their commanders in the art of war, he made ſo judicious a choice of his ground, that the enemy could not attack him, but under great diſadvantages. *Ferreti Vicentini* [a] tells us, though the *Parmeſan* chronicle is ſilent as to the fact, that this gave him leiſure to recal his ſon-in-law *Alboin*, then ſerving in the *Breſcian*, who accordingly joined him with ſome choice troops. Both armies lay for ſome time inactive in ſight of each other. At laſt the *Parmeſans*, aſhamed to be longer idle, drew up their army with much greater parade than military diſcipline, and moved to the attack; but ſo greatly divided amongſt themſelves, that their march was without order or regularity. *Correggio* had foreſeen this, and ſeemed to retreat. This increaſed the diſorder of the enemy; and watching his opportunity, he gave the ſignal for the attack; and the *Parmeſan* cavalry, which formed their van, was inſtantly thrown into confuſion, and forced back upon their infantry, at the very time their leaders thought themſelves certain of victory. The conſternation which this occaſioned was ſo great, that the in-

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[a] Ferreti Vicent. apud Murat. tom. ix. pag. 1032.

infantry neither advanced nor retired, and many ſuffered themſelves to be cut into pieces without reſiſtance, a few of the cavalry only eſcaping by the ſwiftneſs of their horſes. At laſt *Correggio* put a ſtop to the carnage which muſt otherwiſe have been total, on account of the cruelty of his mercenaries, who thought they could not pleaſe him better than by butchering his enemies; ſuch of the *Parmeſans* as ſurvived were put in irons; but few of the wounded recovered, and the ſlain amounted to above five thouſand men. Such is the account of this battle, ſo memorable in the *Parmeſan* annals, that is given by *Vicentini*. According to the chronicle of *Parma*, above one hundred of the principal citizens of *Parma* were killed on the ſpot; but the author does not particularize the whole loſs, though he acknowledges it to have been very great; and by his account it muſt have amounted to little leſs than that mentioned by *Vicentini*. Some of the priſoners were carried to *Caſtro Nuovo*, which had been built by *Correggio* upon his own eſtate; others were ſent to *Pubuli*, *Campignani*, *Henzola*, and *Guardaxoni*; and many were carried off by the *Modeneſe*, and other auxiliaries, to their own eſtates, where the captors ſuffered them to live only that they might receive their ranſom, which was accordingly paid upon the re-eſtabliſhment of the public tranquility. All the military engines, the ſtandards of ſtate, the baggage of the officers and private ſoldiers, together with the carriages, fell into the hands of the conquerors. The *Modeneſe* were the chief gainers; for though they had before termed themſelves the brethren of the *Parmeſans*, yet they plundered them more than all the reſt of *Correggio*'s army did, and were remarkably ſevere upon the priſoners who had the misfortune to fall into their hands.

and is reſtored to Parma;

CORREGGIO followed the fugitive *Parmeſans* to the very gates of their city; but he was obliged to retire by *Zeſredini* of *Milan*, who defended it. His repulſe provoked him ſo much, that on his return to his own eſtate, he picked up all the ſtragglers he could of the defeated army, and carried them priſoners to *Caſtro Nuovo*. The grief and conſternation at *Parma* upon this defeat, were inexpreſſible, as there were but few families in the city, who had not loſt a father, ſon, or other relation in it. The podeſta and the captain of the people, with ſome of the ſtandard-bearers, made their eſcape from the field of battle, as did the two heads of the *Rubeis* family, *William* and *Ugolin*; but *Jacobino*, *William*'s ſon, was taken and carried priſoner to *Modena*, where he remained in an honourable captivity till a peace was concluded. *Anſelmo de Marano*, abbot of the monaſtery of *St. John*, undertook that deſirable office, which proved more practicable than had been expected. *Correggio* continued in his ſyſtem of moderation, and offered to return to *Parma*, upon the terms on which he had firſt entered it, and to reſtore the people to all their conſtitutional rights. *Marano* made this conceſſion the baſis of his negotiation; and two ſyndics or plenipotentiaries were named, one for the community of *Parma*, and another for *Correggio*, on the 28th day of *June*, which was but nine days after the battle was fought. In this meeting *Correggio* ordered all his conceſſions to be repeated; but intimated, at the ſame time, that if they were rejected, he would enter the city by force, and give no quarter to the enemies of peace. A treaty was ſoon concluded upon the following terms: "That all the exiles of the city of *Parma*, either imperial or epiſcopal, or in the intereſt of *Correggio*, and that all who had been expelled the ſaid city, on account of miſdeeds or malverſations, or for any other crime or pretence, ſhould be diſcharged from their ſentences; that all priſoners ſhould be ſet at liberty; and that all the aforeſaid might return with freedom to *Parma*, as they ſhould think proper." It does not appear, by this compromiſe, that any cenſure was paſſed on thoſe who had oppoſed *Correggio*; for all the priſoners he had made were ſet at liberty, excepting thoſe who had fallen into the hands of the *Modeneſe*, and the other confederates. On the ſame day this accommodation was made, *James de Cavalcabo* the podeſta, and *Benno* the captain of the people of *Parma*, appeared in the council, and not only received in ready money, all the arrears that were due to them, on account of their offices, but ſatisfaction for all the loſſes, they had ſuſtained in the late battle. *Zefredini della Turre* was then choſen to be adminiſtrator of the city and ſtate of *Parma*, and podeſta as well as captain thereof; and he kept the ſaid proviſional offices till the 2d of *Auguſt* following, when a council of four hundred of the principal citizens of *Parma* were choſen for the ordinary adminiſtration of juſtice; and the abbot *Anſelmo de Marano* was by them appointed to nominate and comptrol the podeſta, and the captain of the people. It was expected that *Zefredini*, whoſe power was now annulled, would have accepted of the office of podeſta; but he abſolutely declined it: upon which the abbot named *Sigifred Arzignano* of *Vicenza* podeſta, and *Andrioli*, a *Genoeſe*, marquis of *Gavio*, captain of the people, both of whom accepted of their offices.

and to his power there.

BUT thoſe proceedings entirely diſconcerted the ſecret ſchemes of *Correggio*, whoſe intention was to re-aſſume the government, and to leave the ſame to his ſon-in law *Alboin*,

iom he chiefly owed his ſucceſſes. *Rubeis* and *Lupi*, and
eads of the *Guelphs*, pretended to his friends, that the
of the late pacification had been complied with by ſuf-
him to return to *Parma*, in quality of a private citizen.
did not ſatisfy *Correggio*, who inſiſted upon the puniſh-
of ſome of the ringleaders of the faction againſt him,
being denied, he and his friends, on the 3d of *Auguſt*,
red under arms in the Great Square of the city. *Parma*
more was involved in blood; but *Rubeis*, *Lupi*, and
ola, who had been ſo aſſiſtant in gaining the late victory,
a long conflict, were driven out of the city, and a long
of robberies, firings, plunderings, and murders, once
took place. By the late pacification it had been pro-
l, that *Borgo di San Domino*, the caſtle of *Marano*, and
of *Berceto* ſhould be put into the hands of *Rubeis*, and
ther heads of the *Guelph* party, to ſerve as places of pro-
n for them and their friends, in caſe the public diſtrac-
ſhould be renewed. The exiles therefore repaired to
caſtles; but the inhabitants of *Marano* and *Berceto*, who
bly had a ſecret correſpondence with *Correggio*, refuſed
admittance; ſo that they were obliged to retire to *Gua-*
nd *Torclaria*, which they fortified, as they did *Borgo di*
Domino, and made excurſions upon the lands of their
ies; but without being able to do them much damage.
ed of *Vicenza*, the podeſta elect, was at this time on his
ey to enter upon his new office; but when he arrived at
tua, hearing of the new revolution, he went back with
is family to *Vicenza*. The marquis of *Gavio*, who had
ed upon his office, refuſed to exerciſe it any longer;
on the 4th of *Auguſt*, in a general council, he reſigned
ame, but demanded his ſalary, which being refuſed him,
d his family ſet out without it for *Genoa* the very next
ing.

The civil government of Parma *weak.*

was now evident, that the offices of podeſta and cap-
of the people of *Parma* were merely nominal, and no
of rank would accept of them. One *James de Stradella*,
had attended the late captain as his judge, or counſel-
was nominated (but by what authority is not ſaid) podeſta;
one *Gazapini*, a *Cremoneſe*, who had attended the late
ſta in the ſame capacity, was made captain of the peo-
They were, however, mere cyphers in the government,
out either power or authority, to put a ſtop to the thefts,
eries, murders, burnings, and all kinds of miſchief,
ch now filled every quarter of the *Parmeſan*. When
r time expired, each received ſixty marks for his ſalary;
the chronicle is here imperfect. Amongſt the other mur-

Public diſtractions all over Lombardy.

ders committed at this time, were thoſe of *James de Sanaza*, who was eſteemed the worthieſt man in *Florence*, his uncle *Adigherio*, *Antoni de Sulcio*, and *Senaza*'s young ſon, with others of the ſame party, to the number of nine, at *Rochelli*, whoſe deaths, eſpecially that of *James de Senaza*, created an univerſal grief and conſternation at *Parma*. The next *Parmeſan* podeſta we find upon record, is *Pagonini*, count *de Panico*, a *Bologneſe* exile, who ſerved out his time of ſix months; and *Ugolino de Manfredi*, a *Reggian*, was elected captain of the people. About this time a pacification like that which had been made at *Parma*, took place at *Placentia*, where all the exiles returned to that city, under the command of *della Turre*, then the lord of *Milan*, whom they elected their protector for five years, and who, after introducing them to *Placentia*, and ſeeing every thing peaceably ſettled, returned to *Milan*. The ſame year the lords of *Storti*, who were exiles at *Torclaria*, burnt a town near the new gate of *Parma*; and *Rubeis*, with the other chief exiles, ſtill held the caſtle of *Guarola*, from whence they continued their depredations. This obliged the *Gibelin* party in *Parma* to take the field, where they were met by the exiles; and a bloody encounter followed, in which the latter were defeated, and that caſtle was retaken, and all its garriſon, which conſiſted only of ſixty men; but ſome of them of conſideration were made priſoners, and ſent ſome to *Guardaxoni*, and others to *Parma*. From *Guarola*, which they demoliſhed, the *Parmeſan* army marched to *Torclaria*, which was defended by *Scoza*, and his two ſons *Rolandini* and *Cabrini*, ſo bravely, that many of the aſſailants, after lying fifteen days before it, and loſing many of their beſt men, returned in a moſt miſerable condition to *Parma*: they left, however, a ſufficient number to block up the place, which being reduced to the utmoſt diſtreſs, ſurrendered by capitulation, on condition that all who were within it ſhould be freed from their ſentence of baniſhment, and return to *Parma*.

THOSE civil commotions and devaſtations were not confined to *Parma*, but raged all over *Lombardy*, where many of the principal cities and ſtates ſubmitted, rather than be longer harraſſed by petty tyrants. The *Milaneſe* choſe *della Turre* for their perpetual governor, his command before being only temporary. *Maffeo de Madio*, brother to their late biſhop, was choſen by the *Breſcians* to the ſame capacity; and the *Ferrareſe*, after holding out for a long time againſt the *Bologneſe* and the *Paduans*, perceiving that *Friſco de Eſte* was unable to defend them, ſubmitted to the government of the *Venetians*, who had ſent a ſmall fleet to their aſſiſtance.

Friſco on this occaſion received a large ſum of money from the *Venetians*, who broke all their terms with the *Ferrareſe*, whom they reduced to a ſtate of ſervitude. Towards the end of the year *Borgo de San Domino* was beſieged by the *Parmeſans*, who, not being able to take it, ſurpriſed *St. Hilary*, and burnt great part of it to the ground.

Arts of the protector.

IN the beginning of the year 1339, *Peter Mancaſola* of *Placentia* was choſen podeſta of *Parma*, while *Correggio*, tho' he was abſolute there, contented himſelf with being choſen provoſt of the merchants for five years; ſo efficacious was a long permanency even in an inferior office for the purpoſes of tyranny. The terms of *Guelph* and *Gibelin* were by him artfully diſcontinued, and the only diſtinction now was between the friends of the community of *Parma*, and the faction of the *Rubeis*. Many of the latter were impriſoned, and ſome of them put to death; while others were kept under the awe of impeachments, for diſobeying the orders of the community. This year domeſtic differences ariſing in *Placentia*, between *Alberto Scotti* and the government there, *Mancaſola* the podeſta of *Parma*, who was ſon-in-law to *Scotti*, marched with a body of *Parmeſans* to his father-in-law's aſſiſtance, and drove from that city all the faction of *della Turre*, and reſtored the exiles of *Scotti*'s party to their eſtates and effects in the *Placentine*. This expedition, however, coſt *Mancaſola* his life, for he never returned to *Parma*; and he was ſucceeded as podeſta thereof by *Bartolino de Rodini* of *Reggio*, who had ſerved under him as his judge or aſſeſſor. After the time of his government, which was about a month, was expired, he was ſucceeded by *Ugolino de Manfredi*, who continued podeſta for ten days, till his ſucceſſor, whoſe name is not mentioned in the chronicle, arrived. At this time *Antonio de Gualdini*, a *Parmeſan*, was podeſta of *Genoa*; but being oppoſed by *Oppizoni Spinola*, who, from being an exile, had been choſen captain of the people, *Spinola*'s party within the city was the moſt powerful, and drove the podeſta out of it; and the latter happening to encounter a body of the *Genoeſe* exiles, he was killed in the battle; and the *Guelph* families of *Genoa*, who had been exiles for forty years, reſumed the government of that ſtate and city.

Revolution in Genoa.

A legate viſits Parma.

THIS year *Parma* was honoured with a viſit from the pope's legate, on the following occaſion. The *Venetians* having, as we have already mentioned, violated all good faith with their new ſubjects the *Ferrareſe*, the latter refuſed to be longer ſubſervient to them, and ſent a deputation to the pope, who had always claimed *Ferrara* as an immediate fief of the church, inviting him to take their ſtate and city under his protection, and government. Before an anſwer could come from his holineſs, the *Venetians* and *Ferrareſe* had come to blows in the ſtreets of *Ferrara*; and the former being defeated, took refuge in the caſtle of *Tedaldo*. Upon this the *Venetian* ſenate equipped a fleet and an army to beſiege *Ferrara* both by land and water. In the mean while the *Bologneſe* were equally alert to ſuccour their allies of *Ferrara*; and the pope, being informed of what had happened, ſent expreſs orders to the *Venetians* to evacuate the caſtle of *Tetaldo*, and intirely to quit the *Ferrareſe*, both which the *Venetians* as expreſsly refuſed to comply with. The pope then ſent his legate to *Parma*, and to the other cities of *Lombardy*, who, after excommunicating the *Venetians*, publiſhed a cruſade againſt them, offering pardon and remiſſion of ſins to all who would aſſiſt the holy ſee in recovering *Ferrara*. Though *Correggio* could not prevent the legate's admiſſion into *Parma*, yet he prevented the *Parmeſans*, who in general were ſincerely devoted to the ſervice of his holineſs, from entering into the cruſade. Notwithſtanding this, the legate's ſucceſs was ſo great throughout the other ſtates and cities of *Lombardy*, that he aſſembled a numerous army, which drove the *Venetians* out of the *Ferrareſe*, ſtormed the caſtle, and put all who were found within it to the ſword. After that the legate reduced the other places of *Ferrara*, and delivered the whole principality from the *Venetian* yoke.

THE famous extermination of the knights templars of *Jeruſalem* began this year. They were accuſed of hereſy, blaſphemy, and every other crime, though their greateſt ſeems to have been the immenſe poſſeſſions and territories they had acquired, as there was hardly a ſtate in *Europe* in which they had not property. It is to be preſumed they had ſome in *Parma*; for the apoſtolical legate this year came to that city, where he ſolemnly pronounced the ſentence of excommunication againſt the whole order. Before the cloſe of the year the *Parmeſans*, aſſiſted by all their confederates, reſumed the ſiege of *Borgo di San Domino*; on which they were ſo intent, that they left only the civil magiſtrates, and two hundred *Modeneſe* foot to garriſon their city; and here the chronicle of *Parma* ends. From other authors we learn, that the place was taken upon compoſition, and the exiles returned, and with them tranquillity, to that city.

FOR ſome years after this period, the hiſtory of *Parma* is ſo blended with that of the other ſtates of *Italy*, that to write it ſo particularly as we have already done, would be to repeat what has been already ſaid in other parts of this work. We however, follow it in every material circumſtance that s to *Parma* only.

Arrival of the emperor Henry VII. *in* Italy.

is evident that the two great objects which the *Guelphs* *ibelins* in *Italy* had in view, when that diſtinction firſt lace, were now changed. The *Guelphs* were for maing their liberty under the nominal protection of the pope, ould neither hurt nor help them. The *Gibelins* were ity as jealous of the emperor as the *Guelphs*, and were e deſirous of his entering *Italy*; but they ſought to en- ſpoils under his powerful authority. But no emperor g intermeddled in the affairs of *Italy* ſince *Frederick* II. ead of the imperial power, which was the center of amongſt the *Guelphs*, vaniſhed; and they broke amongſt ſelves. *Henry* VII. was now emperor of *Germany*, and ought that *Italy* was of too much importance to be r neglected; and, as has been ſeen in a former part of work, he marched into *Italy* with an army, ſufficient to etrieved and aſſerted all the imperial rights in that counad not pope *Clement* V. who was the firſt to invite him, oned him. The family *della Turre*, or the *Torriani* of s, had likewiſe ſollicited him to that undertaking. *Guirriani*, their head, had for that purpoſe ſent two preachiars to him in *Germany*, promiſing to meet him with all mily at *Lauſanne*, at the head of one thouſand men, not g to bring more, becauſe he could lead him with a ng-ſtick through all *Lombardy*. Being arrived at *Tu*ome of the *Gibelin* exiles repaired to him as to their , but he coldly told them, that he was come to be the on father both of *Guelphs* and *Gibelins*, and to aboliſh ch diſtinctions. In ſhort, when the heads of the *Gibe*reſented themſelves to him as ſufferers for him and his , and intreated to take an oath of fidelity to his perſon, uthority for the fiefs they held under him, he refuſed to t them to take any ſuch oath, becauſe that in effect would been to have confirmed them in their fiefs, which he ded to reſume into his own hands. Every one knows e was crowned king of *Italy* at *Milan*; but the pope, by ime, had formed a powerful league againſt him, which iſconcerted and then ruined all his mighty deſigns. The s in this league under his holineſs, were *Robert* king of s, the cities of *Florence*, *Bologna*, *Sienna*, *Lucca*, *Cremona*, *a*, *Breſcia*, and ſome others. *Correggio*, who was now bſolute maſter of *Parma*, at firſt refuſed to enter into league; but he is ſaid to have received twelve thouſand s from the *Bologneſe* and the *Florentines*, to induce him come a party, two thouſand of which he preſented to the emperor, as part of the arrears due by *Parma* as an imperial fief; but in reality to repleniſh his imperial majeſty's coffers, and to purchaſe for himſelf the government of *Parma*, which he obtained, and thereby added a kind of right to power. Soon after the biſhop of *Botronto*, and another ambaſſador, were ſent by the emperor to take the oaths of the different cities in *Lombardy*; but when he intimated to *Correggio* their deſign to viſit *Parma* amongſt others, *Correggio* flatly refuſed him admittance; which may be the reaſon why the biſhop, in his relation of the emperor's *Italian* expedition, calls him a *Guelph* tyrant [a]. The truth is, *Correggio* at this time, being as much afraid of the emperor as any of the *Guelphs* were, entered into other meaſures. The emperor had meanly altered the purpoſes of his expedition to *Italy*. Inſtead of re-eſtabliſhing the imperial authority there, by taking into his own immediate management the ſtates and cities of *Lombardy*, he accepted of money, and confirmed all their former tyrants, of whatever denomination they were, in their governments, upon being paid a ſum adequate to their reſpective values. In ſhort, he proſtituted to ſale the meaneſt place or poſt he had to give. He had ſold the government of *Placentia* to *Galeazzo Viſconti*, its podeſta, which *Correggio* conſidering as an injury done to himſelf, reſented ſo highly, that he formed a conſpiracy with the *Pavians*, and ſome of the *Italian* exiles, for ſurprizing *Placentia*. There was then in *Placentia* one *Yvano de Cornu*, who had formerly been an exile. It was by his vigilance *Placentia* was ſaved; for *Galeazzo* having diſcovered the conſpiracy on the very night in which *Placentia* was to have been attacked both by land and water, by *Yvano*'s advice, he placed watchmen upon the tops of the chief towers, with orders to give a ſignal the moment they perceived a body of men approach the city, while *Galeazzo* drew out in the main ſtreet all the force he had to attack the firſt who ſhould advance. The *Pavians*, with *Felippo*, their podeſta, at their head, were the moſt forward, and they were at a very ſmall diſtance from the gate, when they were diſcovered by the watchmen. *Galeazzo* and *Yvano* immediately ruſhed upon them, and, after a moſt bloody encounter, the *Pavians* were defeated, and *Felippo* himſelf was mortally wounded, and taken priſoner by a *Pavian* exile, in revenge. The *Pavians*, who eſcaped, fled to their ſhipping which lay in the *Po*; but great numbers of them were cut in pieces, and few or none could have eſcaped, had not *Ga-*

The Parmeſans *repulſed at* Placentia, *with great loſs.*

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[a] Iter Italicum Henrici ſeptimi imperatoris, apud MURAT. tom. ix. p. 905.

zo been ſenſible that *Correggio* was approaching at the d of the *Parmeſans*, and therefore called his troops off m the purſuit.

THEY had, however, been ſo intent upon it, that the *meſans* had found means to enter the city where it was akeſt, by making a breach where only one could paſs at me; and as many were ſuffered to go in as were ſufficient nake a breach wide enough for the admittance of the ole party in a regular order. Inſtead of obeying their in- ctions, they no ſooner entered the city than they fell to nder; ſo that *Galeazzo*, when he returned from defeating *Pavians*, which he did by day-light, was ſurprized to ſee ſtreets filled with his enemies, laden with the ſpoils of the zens. Perceiving, however, that their numbers were too all to effect any thing elſe, he ordered the gates to be own open, and attacked the *Parmeſans* without, who not ring of *Felippo*'s defeat, thought the place was their own, h ſuch fury, that he put them to flight at the firſt onſet, ir cavalry flying and leaving their foot expoſed; ſo that of the latter would have eſcaped, had not *Galeazzo*'s men n ſo fatigued, that they could not continue either the fight he purſuit; and thus *Placentia* remained in the power of *eazzo*. *Ricobaldi* of *Ferrara* [b], a contemporary author, rms us, that the emperor had ſo good an opinion of *reggio*, that he gave him the government not only of *ma*, but of *Reggio* and *Guaſtalla*; but that at this time had joined intirely with the *Guelphs*. *Franceſco Pipini*, an- er contemporary author [c], accounts with great probability the partiality which the emperor ſhewed to *Correggio*; for informs us, that while his imperial majeſty was encamped re *Breſcia*, *Correggio* ſent him a ſolemn deputation, who ented him with the rich imperial crown, which had been en by the *Parmeſans* from *Frederick* II. when they forced to abandon the ſiege of their city. *Dino Compagni*, an- er author of thoſe times, who writes in *Italian* [d], mentions ny favours which were heaped by the emperor upon *Cor- gio*, beſides thoſe above recited, and accuſes him of the ſt ingratitude, in even offering perſonal inſults to his im- ial majeſty; and that all the apology he made for his con- ct was, that he was not influenced by money, but becauſe enemies were in poſſeſſion of *Cremona*. All thoſe evi- nces, however, ſerve only to prove that *Correggio* was one the ableſt men then in *Italy*; and the biſhop of *Brotonto* [e]

Henry's *favours to* Correggio,

gives

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[b] Apud MURAT. tom. ix. p. 258.

[c] Ibid. p. 659.

[d] Ibid. p. 529.

[e] Iter Ital. p. 895.

whom he condemns to death.

gives us a pregnant proof that he was not ſo great a diſſembler as is pretended; for he ſays, that when the emperor created one hundred and ſixty knights, in honour of his coronation at *Milan*, all of them were *Gibelins* of *Lombardy*, two excepted, of whom one was *Gilbert de Correggio*; that he afterwards oppoſed the emperor is certain, and one reaſon, not to mention others, was the inſatiable avarice of the *Germans*, and the mercenary temper of the emperor, who made no ſcruple ſometimes to ſell two different inveſtitures of the ſame place, to two different perſons for money. This brought him and his court into contempt and deteſtation with the *Italians*; and finding that his army, great as it was, was too weak to break the confederacy that had been formed againſt him, and of which he looked upon *Correggio* as the head, he had recourſe to legal proceedings againſt him. He ordered articles to be drawn up in form, accuſing him of high treaſon againſt his imperial majeſty, together with his ſon-in-law *John Quinici*, and *Opizini de Unziola*, two perſons of great capacity and character, and citations to be affixed on the doors of the imperial palace, commanding them to appear there, and to vindicate their conduct within the ſpace of eighteen days. *Henry* then ordered letters to be directed to the cities of *Parma*, *Reggio*, and others of the league, commanding the inhabitants to pay no farther regard to *Correggio* or his commands, but to conſider him as an out-law, and a rebel to his imperial majeſty. Thoſe letters are dated at *Piſa*, on the 9th of *April*, 1312. The farther proceedings of the emperor may be found in other parts of this hiſtory; but with regard to the *Parmeſans* and *Correggio*, it is certain they did prodigious ſervices at this time to the cauſe they were engaged in, by ſending the *Florentines*, when they were beſieged, ſupplies both of men and money. This exaſperated the emperor ſo much, that upon his return from his tumultuous coronation at *Rome*, he cloſed his proceſs with a final ſentence, condemning him to be put to death as a traitor, to be quartered before the gates of *Parma*. This ſentence would have had but little effect, had not the emperor's party become now too prevalent in *Italy* to be reſiſted, and the famous *Maſtino*, commonly called the *Dog of Verona*, formed ſuch intrigues in *Parma*, that *Correggio* was at laſt deprived of his power there. After this the *Parmeſans* loſt their liberties, and their hiſtory contains nothing diſtinct from that of the other ſtates of *Italy*, to moſt of whom it was by turns ſubjected, till it came under the dominion of the houſe of *Farneſe*, of which we are now to give an account.

THAT illuſtrious family was originally of *Orvieto*, an ancient city, ſituated in that part of *Tuſcany* that belongs to the holy ſee. The deſcendants of it made great figures in the councils and armies of the pope, *Florence*, and other ſtates of *Italy*, in the 12th and 13th centuries. But the perſon who raiſed it to the higheſt pitch of power, was cardinal *Alexander Farneſe*, afterwards pope *Paul* III. ſon to *Peter Lewis*, and grandſon to *Ranuccio Farneſe*, general to the pope's army in 1432, under the pontificate of *Eugene* IV. This *Alexander* had been made a cardinal by *Alexander* VI. purely in conſideration of his merit, and had managed the moſt important affairs of the pontificate under *Leo* X. and *Clement* VII. At he time of his acceſſion to the papal throne, the reformation was as good as eſtabliſhed in *Germany*; and he employed his whole care and aſſiduity to reconcile the two heads of the *Roman* catholick religion, at leaſt nominally ſo, *Charles* V. emperor of *Germany*, and *Francis* I. king of *France*; but hough he brought about a ſuſpenſion of arms for ten years between them, yet he could not prevail with them to ſee and converſe with each other in his preſence. This *Paul* II. convoked the famous council of *Trent*, which, after long itting, proved ſo ineffectual for the purpoſes of its meeting, he reformation of the doctrines, and diſcipline of the church. He was more fortunate in his ſcheme of aggrandizing his amily; for he firſt raiſed his ſon, who had been born before the father had taken holy orders, to the dignity of prince, and then a duke, firſt of *Caſtro* and *Camerino*, and hen of *Parma* and *Placentia*. We are not, however, to magine that this duke, who was commonly called the pope's nephew, was born in lawful wedlock, for it was ſufficient if his holineſs thought himſelf obliged, in conſcience, to provide for him in the beſt manner he could; nor was this conduct unprecedented, ſeveral popes having done the ſame before. Beſides *Peter Lewis*, his holineſs had other children, particularly a daughter *Conſtance*, who was married to *Boſio*, count of *St. Flora*, of the houſe of *Sforza*. As to *Peter Lewis*, the emperor *Charles* V. was, at a particular time, ſo fond of obliging his father the pope, that he gave him the inveſtiture of the kingdom of *Navarre*, though the preſent was attended with no effect. But this intimacy did not long continue; the ſituations both of his holineſs and the emperor occaſioned them often to be embroiled together. This naturally produced an animoſity againſt the emperor in the prince of *Parma*, a man of violent unruly paſſions, which carried him ſo far, that he ſupported the *Fieſques* of *Genoa*, in their conſpiracy againſt the *Dorias*, who were the founders and ſupporters of the imperial intereſt in that city. That conſpiracy being defeated by the accidental death of the principal conſpirator, ſome authors pretend that *Charles*, out of reſentment at the prince of *Parma's* ingratitude, ſecretly employed *Gonzaga* duke of *Guaſtalla*, governor of *Milan*, to put him to death. According to other and better authority, his death happened in a very different manner.

Death of Peter Lewis.

AMONGST his other vices, he had an inordinate paſſion for women, and he ſtretched his power to the very utmoſt to gratify it, without the leaſt conſideration either to the virtues or the qualities of thoſe he debauched. His general reſidence was at *Placentia*, where he built a caſtle, and where the irregularities of his behaviour towards ladies of the greateſt diſtinction, induced four noblemen, *Pallavicino*, *Landi*, *Anguiſciola*, and *Confalonieri*, to enter into a conſpiracy for putting him to death. The duke, ſuſpecting their deſign, reſolved to impriſon them all next day; but was incautious enough the night before to drop an intimation of his intention, which coming to the ears of the noblemen, they entered the palace, to which they were admitted on pretence of buſineſs, and ruſhing into the duke's bed-chamber, they ſtabbed him dead with their daggers, and threw his body out of one of the windows of the caſtle. This done, the conſpirators diſpatched an expreſs to the duke of *Milan*, imploring the protection of the empire; and he accordingly ſent them ſome troops, who took poſſeſſion of *Placentia* in the emperor's name. From the complexion of this ſtory, and from the great coldneſs that for ſome time had prevailed between the emperor and his holineſs, there is reaſon for believing, that the governor of *Milan* was not intirely unconſcious of the conſpiracy. When the emperor heard of the aſſaſſination, his imperial majeſty wrote a letter of condolance to the pope, who diſſembled his ſuſpicions, and returned a ſmooth anſwer of compliment to the emperor, but requeſting him at the ſame time, to reſtore *Placentia* to *Octavio*, the ſon of *Peter Lewis*, and his imperial majeſty's ſon-in-law. This requeſt introduced ſome freſh demands of the emperor upon the pope, which the latter was by no means diſpoſed to comply with. Other incidents widened this breach.

The emperor diſpleaſed with the pope.

CHARLES V. was ſincerely diſpoſed to have put an end to the religious diviſions of Chriſtendom, which prevented his enjoying the leaſt repoſe; and he had with great difficulty prevailed with the pope to call a general council at *Trent*; which was now tranſlated to *Bologna*, under pretence that *Trent* was not a place of ſafety, on account of its too near neighhbourhood to *Germany*, which was then over-run with gious ſectaries. This, and the ineffectual proceedings of council, diſobliged *Charles* ſo greatly, that he ſent word is holineſs, he was reſolved to examine into the rights of holy ſee to *Parma* and *Placentia*, as its poſſeſſion of them acquired ſo late as the pontificate of *Julius* II. whoſe nce, ambition, and injuſtice, were well known to the d. This meſſage highly exaſperated his holineſs, and he proceeding was apparently ſo reaſonable, that he could openly condemn it. He laid before the imperial com- ries a patent granted by the emperor *Maximilian* I. dfather to *Charles*, dated 1510, giving to pope *Julius* II. city and territory of *Placentia*, as lying within the ex- ate of *Ravenna*, which had been granted by the counteſs *ilda* to the holy ſee. Though the imperial miniſters d make little reply to this, and many other evidences, h were produced on the part of his holineſs, yet *Charles* poſſeſſion of *Placentia*.

Diſtreſs of the young duke of Parma.

PON this, the pope, to prevent the emperor from ſeizing *Parma*, as he did upon *Placentia*, re-united it to the ſee, and governed it in his own name; and thus young *vio Farneſe* was deprived of all his inheritance. All *Eu-* at that time condemned the emperor for his injuſtice, in -holding from him *Placentia*; and *Henry* II. of *France* d to aſſiſt his holineſs with troops to redeem it. But the r of *Charles*, and the example of pope *Clement*'s fate, n he had made a priſoner, deterred *Paul* from accepting *enry*'s offer. But it had ſo good an effect, that the em- offered him, in lieu of *Placentia*, an annuity of forty and crowns a year; which the pontiff was about to have lied with, when he died in the year 1549. Pope *Julius* though he might, with great ſhow of juſtice, have kept ſſion of *Parma*, was generous enough to reſtore it to g. *Octavio*, who inceſſantly plied his holineſs with peti- , that he would interpoſe his good offices with the em- for the reſtitution of *Placentia*. *Julius* would gladly ſerved him in this requeſt, and made ſome applications e emperor for that purpoſe; but he was afraid to preſs the er too far, both becauſe he was naturally timid, and be- he dreaded the imperial power, and was unwilling to oil himſelf with *Charles* in the beginning of his pontifi- He likewiſe, from the ſame motives, declined the offer h was again made of aſſiſtance from *France*. Diſguſted his coldneſs, *Octavio* reſolved to apply in perſon to his erial majeſty, who was then holding a diet of the empire *ugsbourg*. He preſented himſelf in that city before *Charles*, attended by an equipage ſuitable to his quality and pretenſions, and was received by the emperor in a moſt diſtinguiſhed affectionate manner. He preſented his requeſt, and obtained ſuch an anſwer as made all the court believe that it was granted. Notwithſtanding this, all he could procure from *Charles* was a promiſe that he would do him juſtice at a proper ſeaſon. *Octavio* knew, or had heard, too much of his father-in-law, not to be ſenſible that this anſwer was, in effect, a repulſe; and he returned with a heavy heart, after remaining a month at *Augsbourg*, to *Rome*, where he renewed his ſolicitations with the pope to act with more vigour in his favour, as his cauſe was the ſame with that of the holy ſee. *Julius* continued to give him the moſt ſoothing promiſes; and *Octavio*, to be nearer at hand, fixed his reſidence at *Rome*, where he and his brother the cardinal continually preſſed his holineſs, as all applications were ineffectual, to proceed to the extremities of excommunication and eccleſiaſtical cenſure againſt the emperor; but as nothing could be obtained, *Octavio*, at laſt, requeſted leave of the pope to employ the means that fortune had put into his hands for doing himſelf juſtice.

He is aſſiſted by France,

OCTAVIO, at that time, had a natural brother, named *Horatio*, in the ſervice of *Henry* II. who conceived ſuch an eſteem for his courage, and other qualities, that he gave him in marriage his natural daughter *Diana*. *Horatio*, ſincerely devoted to the intereſts of his family, let ſlip no opportunity of bringing *Henry* and *Octavio* to a good underſtanding; and ſucceeded ſo well, that *Henry* undertook to furniſh *Octavio* with a body of troops to recover *Placentia*, and to oblige the emperor to do him juſtice, provided *Octavio* would agree to admit a *French* garriſon into *Parma*, and act, in every reſpect, in concert with his generals; all which *Octavio* agreed to. As ſoon as the emperor was informed of this threatening alliance, he wrote a letter to the pope, complaining of the indignity that had been done him, and threatening to bring both his holineſs and *Octavio* to a ſevere account, if any *French* troops were admitted into *Italy*. To this letter, *Julius* anſwered, with great ſincerity, that he never had conſented to ſuch admiſſion; and that he was intirely ignorant of any connections that had been formed by the prince of *Parma* and the king of *France*. He owned, at the ſame time, that, perceiving all his applications to his imperial majeſty, in favour of *Octavio*, to be ineffectual, he had left him at liberty to purſue what courſe he thought proper for redreſs; but that he never underſtood that he was to enter into any violent meaſures.

During this correſpondence between the pope and the emperor, *Henry* not only threw a *French* garriſon into *Parma*, but introduced a large body of troops, to make good his other pretenſions in *Italy*, and ſome of them were even quartered upon the eccleſiaſtical ſtate. Upon this, the pope, who, of all things, dreaded the introduction of the *French* into *Italy*, excommunicated the duke of *Parma* and all his abettors; and, expecting to be ſupported by *Charles*, he even wrote a letter to the *French* king, threatening him with the ſame cenſure, if he did not, within a limited time, withdraw his troops out of *Italy*. His holineſs, at the ſame time, demanded from *Charles* a force ſufficient for expelling the *French* out of *Parma* and the eccleſiaſtical ſtate. The emperor, far from being backward in complying with this requeſt, immediately ordered *Gonzaga*, governor of *Milan*, to take the field with a body of troops, and, in conjunction with thoſe of the pope, which lay at *Bologna*, to form the ſiege of *Parma*. *Henry* was equally ready to ſupport the credit of his new alliance; and ordered an army, under the command of *Briſſac* and his ſon-in-law *Horatio Farneſe*, to paſs the *Alps*. They were ſtopt on their march by the duke of *Savoy*, who refuſed them a paſſage through his dominions; and *Gonzaga* was obliged to order the troops, that were allotted for the ſiege of *Parma*, to that duke's aſſiſtance. His holineſs laid hold of this opportunity to remonſtrate to the duke of *Parma*, how much it was his intereſt to put *Parma* into his hands, offering him the peaceable poſſeſſion of the principality of *Camerino*, the firſt title of dignity in his family, with an annuity of fifteen thouſand crowns, in exchange. The duke had it not now in his power to comply with thoſe offers, (a *French* garriſon being in poſſeſſion of his capital) without the conſent of *Henry*. In conſideration of this, his holineſs ſent one of his nephews to the *French* court, to perſuade *Henry* to give orders for the evacuation of *Parma*, as it might be a bone of contention, and occaſion a general war in *Europe*. *Henry* was ſo far from liſtening to this propoſal, that he ordered his troops, who, by this time, had forced their paſſage through *Piedmont*, to live at free quarters upon the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, which they did till they had almoſt ruined the *Bologneſe*. Things remained in this ſituation till the year 1553, when *Horatio Farneſe* was accidentally blown up at *Hedin*. As he had been the great inſtrument of the alliance between the *French* and the duke of *Parma*, and as the whole dependence of the latter reſted upon his intereſt at *Henry*'s court, the duke took the reſolution to ſubmit his pretenſions upon *Placentia* to the pleaſure of the emperor. *Charles*, however, died without reſtoring him to

who garriſons Parma.

Duke of Parma *excommunicated.*

Death of Charles V.

the poſſeſſion of that city, which he did not regain till thirty years after.

Soon after the death of the emperor *Charles* V. his ſon, *Philip* II. appointed his ſiſter *Margaret*, dutcheſs of *Parma*, to the government of the *Low Countries*, where every thing was in confuſion, on account of *Philip*'s deſpotic government, and the tyranny, both civil and eccleſiaſtical, which *Philip* wanted to introduce there. *Octavio*, at the ſame time, as a pledge of his attachment to *Philip*, put into his hands his ſon and heir *Alexander*, then very young, to be educated at the court of *Spain*.

Account of Horatio Farneſe,

From what has been already related, the reader may have ſome idea of the high rank in which baſtardy was held at this time in *Spain* and *Italy*. *Horatio Farneſe*, whom we have already mentioned, aſſumed to himſelf the title of duke of *Caſtro*, an eſtate he never poſſeſſed; and *Wiquefort*, an unexceptionable authority, informs us, that, on a ſolemn occaſion, the pope's maſter of the ceremonies asked the *French* ambaſſador whether he intended to take precedence of the duke of *Caſtro*. The ambaſſador's reply was, that he would take precedence of the duke of *Parma* himſelf; but that he would yield the precedence to the duke of *Caſtro*, becauſe he was deſtined to the honour of being ſon-in-law to the *French* king. It is uncertain whether the ambaſſador had inſtructions on this head; but probably his maſter did not diſapprove of his conceſſion, as we do not hear that he ever was queſtioned for it.

and Octavio's *two brothers.*

OCTAVIO, duke of *Parma*, had two brothers, *Alexander* and *Ranuccio*, both of them cardinals, and both of them men of abilities and genius. One of them received his hat when he was but fourteen, and the other when ſixteen years of age; and, notwithſtanding the degeneracy, luxury, and impiety of their grandfather's court, their morals remained untainted, excepting as to a few ſlight gallantries of *Alexander*, who was father of *Clelia Farneſe*. In other reſpects, he was a prince of vaſt magnificence, as appears by his building the celebrated *Farneſian* palace at *Rome*, on which was laviſhed all that is great and elegant in architecture, ſculpture, and painting. The flatteries of the Jeſuits induced him to build, for their fraternity, the fine church called the *Great Jeſus* at *Rome*, which he ornamented at a vaſt expence, and where he ordered his body to be interred. Towards the end of his life, however, he grew much diſguſted with the ambition and inſatiable avarice of that order. His brother *Ranuccio* was diſtinguiſhed for his patronage of learning, and of all who were eminent in literature. They had a ſiſter called *Victori*

who

whom the pope, their grandfather, had intended ſhould be the wife of *Coſmo de Medici*, the ſecond duke of *Tuſcany*; but the emperor oppoſed the match, taking it amiſs that it had been propoſed without his privity or conſent. She was afterwards married to *Guido Balde*, duke of *Urbino*, whoſe poſterity failing, his duchy was annexed to the Church about the middle of the laſt century.

His dutcheſs governeſs of the Low Countries.

WHILE *Margaret* dutcheſs of *Parma*'s conduct, as governeſs of the *Low Countries*, was attracting the attention and admiration of all *Europe*; and while her ſon *Alexander*, at the court of *Spain*, was giving ſpecimens of thoſe military abilities which afterwards intitled him to the rank of the greateſt captain in *Europe*; *Octavio*, the husband and father, was leading an idle but inoffenſive life at *Parma*, and ſeemed to be forgotten by the world. At laſt, in the year 1566, he paid a viſit to his wife at *Bruſſels*. In the mean while, their ſon *Alexander Farneſe* made ſo diſtinguiſhed a figure in the court and armies of *Spain*, that *Philip* II. procured for him a royal match in the perſon of the princeſs *Mary*, daughter to *Edward*, the ſon of *Emanuel*, and brother to *John* III. king of *Portugal*. *Philip*, in compliment to the mother, ordered that the nuptials ſhould be celebrated within her government, and gave count *Egmont* the charge of attending the prince to *Bruſſels*, where his father then was, and where his noble addreſs and engaging manners endeared him in a wonderful degree to the *Flemings*. Soon after his arrival, the dutcheſs his mother made preparations for celebrating the nuptials; and a fleet was ſent to conduct the young bride to the *Low Countries*, where ſhe arrived, attended by a vaſt train of *Spaniards* as well as *Portugueſe*, each ſtriving to outvie one another in the magnificence of their equipages. The bridegroom was then but fourteen years of age; but the bride was older: a circumſtance which put the public in mind of what had happened to the dutcheſs of *Parma* herſelf, who, when but twelve years of age, was married to *Alexander de Medici*, who was twenty-ſeven years of age; and afterwards, when ſhe was twenty, ſhe was married to *Octavio Farneſe*, who was no more than thirteen. *Alexander*, who was then deſigned prince of *Parma*, after his marriage, carried his wife to that city, where, for ſome time, they taſted the pleaſures of tranquility. But after *Selim* II. had rendered himſelf formidable to all *Chriſtendom*, by taking the iſland of *Cyprus* from the *Venetians*, *Philip* II. at the requeſt of the latter, agreed to be a party in a general league againſt the infidels. The ſubſtance of this famous confederacy, the views with which it was formed, and the parties who entered into it, are to be found in the other parts

where their ſon is married.

of this hiſtory. The prince of *Parma*, while at the court of *Spain*, had been intimately acquainted with Don *John* of *Auſtria*, who was appointed to be generaliſſimo of the chriſtian forces. The young *Parmeſan* readily embraced that opportunity of, at once, teſtifying his gratitude to his Catholic majeſty, and fond of acquiring glory to himſelf. A noble band of *Parmeſan* nobility joined him as volunteers, who ſerved under him at the ſea-fight of *Lepanto*, and had a conſiderable ſhare in the glory of that celebrated victory. The prince then returned to *Parma*, where he was now father of two ſons, *Ranuccio*, who ſucceeded him in his dominions, and *Edward*, who was afterwards raiſed to the purple.

She reſigns her government.

ALL hiſtorians are agreed, that had the moderate councils of the dutcheſs of *Parma* been followed, *Spain* never would have loſt the ſeven *United Provinces* there; but ſhe had two inſuperable difficulties to conquer: the firſt was, the unpopularity of cardinal *Granvele*, who was by *Philip* appointed to be her firſt miniſter; a man of a great but violent genius, and extremely improper for that poſt, in a country where the minds of the people were already exaſperated, and their affections alienated from the government by the alterations both in church and ſtate, which *Philip* had ordered to be introduced. The ſecond diſadvantage the dutcheſs was under, was her being forced to be ſubſervient to *Philip* II. who, in matters of religion, was a gloomy, cruel bigot; and who, though he did not openly check his ſiſter's proceedings, was ſecretly diſobliged at her having received any application from the people againſt the innovations he wanted to introduce. For this reaſon, when *Granvele* had become ſo unpopular that he was obliged to reſign the adminiſtration, and return to *Spain*, *Philip* ordered the duke of *Alva*, a man of his own caſt, but of a diſpoſition ſtill more cruel and unrelenting, to be his general in the *Low Countries*; but, in fact, to be the inſtrument of his tyranny and inhumanities, under the dutcheſs of *Parma*. The dutcheſs, had her councils been attended to, might ſtill have retrieved her brother's affairs there; but the bloody proceedings of *Alva*, under her name, ſoon determined her to reſign a government, in which ſhe was now ſenſible ſhe was no more than a cypher. Her reſignation was accepted of, and ſhe returned to her huſband at *Parma*.

Hiſtory of Alexander *the Great, duke of* Parma.

AFTER various revolutions in the government of the *Low Countries*, Don *John* was appointed to govern them; and he earneſtly requeſted the prince of *Parma* to attend him thither, being well acquainted with his great capacity in military affairs. This requeſt the prince agreed to; and *Philip* ordered him a ſalary of one thouſand golden ducats a month for his equi-

pages, which *Alexander* declined accepting, till he could
mething to diſtinguiſh himſelf in his majeſty's ſervice.
n he arrived at *Bruſſels*, he carried with him one hun-
Italian gentlemen, and three hundred choice ſoldiers, for
ard; and when the ſtate of Don *John's* health began to
e, he received from *Philip* aſſurances, that, if Don
died, or reſigned, he ſhould ſucceed him in his govern-
, which he accordingly did in the year 1578. It is well
n, that the prince of *Parma* not only executed, but pro-
l every thing of conſequence that happened under Don
s government. He was as able as a ſtateſman as a ſoldier,
t is certain, that he acted the moſt illuſtrious part of any
al in his time upon the military theatre; nor is there any
in hiſtory in which writers are ſo much agreed, as they
acknowledging, that he was as humane a man as he
great general, and that he was the greateſt the age he
in produced. He had, on different occaſions, the
s of *Germany*, with all the powers of *France* and *Eng-*
to encounter; and he proved ſuperior to them all. The
ſs of his temper, and the ſolidity of his judgment, may
own from one ſmall incident that happened. In one of
peditions to *France*, while he was beſieging a place of
importance, which the *French* king wanted to relieve,
der baffled that great prince ſo much, that, loſing his
r, he challenged *Alexander* to ſingle combat. The
thanked his majeſty for the honour he did him; that
e was not at his own, but his maſter's diſpoſal; and
ore he could not fight him; but, added he, I will take
ace between his whiſkers. During his government of
w Countries, the hiſtory of which contains the hiſtory
greateſt part of *Europe* at that time, he met with ſe-
ubs, occaſioned partly by the intrigues of his enemies
Philip's perſon, by which he was kept often in want of
, and partly by the detachments he was obliged to ſpare
his army, which never was very numerous, for other
s. In the year 1588, he was forced to ſend the great-
t of his army to the expedition againſt *England* in the
armada; and there was nothing the *Engliſh* were ſo
apprehenſive of as his commanding the *Spaniards*, if
hould land. The world is ſtill divided as to the private
which *Philip* had, when he ordered the duke of *Parma*
oth his father and mother died in the year 1586) to
in perſon into *France*, to ſupport the league againſt
IV. But whether *Philip* acted, or did not act, from
es of ambition or religion, or both, it is certain, that no
general in *Europe* could have performed what *Alexander*

did; and it was owing to him, that the *French* are not now a proteſtant nation.

His expeditions into France,

He twice brought with him to *Flanders* his ſon *Ranuccio*, that he might be initiated, under his own eye, in the art of war. The firſt time, *Ranuccio* was very young; but in the ſecond campaign he made there, he acquired great glory. *Alexander*, in his firſt expedition into *France*, had obliged *Henry* to raiſe the ſiege of *Paris*; and in the ſecond, that of *Rouen*. *Henry* had made great diſpoſitions for preventing *Alexander* from repaſſing the *Seine*, in his return to *Flanders*; and prince *Ranuccio* was the very laſt of his father's troops who guarded that paſſage againſt the *French* king, who had the mortification to ſee both father and ſon not only make their own retreat good, but that of all their troops, their train of artillery, and baggage, in the moſt perfect order, which *Henry*, with all his efforts, could not interrupt or diſturb. The duke of *Parma*, after his return from this glorious expedition, fell ill, and for ſome time drank the waters of *Aix* for his recovery; and, finding but little relief from them, he returned to *Bruſſels*, where he continued the war with the ſame ſpirit and vigour as ever. In the mean while, he received an order from the court of *Madrid* to make a third expedition into *France*; upon which he was ſo intent (to prevent any ſuſpicion in *Philip* of his backwardneſs), that

and death.

he relapſed into his diſorder, and died upon his march at *Arras*, on the 4th of *December*, 1592. It was obſerved, that his private manners reſembled thoſe of an eccleſiaſtic rather than of a ſoldier; and, at his death, he expreſſed the moſt profound ſentiments of piety and reſignation. The greateſt blot upon his memory (though the credibility of it reſts upon very doubtful circumſtances) is his having been acceſſory to the intended aſſaſſination of the prince of *Orange* in the year 1582. He ordered his body to be carried to *Parma*, and there to be interred with that of his wife, *Mary* of *Portugal*; and the execution of this order has given riſe to various idle reports, amongſt hiſtorians, as if his body had been diſmembered, and packed up like a bale of goods, to preſerve it from being intercepted by his enemies.

Placentia *reſtored to his family.*

It was to this great *Alexander Farneſe*, when prince of *Parma*, that *Philip* reſtored the entire poſſeſſion of the city of *Placentia*, which had remained in the hands of the *Spaniards* ever ſince the death of his grandfather *Peter-Lewis*. Some writers pretend, that he had put *Octavio* into poſſeſſion of the city; but he had kept the citadel garriſoned with *Spaniards*. According to them, duke *Octavio*, in 1585, made a formal demand upon *Philip* of the city and territory of *Pla-*

centia, which was agreed to without the leaſt difficulty. But this is extremely improbable, as both *Philip* and his father *Charles* had rejected all former applications, though made by the popes themſelves, on that account. Beſides, *Philip* was not poſſeſſed of that kind of ſpirit that would have complied with a peremptory demand, from a prince whom he conſidered as his dependent. According to the beſt authorities, the reſtitution was effected in the following manner. While *Alexander* was in *Spain*, attending on the unhappy Don *Carlos*, *Philip*'s eldeſt ſon, that king one day expreſſed himſelf in unuſual terms of affection towards *Alexander*, who artfully inſinuated to him, that he could not give ſo noble a proof of his friendſhip for him, as by raiſing a family which *Philip* might juſtly call his own, becauſe its greateſt glory was owing to the houſe of *Auſtria*, and by reſtoring his father, duke *Octavio*, to the poſſeſſion of *Placentia*. *Philip*, touched with the manner in which the young prince preferred his petition, immediately wrote an order to the governor of *Milan*, for giving up *Placentia* to duke *Octavio*. *Philip* put this order into *Alexander*'s hands, and he inſtantly diſpatched it by an expreſs to *Parma*, foreſeeing what would happen; for *Philip*, the next council day, acquainting the members with what he had done, they all thought ſuch an alienation to be of ſo great importance, and ſo prejudicial to the crown of *Spain*, that they prevailed upon him to revoke it. A ſecond order for that purpoſe was ſent to the governor of *Milan*; but it came too late, the firſt order having been already executed. This account is confirmed by the dutcheſs *Margaret*, mother to *Alexander*, having built a noble palace, which ſtands on the very ſpot of ground on which the citadel was built, where her father-in-law *Peter-Lewis* was murdered, and which ſtill retains the name of the citadel. That princeſs, for ſome years before her death, lived in that palace; and her body, at her own requeſt, was interred in the abbey of *St. Sexto* at *Placentia*.

He is ſucceeded by his ſon Ranuccio I.

RANUCCIO I. duke of *Parma*, was in the *Low Countries* at the time of his father's death; but returning to *Parma*, he married in the year 1592, the niece of *Clement* VIII. of the houſe of *Aldobrandini*. He was a prince of a pacific diſpoſition, and under him *Parma* made no kind of figure in the affairs of *Italy* and *Europe*; and it is ſcarcely ſo much as mentioned in hiſtory. He was, however, like others of his family, a patron of the arts and of learning; and his time was employed in making vaſt collections of books, manuſcripts, pictures, ſtatues, and other works of genius; all which were carried from *Parma* by Don *Carlos*, the preſent king of *Spain*. But the theatre built by this *Ranuccio* ſtill remains, and is not only the nobleſt, but the moſt commodious of any in the world. *Ranuccio*, like a wiſe man, thought that he had acquired military reputation in his younger days ſufficient to entitle him to repoſe in his old. His children were two ſons, *Odoard*, whom we ſhall call *Edward* I. who ſucceeded him, and *Francis-Maria*, who was afterwards a cardinal; and two daughters, both of whom were afterwards ſucceſſively married to *Francis* I. duke of *Modena* and *Reggio*.

who is ſucceeded by his ſon Edward.

DUKE *Ranuccio* dying in the year 1622, his wife and brother took into their hands the tutelage of his ſon *Edward* I. and during his minority his dominions enjoyed tranquility. When he came of age, being of a reſtleſs turbulent diſpoſition, he embroiled himſelf in the affairs of *Italy*, and joined with *France* and the houſe of *Savoy* in the diſpute concerning the ſucceſſion to the duchy of *Mantua*. When the *French* king, in the year 1635, ſent the marechal *de Crequi* into *Italy*, the duke of *Parma* joined him with his troops, and aſſiſted at the ſiege of *Valenza*, upon the *Po*. The duke being young and fiery, was impatient at the dilatory ſlow approaches of the marechal, whom he preſſed ſo much on that head, that their differences in opinion ended in a direct breach. The ſiege laſted fifty days; but at laſt the place was relieved by the *Spaniards*. The duke then poſted to *Paris*, where he endeavoured to clear his own conduct, at the expence of the reputation of the marechal, who recriminated in his turn. *Richelieu* was then firſt miniſter to *Lewis* XIII. but having the *French* intereſt in *Italy* greatly at heart, he avoided giving any umbrage to the duke, though he was far from approving of his conduct.

Parma *attacked by the* Spaniards.

DURING *Edward*'s reſidence in *France*, the marquis *de Leganes*, governor of *Milan*, marched a body of troops into the *Parmeſan*, and would have ſeized on the whole duchy, had not the duke of *Savoy* interpoſed, by ſending ſome troops to its defence. Duke *Edward* returned in 1636 from *France*, greatly enraged at the advantage which had been taken againſt him in his abſence; but when he attempted to enter his own dominions, he found all the paſſes ſo ſtrongly guarded by *Spaniards*, that it was impracticable for him to force his way. He therefore went on board a ſmall ſkiff, in the *Riviera di Genoa* incognito, and landed at *Lunigiana*, from whence, with ſome difficulty, he paſſed to his own eſtates. *Parma* and *Placentia*, at this time, had *French* garriſons within them; but they were ſo weak, that they durſt not take the field; nor could they prevent the devaſtations which the *Spaniards* ſpread to the very gates of *Parma*. His moſt Chriſtian majeſty, at this time, was beſet with enemies on all ſides. One of his armies was employed againſt the cardinal-infant, governor of the *Low Countries*, who was actually in *Picardy*. Count *Galas*, the imperial general, obliged the prince of *Conde* to abandon the ſiege of *Dole* in *Franche-comté*; and the admiral of *Caſtile* had obtained ſome advantages over another *French* army, which had in vain laid ſiege to *Fontarabia*, on the frontiers of *Spain*. Thus *Lewis* was utterly diſabled from affording any aſſiſtance to his ally of *Parma*, who was obliged to fortify himſelf in *Placentia*, where he was actually beſieged by the *Spaniards*, who continued their ravages, and had ſeized all the out-poſts and avenues leading to the city.

War in the Parmeſan.

NOTHING could have ſaved the duke of *Parma* from ruin at this time, if the *Spaniards* had opened the trenches before *Placentia* in form, and proceeded againſt it with reſolution, but the invincible averſion that all the princes of *Italy* have at foreigners ſettling in that country. The miniſters of the ſenate of *Venice*, and of the great duke of *Tuſcany*, were perpetually repreſenting, at the court of *Madrid*, the bad policy of his Catholic majeſty, in carrying matters to extremity againſt the duke, who had been guilty only of an error in judgment, and the ill effects which muſt attend the court of *Spain*'s appropriating the *Parmeſan* dominions to itſelf, which would breed a ferment in *Italy*, that would further the views and intereſts of *France*. *Urban* VIII. was then upon the papal throne; but though he had more at ſtake if the *Spaniards* had made themſelves maſters of *Parma* and *Placentia*, than either the *Venetians* or the family of *Medici* had, yet he made no efforts in favour of the duke, who had exaſperated him by contemptuouſly refuſing to obey his advice, or rather commands, in abandoning the intereſt of the *French* at the ſiege of *Valenza*. The duke had been imprudent, or vain enough to make a merit, with the *French* generals and miniſters, of the ſmall account in which he held the papal power; and they having ſharply reproached, and even threatened the pope's legate, for entering into their camp on ſuch an errand, his holineſs came to the knowledge of the whole affair, and highly reſented the undutiful behaviour, as he called it, of the duke his vaſſal, which was the true cauſe of his coldneſs.

Diſtreſs of the duke of Parma,

THE *Spaniards*, however, had no real intention to ruin the duke of *Parma*. They knew that all the revenues of the *Parmeſan* could not defray the expences they muſt be at in keeping poſſeſſion of it, and all they wanted was to detach the duke from his alliance with *France*. This, at the inſtance at the court of *Madrid*, was again and again repeated to the duke's friends in *Italy*; who repreſented to him, at the ſame time, the great luſtre and advantages which his family had acquired by its connections with the houſe of *Auſtria*, and the benefits that muſt accrue to him if he ſhould reſume them. The duke continued deaf to all exhortations of that kind, and refuſed even to treat with the *Spaniards*. Upon this, the *Spaniſh* general had orders to ſtraiten him more than ever, and to cut off all communication between *Placentia* and the reſt of the *Parmeſan*, which he accordingly did. In a few days, want and famine overſpread the city, and the duke himſelf muſt have been without the common neceſſaries of life, had not the *Spaniſh* general, out of regard to the grand duke of *Tuſcany*, who was the friend of *Spain*, furniſhed his table with ſome proviſions.

who reconciles himſelf to the Spaniards.

MISERY at laſt overcame obſtinacy, and the duke conſented to treat, provided he could do it ſo ſecretly as that the negotiation ſhould not perſpire. The pope's reſentment was now ſo far abated, that he offered to be one of the mediators; but the duke gave his miniſters a peremptory excluſion from the whole negotiation, which was carried on under the mediation of a *Florentine* ſecretary at *Milan*, where the treaty was finiſhed before the count of *St. Paul*, the *French* general in *Parma*, knew that it had been propoſed. But the *French* were in poſſeſſion of *Placentia*, and the treaty could not be carried into execution, unleſs they evacuated that city. Duke *Edward*, on this occaſion, acted with great addreſs. He ordered, under pretence of paying the garriſon, that they ſhould be muſtered before him on the parade. This being complied with, the duke in a few words informed the count of the treaty which unrelenting neceſſity had obliged him to conclude, and pointing to the great artillery, which was levelled againſt the garriſon, he begged the count that he would inſtantly withdraw his troops out of *Parma*, as he had prevailed with the governor of *Milan* to grant them and him a ſafe conduct through the *Milaneſe* to *Piedmont*. The count eaſily ſaw that he had no choice to make; and not diſpleaſed at having ſo good a pretext for getting rid of ſo diſagreeable a ſervice, marched directly with his garriſon out of the city towards *Piedmont*; while the garriſon of *Parma*, reduced likewiſe to a moſt deplorable condition, evacuated that city, and obtained liberty from the *Venetians* to march through their territories to the *Valteline*. Thus duke *Edward* once more reconciled himſelf to the *Spaniards*, who were now maſters of *Italy*, and from whom he never would have detached himſelf, had it not been for the practices of cardinal *Richelieu*.

His differences with the pope;

THE duke was of too lively and impetuous a temper to continue long in a ſtate of tranquility. He ſecretly diſliked his new connections with *Spain*, becauſe they divided him from *France*, where *Richelieu* ſtill continued, notwithſtanding all that had happened, to amuſe him with magnificent promiſes. But his chief reſentment was againſt pope *Urban*. This pope was of the family of the *Barbarini*, which from being inconſiderable, he raiſed to a pitch of invidious greatneſs; he made Don *Thaddeo*, one of his nephews, prefect of *Rome*, and had given him precedency of all ambaſſadors, and of princes under the degree of a crowned head. *Edward* complained that his holineſs, inſtead of giving him that protection which was due to a feodatory of the holy ſee, had abandoned him to his enemies, and taken pleaſure in ſeeing him reduced to extremity. He complained likewiſe, that inſtead of interpoſing his authority in his behalf, or aſſiſting him with troops or money, he had propoſed to him the ſale of part of his territories to his nephews, in order to raiſe money, which was the ſame thing as to triumph in his misfortunes, and joining with his enemies.

THE *Barbarini* were at firſt ſo far from being enemies to duke *Edward*, that they had courted his friendſhip; and to give their family a figure amongſt the princes of *Italy*, they had propoſed a marriage between him and one of their nieces, daughter to Don *Thaddeo*. Though the duke diſdained this match; yet he had his reaſons, at that time, for keeping fair both with the pope and his nephews, becauſe of the great ſums which he owed to the bank or Mount of Piety at *Rome*, and for which he paid exceſſive intereſt. It was in the power of his holineſs, as governor of that bank, to modify the intereſt as he pleaſed; and the duke happening to pay a viſit to his duchy of *Caſtro*, which lies near *Rome*, the *Barbarini* promiſed, if he would pay their uncle a viſit, to prevail upon him to abate ſome part of the intereſt he paid, which was then exceſſive. The duke was averſe to this propoſal, becauſe of the precedency which he underſtood was claimed by the prefect; but to remove that objection it was agreed, that the prefect ſhould be abſent from *Rome* during the duke's reſidence there; upon which he complied, and paid his holineſs a viſit. It is immaterial for us to enquire into the reaſons why this compromiſe was broken into by the prefect's remaining in *Rome* during the duke's abode in that city; but it is certain he found him there, and ſome diſagreeable adventures paſſed between them. The prudence of the cardinal-nephews reconciled them; and the duke ſeemed to entertain the motion of his marriage with their niece ſo cordially, that they prevailed with their uncle to grant a diminution of the intereſt by a deed, which in its own nature was deemed to be irrevocable. This affair being concluded, all the return the duke made, was, to demand a private audience of his holineſs, which he obtained, and ſpoke to him with ſo much freedom, of the inſolence and ambition of his nephews, and their haughty behaviour to himſelf, that he drew tears from the eyes of the pontiff, who promiſed to reform their conduct, which was more than he ever performed; for in a ſhort time they recovered all their aſcendency over their uncle.

againſt whoſe family he declares himſelf.

The duke having gained the point he had in view, by the abatement of the intereſt, left *Rome*, without taking leave of the *Barbarini*, or concluding the match, the propoſal of which he had till then encouraged; and upon his return to his own dominions, he married *Margaret de Medici*, daughter to the great duke of *Tuſcany*. The *Barbarini* ſecretly reſented this proceeding, which does not give us a great idea of the duke's ſincerity, or, at leaſt, delicacy of conduct; and they ſought how to be revenged, without incurring farther unpopularity. The intereſt which the duke now paid for his money, was eaſily defrayed by the corn and proviſions which his duchy of *Caſtro* every year furniſhed to the pope's agents, and the public magazines at *Rome*; and a conſiderable ballance remained in his favour. But the *Barbarini* put an end to this commerce, by contracting for nothing out of that duchy; ſo that the duke was for ſome years intirely diſabled from paying the intereſt of the money he owed to the Mount of Piety. As the people of *Rome*, and the eccleſiaſtical dominions, as well as other ſtates of *Italy*, were the proprietors of this mount, and the livelihood of a great number of poor people depended on its credit, its cauſe became popular; and the duchy of *Caſtro* having been mortgaged for the payment of the money, the pope and his court made a formal demand, within a certain time, both of the intereſt and principal, alledging, that if they ſhould grant any farther delay, the value of the duchy could not ſatiſfy the debt. The duke had nothing to reply to this demand, but complaints of the unkindneſs of his holineſs and agents, in withdrawing their cuſtom from his duchy of *Caſtro*, which had it continued, would have paid all the public creditors. But he was anſwered, that that was mere matter of option to the contractors, who were at liberty to go to what market they pleaſed; whereas, the duke was tied up by a poſitive written obligation.

Thoſe altercations continued till the year 1641, when the *Barbarini* declared the duchy of *Caſtro* to be forfeited, for the duke's non-payment of his debt; and that his holineſs, in juſtice to the public creditors, could not avoid taking poſſeſſion of it. This being intimated to the duke, he ordered ſome troops to march to *Caſtro*, and the city to be fortified. Upon this, the enraged pontiff ſent a monitory to the duke, requiring him, upon pain of excommunication, not only to deſiſt from fortifying that city, but within thirty days to demoliſh all the works he had already begun. To give the menaces of his holineſs the greater weight, the *Barbarini* advanced to *Viterbo* with ſix thouſand foot ſoldiers, and five hundred horſe, as if with an intention to attack the duke in his own dominions. From the face of this narrative, the reader may eaſily perceive that the duke was rendered unable, by the malice of the *Barbarini*, to ſatisfy the debt he had contracted, by their having ſtopped the only vent he had for turning the produce of his duchy into money. This conſideration, however, neither acquitted the duke of the debt, nor ſatisfied the creditors.

He forfeits the duchy of Caſtro.

THE neceſſity of maintaining the balance of power in *Italy*, once more preſented itſelf in the duke's favour. The *Italian* princes and ſtates were alarmed; and the *Spaniards* were afraid that the pope was ſecretly tampering to introduce the *French* into the kingdom of *Naples*, and that he had picked a quarrel with the duke of *Parma*, only that he might have ſome colour of a pretext for raiſing an army to favour the deſigns of *France*. Thoſe ſurmiſes, however, were not ſufficiently grounded for the *Spaniards* to begin hoſtilities upon them; and therefore his catholic majeſty ordered the viceroy of *Naples* to ſend an officer to *Rome*, and to offer the mediation of *Spain* between his holineſs and the duke of *Parma*, and, in the mean time, to intreat the former to lay aſide the thoughts of all violent meaſures, and not to employ arms in a quarrel which, though inconſiderable at firſt, might involve all the powers of *Italy* in its conſequences, and ſpread much farther than his holineſs could foreſee. The duke of *Tuſcany*, *Edward*'s father-in-law, was, at this time, on very bad terms with the *Barbarini*, on account of his having given his daughter in marriage to the duke of *Parma*; but, without regarding that, he ſent a miniſter to his holineſs, who repreſented to him, that he might in a ſhort time repent his having kindled up a war in *Italy*, upon a private perſonal quarrel; and that it was poſſible ſtill to keep the flames from ſpreading. He added, that ſo great was his paſſion for peace, and ſo profound his reſpect for the holy ſee, that he had even refuſed a paſſage through his dominions, for the troops of his ſon-in-law, to the duchy of *Caſtro*; but that he could not diſ-

He is joined by his allies.

diſſemble his unwillingneſs to ſee him oppreſſed by his holineſs, and that he was ready, if poſſible, to aſſiſt in preſerving him from ruin.

The pope diſappinted by the Venetians.

His holineſs and his family, haughty and ſelf-intereſted as they were, were ſtartled at ſo powerful a mediation; but they were not long in determining upon the part they had to act. They conſidered the duke of *Tuſcany* as an indolent prince, and unable to carry his menaces into execution; and that it would ſoon be in their power to ſatisfy the *Spaniards*, that their ſuſpicions were without foundations. They were therefore under very little apprehenſion from any power in *Italy*, but the *Venetians*; and his holineſs ſent inſtructions to his nuncio there, to leave nothing unattempted to bring them over to his intereſt, or, if that was impracticable, to prevail with them to be neutral. The *Venetians*, at this time, were highly out of humour with his holineſs, on account of certain paintings he had introduced into the Vatican, which they thought reflected on their honour, and therefore were but little diſpoſed to oblige his holineſs. The nuncio employed on this occaſion was Mr. *Vitelli*, who is famous in the republic of letters, and was reckoned one of the greateſt orators then in *Italy*. The pope depended ſo much on his abilities and ſucceſs, that he treated all applications for an accommodation as indignities offered to his character, and preached up nothing but the expediency of maintaining the honour of the holy ſee, and chaſtiſing a rebel ſubject who had dared to fly in his face. But his holineſs was greatly ſhocked, when he underſtood that to all the elegant ſpeeches made to the ſenate of *Venice*, that body returned for anſwer, that the affair between his holineſs and the duke of *Parma*, was a matter of ſo great importance, that they could not help declaring, they would not be idle ſpectators, as it was impoſſible to know either the deſigns of his holineſs, or how far their own intereſts might be affected ſhould a war break out.

By this time the pope had ordered his troops to advance into the duchy of *Caſtro*, where he took ſome places belonging to the duke, becauſe their garriſons did not know that they were upon the point of being ſuccoured, as the great duke of *Tuſcany* had, before this, granted leave for the *Parmeſan* troops to march through his dominions. Thoſe petty ſucceſſes elevated the pope to ſuch a degree, that he became more intractable than ever, and declared, that he would liſten to no terms of accommodation, till the duke of *Parma* ſhould come to *Rome*, throw himſelf at his feet, and implore his pardon; a haughtineſs that aroſe from his ſeeing that no power in *Italy* took the part of the duke, but by their interceſſions and requeſts. In the mean while, the time preſcribed by his holineſs for the duke's ſubmiſſion to his monitory being expired, his holineſs declared, that he had incurred the ſentence of excommunication actually pronounced againſt him, by which he was to be deprived of all his dominions, prerogatives, and honours.

The duke of Parma *vigorouſly aſſiſted by his allies.*

THE princes of *Europe* had not, for many years, ſeen an inſtance of ſuch an excommunication; and thoſe amongſt them who were the moſt zealouſly devoted to the intereſts of the holy ſee, had now learned to deſpiſe a ſentence which was pretended to have greater effect upon a ſovereign prince than upon his ſubjects; becauſe a private perſon, though excommunicated, is not ſubjected to the loſs of his eſtate and property. Perhaps the pope would not have been ſo ready to have diſcharged this eccleſiaſtical bolt, had not his nephew *Thaddeo* been at the head of twenty thouſand men in the *Bologneſe*, and had demanded from the duke of *Modena*, who was in no condition to reſiſt ſuch a force, a paſſage through his dominions to thoſe of *Parma*. The pope's power did not daunt duke *Edward*, who was naturally endued with a moſt ſurprizing preſence of mind and talents for quick execution. The duke of *Modena*, notwithſtanding his incapacity to make head againſt ſuch a force, gave no immediate anſwer to *Thaddeo*'s demand, till he had conſulted with the *Venetians* and the great duke of *Tuſcany*, who were extremely well diſpoſed to ſerve the duke of *Parma*, and had their troops in readineſs for that purpoſe. After ſome deliberation, it was wiſely reſolved upon by all parties, as the eccleſiaſtical army could not reach *Parma* but through the *Modeneſe* dominions, that the *Venetian* and *Tuſcan* troops ſhould join that duke, with whom his holineſs had not the ſhadow of a difference, and who had an indiſputable right to oppoſe the march of foreign troops through his territories. The duke of *Modena*'s caſe therefore was that of all neutral princes, and keeping intirely upon the defenſive, he gave his holineſs no provocation or room to complain of his behaviour.

The Spaniards *diſtruſt the pope.*

AMONGST other powers, duke *Edward* had applied for aſſiſtance to the *Spaniards*; but, as they knew he had entered into engagements with *France*, they refuſed to ſerve him. This gave ſome encouragement for the pope to endeavour to gain them to his ſide; but they ſtill ſuſpected that his real deſign was againſt the kingdom of *Naples*, and that he had entered into a ſecret treaty with *France*, and therefore they declined taking either ſide of the queſtion. All thoſe croſs incidents at laſt obliged the pope to give order for his troops, who had flattered themſelves with enjoying the ſpoils of *Parma*, *ma*, to halt in the *Bologneſe*; and ſending for the *French* ambaſſador, he voluntarily offered to grant the duke of *Parma* a truce for fourteen days, till ſome means could be deviſed for ſettling all their differences in an amicable manner.' This propoſal being made to the *French* ambaſſador, increaſed in the *Spaniards* their jealouſy of his holineſs, eſpecially as they ſaw that the *French* made no diſpoſitions for aſſiſting the duke, but by their good offices in the way of negociation, and therefore armaments were fitted out both at *Naples* and *Milan*. But their ſuſpicions of his holineſs were rendered more ſtrong than ever, on a ſtill more important occaſion.

Their ſuſpicions are ſtrengthened.

THE duke of *Braganza*, about this time, had recovered his family right to the crown of *Portugal*; and having driven the *Spaniards* out of that kingdom, his title was recognized by the *French* court. It was no ſecret to the *Spaniards*, that *Urban* had always a warm ſide to the *French*, from whom he had received many obligations during his reſidence at that court as pope's nuncio. The *French* therefore encouraged the new king to ſend the biſhop of *Lamego*, as his ambaſſador, to the court of *Rome*, to obtain from his holineſs an acknowledgment of his right to the crown of *Portugal*. The biſhop was thwarted in his negociation by the *Spaniſh* ambaſſador, who left no means uneſſayed, to diſſuade the pope from receiving the prelate in a public character; and the *French* were as earneſt that he ſhould.

Duke of Parma *invades the eccleſiaſtical ſtate,*

WHILE theſe diſputes were depending, an incident happened which gave great uneaſineſs to his holineſs. The equipages of the *Spaniſh* and *Portugueſe* ambaſſadors, happened one day to encounter one another in the ſtreets of *Rome*, and that of the biſhop and his domeſtics were ſeverely pelted by the *Spaniards*. The *French*, however, took part with the *Portugueſe*, and in a few hours all the inhabitants of *Rome* were divided between the two parties. The pope did not know how far this quarrel might proceed, and inſtead of conquering *Parma*, he began to be apprehenſive leſt he himſelf ſhould be turned out of *Rome*, and therefore began in good earneſt to endeavour to find out the means of being reconciled with the duke of *Parma*. The latter, on the other hand, being joined by a body of *Venetian* and *Tuſcan* cavalry, which with his own made up three thouſand; and being without any apprehenſion from the *Spaniards*, took the field with his horſe, to whom he was unable to give either pay or ſubſiſtence, and, without either infantry or artillery, he marched into the *Bologneſe*. The pope's generaliſſimo, the prefect *Thaddeo*, was ſtill quartered there, and was in full perſuaſion that the menaces he threw out, and the terror of his uncle's name, would immediately finiſh the war in his favour; but he no ſooner heard of duke *Edward*'s approach, than he fled to *Verona*, and his troops diſbanded and ſeparated. This left the duke the undiſputed maſter of the field. He raiſed large contributions over all the dominions of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate which he marched through; and purſuing his good fortune, he puſhed into the *Romagna*, when the inhabitants of *Imola*, *Faenza*, *Forli*, and all its other towns of any conſequence, opened their gates to him, being no longer protected by their own ſovereign's troops. He then fell back upon *Tuſcany*, and marched through part of it to another quarter of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, within a few miles of *Caſtro*, declaring, wherever he came, that he intended to obey the pope's monitory, and appear in perſon at *Rome*; and now that he was attended by ſo numerous a retinue, to pay a viſit to the prefect and his two brothers.

but is obliged to retire.

ALL duke *Edward*'s movements teſtified great intrepidity and reſolution, and by this time he had actually paſſed by *Aquapendente* and *Monte Fiaſcone*. His holineſs, ſeeing him thus in a manner at the gates of *Rome*, turned to every ſide to extricate himſelf from the labyrinth of difficulties he had been led into. He would now willingly have liſtened to the moderate propoſals which he had before ſo haughtily rejected; and inſtead of being, as uſual, courted to an accommodation by the ambaſſadors of foreign princes, he courted them in the moſt abject manner to interpoſe in his behalf. It happened fortunately for him that neither the *Venetians*, the grand duke, nor the *Modeneſe*, ever intended that the duke of *Parma* ſhould have carried matters ſo far as he had done; and his irruptions, eſpecially the laſt of them, into the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, had been undertaken without their knowledge or conſent, all their intention having been to act upon the defenſive, and to prevent his being attacked in the *Parmeſan* by the pope's army. They had therefore privately admoniſhed the duke to check his impetuoſity, otherwiſe they threatened to recal their troops, and to leave him to defend himſelf.

Artful diſſimulation of the pope;

BEFORE their admonitions could have any effect, his holineſs had applied to all the foreign miniſters at *Rome*, to whom he offered to abandon *Caſtro*, and to put matters upon their original foundation, ſo as to effect an entire and ſincere reconciliation between himſelf and the duke of *Parma*. He no ſooner, however, heard that the duke had ſtopped in his career by the meſſages ſent him from his allies, than he began to qualify his conceſſions, by offering to give up *Caſtro* as a depoſit into the hands of the *Venetians*, the great duke, the duke of *Modena*, the *French*, or the *Swiſs*. This propoſal he knew would protract the negociation to a much greater length than the duke's finances could admit of, and that he muſt conſequently be obliged to diſband his troops. In the mean while the duke, being preſſed anew by his allies, found himſelf in a moſt deplorable ſituation. He had by them been forced to evacuate all the places he had taken in the eccleſiaſtical ſtate; and he was now encompaſſed by mountains and barren vallies, where he could neither find ſubſiſtence for himſelf, nor forage for his horſes. He had ſpirit and courage enough to have riſked all conſiderations, even a breach with his allies, and to have marched to *Rome* itſelf, but that was impracticable, as he was without infantry, magazines, or artillery. At laſt he was obliged to fall back into *Tuſcany*, where he committed the care of his army to the marſhal *d'Eſtrees*, and recommended his intereſts in the way of negociation to *M. de Lionne*, and then ſet out for his own dominions.

A new war breaks out.

URBAN eaſily ſaw that his projects had ſucceeded; and now that his enemy was no longer at his gates, he aſſumed a new tone, and baffled *Lionne* in every point of negociation. He revoked ſome conceſſions which he had granted before, and ſubſtituted what he called equivalents in their place: he explained away others, and clogged others with new conditions; ſo that it was now extremely plain to all parties, that he meant nothing but to protract and puzzle the negociation. In the beginning of the year 1642, duke *Edward*'s affairs ſtanding in this indetermined ſituation, he reſolved, if poſſible, to wreſt *Caſtro*, which was garriſoned by the pope's troops, out of his hands. With this view, having aſſembled ſome regiments, he embarked them on board tranſports at *Lunigiana*, which were to carry them to *Porto Ercole*, or ſome landing place near *Caſtro*, and at the ſame time he raiſed troops for making a new irruption into the eccleſiaſtical ſtate. The embarkation was accordingly performed; but being driven back by contrary winds, the whole plan of the duke's operations fell to the ground. Not diſcouraged with this, he turned his arms againſt the *Ferrareſe*, where he took *Bondeno* and *La Stellata*, both which places he fortified.

The pope's arms baffled.

In the mean while the pope talked in a more deciſive ſtrain than ever, and was ſpending immenſe ſums in raiſing a new army, the command of which he gave to his nephew the cardinal *Antonio Barbarini*, an enthuſiaſt for the glory of the holy ſee, and the intereſts of his own family, and the moſt expenſive prelate alive, from the immenſe revenues that had been granted him by the pope and the *French* king. The duke of *Parma*'s allies, the *Venetians*, and the dukes of *Tuſ-*

nd *Modena*, were highly offended at ſeeing their mode-
thus abuſed, and not knowing what views beſides the
ion of the duke of *Parma*, his holineſs might have, re-
l their arms, and renewed their alliance with *Edward*.
cardinal took the field at the head of his army, with a
and magnificence that was more proper to celebrate a
ph than encounter an enemy. Without deigning to
his time againſt the two places that had been taken by
ke of *Parma* in the *Ferrareſe*, he marched directly into
odeneſe; but he had ſcarcely entered that territory, than
as driven out of it with loſs and diſgrace. In the mean
the great duke of *Tuſcany*, as an ally to the dukes of
a and *Modena*, ordered his army to advance into the
aſtical ſtate, where he obtained ſeveral advantages; and
the whole, this and the following campaign, including
xtravagant expences of the pope's nephews, is ſaid to
coſt the apoſtolical chamber the incredible ſum of twen-
illions of crowns, without its receiving any return but
and diſappointments, for that immenſe expence. At
rban, enfeebled with age and diſeaſes, treated, through
nal *Bichi*, about a peace with *France*. This negociation
d to be extremely advantageous to the holy ſee, by the
gnition which *France* made of the validity of the papal
mmunication. For her previous demand was, that the
of *Parma* ſhould be abſolved from all his cenſures; a
ſt which the republic of *Venice* never could be brought to
to *Paul* V. nor would ſhe ever even accept of abſolution.
as, however, ſaid on the part of the *French* court, that
luke of *Parma*, not being an independent ſovereign, the
effion did not wound the rights of crowned heads. This,
ever, is but a feeble plea; becauſe if thoſe cenſures were
in a temporal ſenſe againſt any prince, they were equal-
againſt all; nor can it be pretended that the duke of
ma was not, in every reſpect, a ſovereign prince, while
omplied with the terms on which his anceſtors obtained
dominions.

Duke of Parma *regains* Caſtro.

HE event of this negociation was, that the pope forgave
hat was paſt, and conſented to return to the duke of *Par-*
the duchy of *Caſtro*, and all that had been taken from him.
duke, having thus, by his undaunted ſpirit and perſeve-
e, baffled all the refined politics, and, what is more, the
rior force of the ſee of *Rome*, went to *Venice* to thank the
tors for the kind aſſiſtance they had afforded him in his
reſs. He likewiſe teſtified his gratitude to *France*, by
ng her ambaſſadors at *Rome*, during their reſidence there,
uſe of his palace, one of the moſt magnificent in the

world. The *French* ambaſſadors accordingly dwelt in it till the year 1698, when they reſigned the poſſeſſion of it to the then duke of *Parma*. The public, however, and eſpecially the ſovereign princes of *Europe*, were by no means ſatisfied with regard to the merit which *France* claimed from this reconciliation. It was juſtly thought, that, had ſhe not intermeddled, the duke of *Parma* would have obtained better terms than he did, becauſe the pope was reduced to the utmoſt diſtreſs, and rendered incapable to continue the war; but that inſidious court, as uſual, by holding with both parties, and diſſembling with both, conſulted her own ends. Duke *Edward*, in fact, acquired nothing by this accommodation but the evacuation of *Caſtro*; for he was ſtill as much obliged as ever to pay to the creditors of the *Mount of Piety* the money he owed that bank. This, in reality, was material juſtice; nor was it in the pope's power, unleſs he had paid the money himſelf, to have compromiſed the affair upon any other condition. Upon the whole, both parties were highly to blame; the duke, for not paying a fair and juſt debt, which was, in a manner, owing to the poor and the neceſſitous; and the pope, or rather his family, for their putting him under difficulties for ſatisfying that debt, by their not continuing to take from the duke, as uſual, the product of his duchy, by which the debt might have been ſatisfied without diſtreſſing him. Duke *Edward* died in the year 1648, two years after his accommodation with the pope. He was blamed by his cotemporaries for abandoning the intereſts of *Spain*, to whom his family owed its elevation, for thoſe of *France*. But the *French* vivacity and manners were intirely ſuited to his own; and he appears to have been of a temper not eaſily wrought upon by oppoſition and difficulties.

Succeeded by Ranuccio II.

Duke *Edward* was ſucceeded by his ſon *Ranuccio* II. Notwithſtanding the ſeeming victory *Edward* had obtained over the pope, it is certain, that when *Ranuccio* ſucceeded to his father, his revenues were in a moſt miſerable ſituation. Though his dominions were clear of foreign enemies, yet the expences of the war had left him no more than the means of barely ſubſiſting himſelf and his court with decency; and when pope *Innocent* X. mounted the papal throne, he found himſelf involved in the ſame difficulties that his father had encountered. *Innocent* was as tenacious as his predeceſſor had been of the papal prerogative, and conſidered the houſe of *Parma* as no better than ſucceſsful rebels againſt their rightful ſovereign. *Ranuccio* II. on the other hand, was one of the moſt moderate princes of his age; and his reputation for wiſdom was ſuch, that the ſenate of *Venice* conſulted him in

ffairs of difficulty or moment. All his abilities, how-
, could not raiſe the money to ſatisfy *Innocent*, who de-
ded both the intereſt and principal of what he owed to
Mount of Piety. It was in vain for the duke to plead his
lity to pay the debt, of which his holineſs himſelf could
e inſenſible; and it was with difficulty he obtained a re-
. *Innocent* now conſidered *Ranuccio* in a moſt deſpicable
, and took every opportunity to mortify him, by making
feel the weight of his authority; but an accident that
ened, completed the breach between them.

A biſhop of Caſtro *murdered.*

e popes always had exerciſed a right to fill up the va-
ſees in the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, of which the biſhopric of
o was reckoned to be one. The more moderate, how-
, of *Innocent's* predeceſſors, ſeldom nominated a biſhop to
ſee, without conſulting the dukes of *Parma*, and ſome-
s even paid them the compliment of accepting their re-
mendation. *Innocent* X. was ſo far from obſerving any
acy of that kind, that he named a *Theatine* monk to be
p of *Caſtro*. This monk, of all perſons, was the moſt
ceable to the duke, who applied in the moſt earneſt
ner to *Innocent* to nominate another to fill the ſee. This
eſt was more than ſufficient to determine *Innocent* to ad-
to his firſt nomination; and he reproached *Ranuccio* for
g ſo preſumptuous as to offer him his advice. *Ranuccio*,
iſcouraged with this haughtineſs, renewed his applica-
; and, even in the moſt ſubmiſſive manner, begged the
father to deſiſt from his nomination. This ſerved only
aw upon *Ranuccio* freſh reproaches, and even threatnings,
h rendered him ſtill more determined to fruſtrate the
ce of his holineſs. Finding that he could make no im-
ion upon the pope, he ſecretly applied to the monk him-
by an agent, who adviſed him, as a friend, not to accept
e biſhopric; and ſpoke in ſuch a manner, as to make the
ince ſenſible of the fate that was intended him, if he
ld comply with the will of his holineſs. The eccleſiaſtic
ired to the pope, and, on his knees, beſought him to re-
his nomination, which if he accepted of, he ſaid, muſt
ital to him. To ſee a monk decline a mitre, was ſome-
t ſo extraordinary, that *Innocent* was aſtoniſhed at the re-
l; which was urged with all the appearance of ſincerity,
in the moſt moving earneſt manner. Upon inquiry, he
vered the monk's motives for his ſelf-denial; and the
overy rendered him more obſtinate than ever. He aſſured
monk, that he had nothing to fear; and that his autho-
ſhould protect him againſt all his enemies, either ſecret or
aled; as no prince in *Italy*, be he ever ſo great, would

venture to incur the indignation of the holy ſee. He, therefore, laid his commands upon the monk to receive epiſcopal conſecration, which he was obliged to ſubmit to, though he declined it with tears in his eyes; and when he came to take leave of *Innocent*, before he ſet out for his biſhopric, he told him, that he was going to his death. The pope repeated his aſſurances of protection and ſafety; but all his pontifical power could not ſave the new-made biſhop; for, as he was travelling in his litter to *Caſtro*, he was aſſaſſinated upon the road by perſons unknown.

The biſhopric tranſlated to Aquapendente.

INNOCENT was exaſperated to the higheſt degree at this murder, which muſt be acknowledged to have been barbarous and inhuman. He ordered the ſtricteſt inquiſition to be made after the murderers; but none could be diſcovered. The place where the aſſaſſination was committed was choſen with ſo much judgment, that it was hard to pronounce whether it lay in the duchy of *Tuſcany*, or in the eccleſiaſtical ſtate; while, at the ſame time, no doubt remained with the public as to the motives or authors of the fact. The pope went ſo far as even to threaten *Ranuccio* with excommunication; but he had not a circumſtance on which he could ground a charge, and thus his holineſs was obliged to drop the proſecution. *Innocent*, however, was not of a temper to put up with ſuch a diſappointment, convinced as he was of the duke's actual guilt, and he reſolved to make him feel his vengeance to the full. The reſpite for the payment of the duke's debt to the *Mount of Piety* was now expired, and *Innocent*, in the rudeſt manner, preſſed him to pay the money. The duke, after various excuſes, which did not avail him, was at laſt obliged to plead his inability; to which plea his holineſs paid ſo little regard, that he adjudged the duchy of *Caſtro* to be confiſcated for the payment of the ſaid debt, to be re-united to the holy ſee, and incamerated; a term made uſe of at *Rome*, to ſignify an eſtate to be ſo incorporated with the dominions of the apoſtolical chamber, that they never can be ſeparated from them again [a]. Not contented with this, his holineſs, under the pretext that *Caſtro* was now his own property, ordered the city to be razed to the ground, and a pillar to be erected in the market-place, with an inſcription on its baſe, "Here ſtood *Caſtro*;" and at the ſame time he transferred its biſhopric to *Aquapendente*, as a puniſhment on the inhabitants for the death of the epiſcopal monk, whoſe name was *Chriſtopher Giarda*.

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[a] Memoires de Parme, p. 468.

Account of Ranuccio's miniſter, whom he beheads.

RANUCCIO, notwithſtanding all his policy, was not roid of prepoſſeſſions for a favourite miniſter, an obſcure *renchman* by birth, who aſſumed the title of marquis *Gaufride*. This perſon had inſinuated himſelf into the good races of duke *Edward*, who placed him about his ſon, and e became *Ranuccio*'s firſt miniſter. In the proceſs of the iſpute between him and pope *Innocent*, the marquis *Gaufride* ot only adviſed his maſter to oppoſe his holineſs by force of rms, but to give him the command of the troops raiſed for hat purpoſe. The duke complied with all that his miniſter eſired; but the latter proved to be ſo wretched a ſoldier, that e was beat in every encounter by the pope's troops. His abence from *Parma* gave the duke's friends an opportunity to pen his eyes with regard to his favourite, who had, in the noſt ſcandalous manner, abuſed the power intruſted to him y his maſter. The duke, who was in no condition to coninue a war againſt the pope, laid down his arms; and, upon is favourite's return from the campaign, he was tried for orruption and malverſation in his miniſtry; and the articles eing clearly proved againſt him, he loſt his head upon a caffold.

His debt reſpited.

THIS *Ranuccio* II. after the ſequeſtration of his duchy of *aſtro*, took little concern in the public affairs of *Italy*. The ebt, for which it was ſequeſtered, amounted to about one undred thouſand pounds ſterling, which never was in his ower to pay; but in the year 1664, *Lewis* XIV. perſuaded, r rather obliged, pope *Alexander* VII. to grant the duke a eſpite of eight years; within which time, if the debt was aid, the duchy of *Caſtro* was to revert to his family. This, owever, never was done, and the duchy remains now anexed to the apoſtolical chamber. Upon the acceſſion of the reſent king of *Spain* to the poſſeſſion of *Parma*, he offered o pay off the mortgage; but the pope refuſed to accept of he money: and the emperor, in the year 1736, agreed, that hat duchy never ſhould be diſmembered [b] from the papal dominions.

Conduct of Ranuccio.

RANUCCIO II. duke of *Parma*, in his own perſon, as one of the moſt extraordinary men of his age. His maner of living was elegantly ſimple; and he had no exterior arks of greatneſs about him, that could diſtinguiſh him from nother gentleman. Notwithſtanding this, his court was agnificent and expenſive, beyond what could have been exected from his revenue. Though he had not applied much o ſtudy, yet he laid out great ſums in purchaſing valuable manuſcripts, and other curioſities, for his library; and he employed a *Carmelite* friar, who ranſacked all *Europe* for thoſe kinds of purchaſes. He employed the famous father *Coronelli*, at *Venice*, to make him a pair of globes, the then largeſt in the world; but the good cordelier, having conſtructed and finiſhed them within his own cloiſter, was obliged to take down the wall before they could be carried to *Parma*. Some incidents in this duke's life will more effectually give the reader an idea of his true character, than any other deſcription of it can communicate.

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[b] BUSCHING's Geography, vol iii. p. 156.

His generoſity.

HE had at his court an officer, under the title of purveyor-general of his houſhold. This officer was a foreigner; and, by the help of a decent aſſurance, the duke, who always converſed in perſon with thoſe he employed, even in the meaneſt ſtations about his palace, raiſed him by degrees to the purveyorſhip. His behaviour, in this ſtation, was ſo exact, regular, and inoffenſive, that he acquired the good will of all the court, as well as that of his maſter; and lived ſeveral years in great affluence and credit, without ſo much as being ſuſpected of the ſmalleſt miſconduct. At laſt, he fell ſick; and apprehending his diſeaſe to be mortal, he found means moſt earneſtly to requeſt the duke to ſend ſome perſon, whom he could rely on, to receive an information that greatly concerned his highneſs. The duke accordingly ſent to him one of his gentlemen; to whom the purveyor confeſſed, that, during the courſe of his employment under the duke, he had embezzled immenſe ſums, by applying them to his private pocket; and earneſtly begged the gentleman to aſk the duke to forgive him, and to ſeize upon all the eſtates he was to leave behind him, which, he ſaid, fell ſhort of the ſums of which he had defrauded him. He, at the ſame time, gave the gentleman an inventory of all his houſhould furniture, and other goods, to be delivered to the duke, that he might enter into immediate poſſeſſion of them, as the only ſatisfaction he could make for his embezzlements. The gentleman executed the commiſſion he was charged with; and the duke, having heard him with great attention, deſired him to return to the ſick man, and to acquaint him, in his name, that he readily forgave him all his embezzlements; and that, ſo far from accepting of his eſtate, he left him at free liberty to diſpoſe of it as he pleaſed, which favours he granted him in conſideration of the ſalutary example he ſet to his other ſervants: "Learn " from this perſon, ſaid he, (turning to thoſe about him) to " become honeſt men; and, at leaſt, in your laſt hours, to " diſburden your conſciences. I make no doubt, continued " he, that many of you are as culpable as this purveyor, whom you ſee I have treated ſo favourably; and if, inſtead of reſerving your confeſſions to your laſt moments, ye will, every firſt day of the year, when you come to pay your compliments to me, confeſs, at the ſame time, the particulars of all the ſlips and embezzlements you have been guilty of, and which I know is not in my power either to prevent or to prove, I will, upon my honour, forgive ye, in the ſame manner as I have forgiven this purveyor. Think of what I have ſaid; for, I do aſſure ye, my abſolution, in ſuch a caſe, is far preferable to that of the pope himſelf. He never abſolves, without obliging the party to make reſtitution; but ye ſhall have my pardon without any ſuch condition.”

Hiſtory of count Calvi.

RANUCCIO II. notwithſtanding his great and amiable qualities, had his weakneſſes likewiſe, as appears from the choice he made of *Gioſeppino* an *Italian* ſinger, and an eunuch, to be his firſt miniſter. This *Gioſeppino* was the favourite of a *Venetian* courtezan, named *Madelona*, who was rich, and who ſupported him at a vaſt expence. The cuſtom is at *Parma*, and other cities of *Italy*, after a certain time of night, to ſhut the gates, and every perſon then admitted, muſt ſend in his name and quality to an officer, who waits at the gate for that purpoſe, and he makes his report to his maſter of all who enter. *Gioſeppino* and *Madelona*, in one of their excurſions, arrived at the gates of *Parma* ſo late, that they were obliged to ſend in their names, and the duke in the morning ordered them to attend him. His courtiers imagined, that he intended to puniſh or to reprimand them for the lewdneſs of their lives; but they were ſurprized to ſee the courteous manner with which he received them. *Gioſeppino*'s preſence had prepoſſeſſed him in his favour; and entering into converſation with him, he ſoon perceived that he underſtood politics as well as muſic, and that he was not infected with that levity which is ſo common to the *Italian* muſicians. In ſhort, the duke offered him a ſettlement at his court; and, perceiving that he made ſome difficulty on account of *Madelona*, he offered to entertain her likewiſe, and to treat her, in every reſpect, as *Gioſeppino*'s wife. The bargain was ſoon ſtruck; and the duke not only performed all he had promiſed, but provided handſomely for *Gioſeppino*'s two brothers, giving one of them a commiſſion in his own guards, and the other a living in the church. After this, *Madelona* wiſely retired to a nunnery, where the duke ſtill continued her appointment.

As to *Gioſeppino*, he ſhewed himſelf not unworthy of the duke's partiality in his favour. A magnificent palace was erected for him, with a communication, by a covered gallery, with that of the duke; and in a ſhort time he acquired a much larger eſtate, than could have been expected to be amaſſed in the ſervice of a duke of *Parma*. The duke was ſo far from diſcovering any uneaſineſs on that account, that he adviſed his favourite to lay out his money in purchaſing land, but not in the *Parmeſan*, leſt his ſon and ſucceſſor ſhould call him to an account for the riches he had acquired. *Gioſeppino* accordingly purchaſed an eſtate in the *Milaneſe*, and was created a count by the title of *Calvi*, the name of his father, who was a poor taylor in *Pavia*. In other reſpects, *Gioſeppino* behaved with the moſt profound ſubmiſſion to the duke, his family, and court. But all his caution could not guard him from enemies amongſt the nobility, who ſtill looked upon him as an upſtart.

Marriage of the prince of Parma.

WHEN prince *Edward*, *Ranuccio*'s ſon, grew up, *Lewis* XIV. ordered *du Pré*, his reſident at *Parma*, to offer a princeſs of his own blood in marriage to the young prince. He had, at the ſame time, made the like offer to the dukes of *Tuſcany* and *Modena*. Nothing could be more unpopular than the *French* court, at this time, was in *Italy*. *Lewis* XIV. had, with unconcern, ſeen the *Turks* make a progreſs in *Germany*, which threatened the extinction of the chriſtian religion and intereſt in that empire; and the *French* armies in the *Palatinate* had behaved in a manner more brutal and inhuman than the worſt of barbarians. Though the *Italian* princes had never been fond of the imperial yoke, while the houſe of *Auſtria* aſpired to give laws in *Italy*; yet, now that its power was reduced, they remembered that the emperors of *Germany* had been the lords paramount of that country, and that they themſelves owed to them their freedom, and independency upon the ſee of *Rome*. The duke of *Parma*, particularly, thought that if he owed any allegiance it was to the emperor, and not to the pope, whoſe predeceſſors had availed themſelves of the diſtreſſes of *Germany* to get poſſeſſion of *Parma*. That duke, therefore, and the other *Italian* princes, rejected the propoſal of the *French* alliance with a kind of horror; and *Ranuccio* concluded a match between his ſon *Edward* and the princeſs *Dorothea-Sophia* of *Neuberg*, ſiſter of the empreſs-dowager.

Calvi *mortified.*

RANUCCIO, upon this occaſion, gave a proof of his wiſdom and good ſenſe, by mortifying his favourite, upon the only occaſion in which he ſeemed to have forgot the meanneſs of his birth and circumſtances. The duke had given orders for making the moſt magnificent preparations for celebrating his ſon's nuptials; and had committed to the marquis of *Rangone*, a nobleman of great quality and eſtate, the care

of

pairing his celebrated theatre at *Parma*, for the exhibi-
of certain pompous entertainments. The marquis ac-
d of the charge; but the theatre being very much out
rder, and the time allotted for repairing it being but
; he ordered the workmen to admit no perſon within it,
thoſe who came along with the duke and his ſons. *Gio-*
ro preſented himſelf one day, and demanded admittance,
h was refuſed him by one of *Rangone*'s ſervants, though
niniſter, at the ſame time, acquainted him with his
s and quality. The ſervant anſwered, that he was no
ger to both; but that noblemen of much greater rank
been refuſed admittance, and that he muſt obey his or-
This affront drove *Gioſeppino* from his uſual modera-
; and after threatening to cane the ſervant the firſt time
net him, he withdrew. When the marquis of *Rangone*
d of what had paſſed, he diſmiſſed all the workmen; and
ring the theatre to be locked up, he carried the keys to
uke, and deſired his highneſs to excuſe him from having
more concern with the reparation of the theatre. The
was amazed at his requeſt; but was ſoon informed of
whole affair by the marquis, in terms that put the duke
ind of his miniſter's original meanneſs, and of his pre-
tion in threatening to beat his ſervant for doing his
; adding, that he did not doubt that he ſoon would have
ence enough to threaten the ſame to himſelf for having
the order.

PRINCE not poſſeſſed of *Ranuccio*'s wiſdom and modera-
would have been offended at the freedom with which the
uis treated his favourite's perſon and character. *Ranuc-*
on the other hand, diſcovered no marks of diſpleaſure;
after calmly examining the affair, he found it to be as
marquis had repreſented it. The offence was of too
t a nature to deſerve a ſevere puniſhment; and yet there
a kind of neceſſity for ſatisfying the marquis, and humb-
the favourite at the ſame time. He therefore prevailed
the marquis to reſume his charge, and promiſed him
action. Next day the marquis, as uſual, continued to
directions about the reparations of the theatre; and the
ordered ſeveral of the courtiers to attend him, and
ngſt others *Gioſeppino*; but ordered him to be the laſt of
is train who ſhould enter the theatre. When the mar-
came to receive the duke, all the attendants were ad-
d but *Gioſeppino*, in whoſe face the door was ſhut. This
what the duke had foreſeen and ſuſpected; and in a day
wo repeating his viſit in the ſame manner, *Gioſeppino* re-
d the ſame affrontive excluſion. In a few days after the

ſame experiment was repeated, when the marquis, thinking that he had done enough to mortify the favourite, and beginning now to underſtand the duke's meaning, ſaluted him by the name of Signior *Gioſeppino*, and told him that he was welcome to enter; and thus the quarrel ended, without the duke appearing to take the leaſt concern in it.

Magnificent wedding.

THE celebration of the nuptials between prince *Edward* and his bride, was the moſt magnificent of any that for ſome centuries had been exhibited in *Italy*. Rich preſents, according to their reſpective qualities, were made to all the *Germans* of either ſex who accompanied the bride. The feaſts, entertainments, and ſhews of all kinds, which laſted for ſome weeks, were equally pompous and ingenious; but a deſcription of particulars does not come within our deſign, though volumes were filled with the deſcription of them; and the marriage of prince *Edward*, with the princeſs *Dorothy* of *Neuberg*, is to this day talked of amongſt the *Italians* as the maſter-piece of all magnificence of that kind.

Hiſtory of Don Alexander Farneſe.

BUT notwithſtanding *Ranuccio's* gentleneſs and politeneſs, no prince knew better than he did what was due to his rank, and to the decorum of a court. His brother, prince *Alexander Farneſe*, while he was governor of the *Low Countries* for the king of *Spain*, had by his miſtreſs a natural ſon called after his own name. This young gentleman was educated at *Parma*, under the eye of his uncle, in a manner ſuitable to the quality of his father, who was afterwards general of the *Venetians*, and held an employment in *Spain*. Upon the marriage of prince *Edward*, the duke of *Parma* gave Don *Alexander*, for ſo the young gentleman was called, a poſt about the perſon of the princeſs, and his fine preſence and accompliſhments ſoon brought him to be diſtinguiſhed by a *Parmeſan* counteſs, one of the moſt illuſtrious ladies in all the duke's dominions. As the lady was married, their intercourſe became ſcandalous, and it ſoon reached the duke's ears. As he was extremely delicate in thoſe matters, he at firſt reprimanded Don *Alexander*, being willing to make allowances for his youth; but the ſcandal of the intrigue daily encreaſing, he treated him with rougher language, and threatened, if he perſevered, to diſqualify him from all future commerce with womankind. He ordered, at the ſame time, that when the ducheſs came to the opera, ſhe ſhould be placed in a box oppoſite to his own, that her gallant might have no opportunity of entertaining her. The lovers found means partly to elude even this precaution; but being impatient of reſtraint, they at laſt agreed to make an elopement, and to fly to *Naples*, where they might enjoy themſelves in ſecurity. Don

Alexander accordingly repaired to the lady's country-ſeat, in the diſguiſe of a poſtilion; and on pretence that he was ſent for her by her huſband, who was then in *Parma*, he carried her off, and they made the beſt of their way to *Naples*. They had been gone two days before the duke heard of their flight; and being highly provoked by the young man's temerity, he diſpatched expreſſes to the governors of the chief cities in *Lombardy* and the *Romagna*, through which it was moſt probable they would paſs, with a deſcription of their dreſſes and perſons, entreating them to ſtop the fugitives. It was not long before they were ſtopped at *Ancona*; and the duke no ſooner heard that they were in cuſtody, than he ſent two coaches, with proper guards, to conduct them to *Parma*; but with orders, that they ſhould not be ſuffered to ſpeak to each other during the journey. In this he was punctually obeyed; and upon their arrival at *Parma*, the lover was condemned by the duke to perpetual impriſonment, and the lady to paſs the reſt of her days in a cloiſter.

Policy and wiſdom of Ranuccio.

BUT the moſt diſtinguiſhed public action of this duke's life, was his eſtabliſhing the fair of *Placentia*. This fair uſed to be held in *Genoa*, to which all the merchants of *Italy* reſorted once a year, and tranſacted their affairs. But the difficulty of paſſing to *Genoa* by land, on account of the vaſt mountains with which that city is ſurrounded, being a prodigious diſcouragement to the merchants, *Ranuccio* formed the noble project of transferring the fair to *Placenza*. He no ſooner made the propoſal, than it was unanimouſly agreed to by all the traders of *Italy*; and for their conveniency, he ordered above three hundred booths to be built in the ſtreets of *Placenza*; and during the fair he appointed guards for the ſecurity of the wares they contained. But as the reſort of wealthy bankers to the fair was its principal ſupport, the duke, with a magnificence peculiar to himſelf, ſent to *Florence*, and all the other trading cities in *Lombardy* and the *Romagna*, coaches and other carriages for conveying them to *Placenza*; where they were lodged all the time of the fair, at his expence, and every night entertained with elegant exhibitions of plays, operas, and other entertainments of muſic. All was performed in the higheſt taſte of politeneſs as well as hoſpitality; ſo that thoſe merchants appear to be invited rather to a court, as the gueſt of a great prince, than to a fair, as merchants tranſacting their own buſineſs.

Flouriſhing ſtate of his dominions.

IN like manner the duke rendered his dominions the reſidence and delight of the *Italian* princes and nobility. After the fair of *Placenza* was over, the operas ſtill continued; and as the duke was himſelf a great judge of muſic, the favourite entertainment of the *Italians*, none but the fineſt voices and performers were admitted. All the expence was defrayed by the duke, who was ſo good an œconomiſt, that his gueſts were aſtoniſhed at his magnificence, his ordinary revenues not being computed to amount above one hundred thouſand pounds a year. He found means, however, by the great concourſe of nobility and merchants, whom he brought to his dominions, to raiſe a revenue far exceeding that ſum, without oppreſſing his ſubjects. But though he defrayed all the charges of his opera and theatre, by paying the performers of every kind, as well as providing dreſſes and machinery, yet he ſuffered *Gioſeppino*, ſoon after he came into his favour, to be the manager of the whole, and even to take money for the boxes at the opera. This amounted to about a thouſand pounds a year clear to the favourite. But it drew upon him ſo much envy and ill-will from the other performers; and the public was ſo much diſguſted at ſeeing the ſame perſon act in the double capacity of miniſter and muſician, that he reſigned the management. After all, however, we have ſaid of this duke *Ranuccio*'s magnificence and generoſity, he had his frugal and ſaving hours. When he acted in the character of a ſovereign prince, he required from all his ſervants and courtiers, the ſtricteſt obſervance of forms in their ſeveral degrees; and they who were negligent in any part of their duty, were always ſure of having ſome marks of his reſentment. This made all about him ſo attentive to their duties, that no prince was ever known to be better ſerved. But *Ranuccio* ſpent the far greater part of his time as a private gentleman, without the ſmalleſt diſtinction of dreſs or attendance. He converſed eaſily and familiarly with all whom he went to viſit, or who came to viſit him. His table was then ſerved like that of a private perſon; and they who trembled before him on days of ceremony, were charmed with his converſation, his affability, and good-nature, as a private perſon. Towards the latter end of his days, he was troubled with an impoſthume in his leg, which the phyſicians attributed to his exceſſive eating of *Parmeſan* cheeſe; but they could not perſuade him to abſtain from it. His diſorders, therefore, multiplied ſo greatly, that his ſubjects thought his life was prolonged by the miraculous interpoſition of ſaints. The count *de Anguiſciola* was then his reſident at the court of *Paris*, where *Lewis* XIV. one day enquired after the health of the duke his maſter; the count anſwered, “ That he had “ been miraculouſly recovered by the interceſſion of a certain “ ſaint.” “ You *Italians*, replied the king, are fond of being under obligations to heaven, and run ſo much in debt

" to the ſaints, that I am afraid you will ſoon prove inſol-" vent." But after many eſcapes he at laſt died in the year 1694.

Death and marriages of Ranuccio.

DUKE *Ranuccio* had three wives; his firſt was *Margaret* daughter to *Victor Amadeus*, the firſt duke of *Savoy*, by whom he had prince *Edward*, who, as we have already ſeen, married the princeſs *Dorothea Sophia* of *Neuberg*, daughter to *Philip-William* the elector-palatine, and ſiſter to the empreſs-dowager; but he died in 1693, during his father's life-time, leaving behind him a daughter, who was afterwards married to *Philip* king of *Spain*, and is now alive. His ſecond and third wives were *Iſabella* and *Mary*, the latter of whom he married by diſpenſation, daughters to *Francis* I. duke of *Modena*. By the former he had two ſons; *Francis*, who ſucceeded him, and *Antony* (*Alexander*, his grandſon, by *Edward*, dying in his cradle.) *Ranuccio*'s two brothers were *Alexander* and *Horatio*. The latter was general of the cavalry in the *Venetian* ſervice, during the famous ſiege of *Candia*; and he was at the famous battle of the *Dardanelles*, in which the *Turks* were beat; but he himſelf died without iſſue, when he was upon his return to *Italy*. He was ſucceeded in his command by his brother prince *Alexander*, who afterwards entered into the *Spaniſh* ſervice, and ſerved in *Flanders* in the ſame rank. In the year 1669 he was appointed viceroy of *Navarre*, and in 1680, governor-general of the *Low Countries*. Two years after the *Venetians* gave him the command of their troops; and in the year 1687, the king of *Spain* appointed him generaliſſimo by ſea of all his kingdoms and eſtates, in which poſt he died two years after he received it; but without leaving any legitimate iſſue.

Succeeded by his ſon Francis.

DUKE *Francis* I. ſon of duke *Ranuccio* II. of *Parma*, ſucceeded his father with great advantages. The contending parties in *Italy* concurred in the high eſteem they had for the late duke; and the meaſures of his government were ſo wiſe, that his ſon's dominions were free from all the calamities of war which deſolated the reſt of *Italy*, at the time of his acceſſion to the duchy. *Francis*, however, found great difficulty to maintain himſelf in this deſirable neutrality. This was occaſioned, not by any miſmanagement of his own, but by a diſpute betwen the pope and the emperor, about their reſpective rights of ſuperiority over *Parma*. The imperial general, the marquis *de Prie*, in *November* 1706, marched ſome *German* regiments into the *Parmeſan* and the *Placentine*, with an intention there to take their winter-quarters. Duke *Francis*, as well as his ſubjects, pleaded to be excuſed, on account of *Parma* and *Placentia* being fiefs of the holy ſee, *His diſpute with the emperor.*

and therefore not ſubject to ſuch burdens. The imperial general, however, in *December* following, threatened the two duchies with military execution; ſo that duke *Francis* was compelled, againſt his will, to nominate *Francis Malpeli* his governor of *Parma*, and count *John-Francis Marazzani Viſconti* and the marquis *Annibal Scotti*, to be his plenipotentiaries for ſettling articles between him and the marquis *de Prie*; and at laſt ten articles were agreed upon. By the firſt article, the winter-quarters of the *German* troops were eſtimated at the ſum of ninety thouſand *Spaniſh* piſtoles, of which the lay-ſubjects of the duke were to advance ſeventy-ſix thouſand one hundred and fifty to the imperial military cheſt, for the maintenance of the infantry, who were quartered upon his duchies; the cavalry having evacuated the ſame for their greater eaſe. The ſaid ſum being paid, the imperial plenipotentiary undertook that all neceſſaries furniſhed for the maintenance of the ſaid troops, horſe as well as foot, ſhould be punctually defrayed, and paid for at a moderate rate; and that if any diſputes ſhould ariſe between the duke's ſubjects and the ſaid troops, that the ſame ſhould be adjuſted, and ſatisfaction made to the ſubjects by the commanding officer or officers of the regiments, or by the marquis of *Viſconti*, general of the imperial cavalry. By the ſecond article, the marquis *de Prie* allows to the duke five thouſand out of the ſaid ninety thouſand piſtoles, on account of proviſions furniſhed the preceding *Auguſt*. The third article obliges the duke's ſubjects to pay two-thirds of the ſaid ſum, in ready money, in the following *April*, and to give accepted draughts upon creditable bankers, for the reſidue to be paid in the months of *Auguſt* and *October* thereafter: which payments being made, the marquis *de Prie* declares, that the duke has ſatisfied the imperial court for all demands upon him, as holding his eſtates as fiefs from his imperial majeſty.

The five next articles only ſettled the manner in which the contributions were to be raiſed, and the rations furniſhed to the ſoldiers; but the ninth article is extremely remarkable. It recites, "that as the eccleſiaſtics, ſecular as well as regular, are in poſſeſſion of great part of the duke's territories, and had always borne their ſhare of the public burdens, and even at that very time paid one-fourth towards the expence of the garriſons in the *Parmeſan* and the *Placentine*, the imperial commiſſary reſerved to himſelf a power of raiſing, upon their eſtates, the ſum of twenty-one thouſand two hundred and thirty piſtoles; that the eſtates of the ſaid eccleſiaſtics may be delivered from the inconveniences to which they muſt be ſubjected if ſuch payment ſhould not be made. The ſeculars, however, proteſting that they have no concern whatever in drawing up or concluding the ſaid articles; which was ſigned the 14th of *December* 1706.

WHEN thoſe articles were publiſhed, the pope *Clement* XI. iſſued a decretal, condemning the ſame, in a very high ſtrain, as being injurious, in the moſt atrocious manner, to him and the rights of the holy ſee, to which the dukes of *Parma* and *Placentia* owe a direct and immediate fealty; and that conſequently the ſaid articles were declared to be void of all ſtrength, force, and validity. His holineſs then referred to a letter expedited by his predeceſſor *Urban* VIII. on the 5th of *June*, 1641; by which thoſe, and the like inſults upon the holy ſee, were effectually guarded againſt: the proteſtation entered by the ſecular clergy, concerning the proportion to be paid by them, having thrown the cognizance of that affair ntirely upon the pope. He then refuſes, in the moſt peremptory terms, to ratify the ſame, and declares the articles o be rejected and condemned. He next proceeds to mention letter written with his own hand to the duke of *Parma*, hreatening with eccleſiaſtical cenſures, all who ſhould preſume to invade his juſt rights, or trouble his ſovereign juriſdiction, and that of the church of *Rome*, over the ſaid duke's eſtates, or in the matters already mentioned.

Interpoſition of the pope.

IT appears, that after the concluſion of the above articles, the clergy, both ſecular and regular, of the *Parmeſan* and *Placentine*, had abſolutely refuſed to furniſh their contingents, without expreſs orders from the pope, for which the imperial generals had quartered a conſiderable body of trrops upon their eſtates, in hopes to oblige them to comply with their demands. The pope, in the decree of cenſures before us, exclaims, in the moſt bitter terms, againſt this ſacrilegious practice, as being a violation of all eccleſiaſtical immunities and privileges. He then proceeds in the following ſtrain; "Having found all our paternal cares fruitleſs for remedying the ſaid abuſes; and as we are bound to protect, upon earth, the rights of the church of *Rome*, and all inferior churches, as well as the perſons of the eccleſiaſtics, although we do not doubt that the biſhops of thoſe places, whoſe zeal we have excited, will courageouſly do their duty; and though we believe moſt certainly, that ſo unjuſt a military attack, directed by wicked counſels, will be diſproved of by our moſt dear ſon *Joſeph* king of the *Romans*, elected emperor, who we hope will ſeverely chaſtize and puniſh all who have been guilty of the ſaid exceſſes; yet, that we may not appear idle and inactive, we who are charged with the duties of the apoſtolical office, and that we may not, by our too long forbearance, be

A full ſtate of the claims made by the imperial and papal courts, accuſed of having betrayed the privileges of eccleſiaſties, of having ſhamefully abandoned the cauſe of God; we, truſting in his divine aſſiſtance, and following the example, not only of *Urban* our aforeſaid predeceſſor, but of pope *Leo* X. who by his conſtitution, publiſhed the 23d of *June* 1515, excommunicated, anathematized, and ſtruck with the ſword of curſing and eternal damnation, all perſons, even thoſe whoſe quality ſeemed to claim particular mention, who ſhould invade the towns, territories, and places, belonging either mediately or immediately to the holy ſee, particularly the cities of *Parma* and *Placentia*; we declare, by the tenor of theſe preſents, that the treaty within-mentioned, and all its articles, with all that followed thereupon, and all that may follow it, to be injurious, abuſive, invalid, unjuſt, and deſtitute of all force and effect; that they were ſo from the beginning; they are ſo now, and ever muſt continue ſo, notwithſtanding any oath confirming them; that no perſon is obliged to obſerve them; that no perſon either ought, or can lawfully obſerve them; and that no perſon has acquired, or can acquire, any right, or pretence of a right for ſuch poſſeſſion or proceedings."

HIS holineſs then enforces all the cenſures and eccleſiaſtical pains that had been publiſhed againſt ſuch violators by his predeceſſors or himſelf, or the biſhops of the *Parmeſan* and *Placentine*; and concludes with the uſual forms to declare the ſaid decree to be lawful and valid in all reſpects. We have thought proper to be the more full upon this difference between the imperial and papal courts, becauſe it remains ſtill undecided, and it may yet be productive of important conſequences in *Europe*. It is proper, however, for the ſame reaſon, to give the reader the ſubſtance of the anſwer, which the imperial court made to this thundering declaration, and which is dated the 26th of *June*, 1708.

upon the ſovereignty of Parma.

IT begins with putting the public in mind of the great deliverance which the imperial army had obtained for *Italy*, after it had been enſlaved by the *French*. His imperial majeſty then proceeds to complain of the papal miniſters, who had, either at the inſtigation of others, or for ſelf-intereſted views of their own, introduced ſpiritual arms into a diſpute that was entirely temporal, and to publiſh the ſame, to the great ſcandal of Chriſtianity and Chriſtian princes. "Having attentively conſidered, ſays the imperial manifeſto, the declaration of his holineſs, and all its contents, we cannot but be ſenſibly affected at the court of *Rome*'s having the boldneſs to diſpute the ancient rights which we and the *Roman* empire have in *Italy*, and particularly thoſe which the duchy of *Milan*

lan has over *Parma* and *Placentia*, and this under the pretext of a dominion which the ſaid papal court pretends to have acquired over thoſe two duchies. It is evident, by the full concurrence of all hiſtories, and by the inveſtitures which the *Roman* emperors our predeceſſors have beſtowed, and other certain acts, that the ſupreme dominion and high ſovereignty of the ſaid cities of *Parma* and *Placentia*, only belong to us and to the ſacred *Roman* empire, and that the lawful poſſeſſors of the duchy of *Milan* received the inveſtitures thereof. It cannot be proved that this ſupreme dominion and high ſovereignty, ever has been given up by any emperor, or that it was ever in the power of any duke of *Milan* to yield up, cede, or transfer the ſame, far leſs that the court of *Rome* is entitled to uſurp the ſame; or that the duke of *Parma* and *Placentia* himſelf ought to be conſidered as holding his dominions from the pope. Many hiſtorical tracts record at large all that has been done, without interruption, for preſerving the rights of the empire in that affair; and they who are converſant in public matters, are fully ſenſible with what zeal our predeceſſors, the emperor *Charles* V. in particular, of glorious memory, have defended, and expreſſed their reſolution to defend, even to their laſt breath, their rights, and thoſe of their empire, to the ſaid duchies. It being beſides evident, that thoſe rights were annexed to the empire in ſuch a manner, that they could not be ſeparated from it without its conſent, far leſs againſt its will, by any papal bulls, be they what they will, or by any menaces of eccleſiaſtical fulminations, however terrible they may appear. It is therefore loſt and ridiculous labour which the popes have beſtowed, by arrogating, in their own cauſe, a power of giving ſentence; and being forced to eſtabliſh, by means of their own bulls, claims that directly point to the prejudice of a third power. Surely it is beyond comprehenſion, how the court of *Rome* could imagine or alledge, that our ſoldiers have invaded the property of the church, as the ſaid court knows, or ought to know, that the places into which our troops have entered, are fiefs belonging to us and the empire; and that we are entitled to demand from them proviſions and neceſſaries of life, by the laws of nature and nations, even though the ſame had been a neutral territory, eſpecially as the ſaid demand was made that we may be able to defend thoſe upon whom it is made, and to deliver them from dangers and farther loſſes with which they are threatened. Matters being thus circumſtanced, every one muſt be ſenſible that the canons of the church, with the laws and reaſons of ſtate, oblige the clergy, as well as the other parts of the community, to contribute to the public ex-

pences,

pences, eſpecially as they are employed for their tranquility and liberty; but more eſpecially in a country where, by antient cuſtom, the clergy has always contributed to the common ſupport of the public; and where, as is the caſe in *Parma*, their poſſeſſions are ſo great, that they form more than one-fourth part of that duchy. The eccleſiaſtics, therefore, would become unworthy the happineſs they enjoy, if they ſhould be ſo tenacious and covetous as to refuſe to concur with lay-ſubjects in paying the ſum required by our imperial commiſſary, and perſiſting in the ſaid refuſal."

THE manifeſto then proceeds to extol the conduct of his imperial majeſty, and to blame the harſh and precipitate cenſures that had been iſſued againſt him by the pope. It then goes on as follows: "Our demand is agreeable to our own rights, and thoſe of the empire; and we have made it in a manner that is agreeable to the imperial conſtitutions and uſages, which entitles us to a return of that particular reſpect which we pay to the common father of Chriſtianity, when he diveſts himſelf of partiality, witneſs the many negotiations of cardinal *Grimani*, to obtain that conſent from his holineſs, though the ſame was ſuperfluous, and to remonſtrate upon the too haſty abuſe of papal authority. We well obſerve examples of the like collections and contributions impoſed upon eccleſiaſtics, with the pope's conſent, by our enemies, in a very different manner, though thoſe enemies had no other end but to diſturb the common tranquility of *Europe*, and were unworthy of all favour. Notwithſtanding that, the court of *Rome* yielded to their requeſts, often againſt all right, thereby ſhewing as much indulgence and kindneſs to them, as animoſity and enmity to us, by attacking us and the moſt undoubted rights of the empire in the face of the world, by words, writings, and actions, which might have excited in us the moſt violent reſentment, had we not been influenced by that goodneſs which is natural to our houſe of *Auſtria*, and our regard for the univerſal church. We would even have perſevered in our patience, though it has been abuſed ever ſince the beginning of our reign, if it had been permitted us to delay longer to vindicate our rights, and thoſe of the empire, and if we could have excuſed that delay to God and our poſterity. Hence it is, that, all things conſidered, we, mindful of the capitulation which we ſwore to obſerve, and the imperial conſtitutions, having take the ſentiments of all our privy counſellors, together with thoſe of the imperial aulic council; and having conſulted many able foreign divines, and perſons converſant in the canon and civil laws, for the preſervation of our rights, and thoſe of the empire, we declare,

clare, that the writing above referred to is evidently null, vain, and of no force; and the rather, becauſe it is plain that it wants the requiſite eſſentials, to wit, the commiſſion of a mortal ſin, contumacy in a mortal error, a previous citation of perſons, and the like; and becauſe the ſaid writing publiſhed by the court of *Rome*, tends not to preſerve the heritage of our lord, but to uſurp our imperial rights upon the duchies of *Parma* and *Placentia*."

The concluſion of the imperial manifeſto of Parma.

THE manifeſto then retorts the pope's injuſtice upon himſelf, and accuſes his miniſters of cruelty and oppreſſion, and of practices againſt the emperor, the king of *Spain*, and the duke of *Savoy*. It then declares, in the moſt ſolemn manner, that it is not in the power of his imperial majeſty to give up any of his rights, far leſs his direct ſovereignty over *Parma* and *Placentia*. On the contrary, "We reſume, proceeds the paper, to ourſelves and the ſacred *Roman* empire, firmly and expreſly, all and ſingular the ſovereign rights that have been uſurped, or are yet detained from us, and we declare them ours in the moſt effectual form and manner, annulling, aboliſhing, and cancelling all illegal pretences and poſſeſſions, excepting thoſe that have been expreſly transferred to the ſaid holy *Roman* ſee, by the goodneſs and munificence of our imperial predeceſſors. All which is of ſo much the leſs validity, as even the emperor himſelf has not power to make ſuch alienations, without obſerving the requiſite forms." The cloſe of this famous manifeſto is as follows: "We forbid all and ſingular the eccleſiaſtics and ſecular vaſſals belonging to us and the empire, our miniſters and ſubjects, living either in the dominions of the church, or in the duchies of *Parma* and *Placentia*, or any where elſe, under pain of our indignation, confiſcation of goods, and corporal puniſhment beſides, to pay the leaſt regard to the aforeſaid writing, promiſing them in return our protection and clemency, firſt requiring, in the neceſſary forms, the duke of *Parma*, not to acknowledge, for his duchies of *Parma* and *Placentia*, any other ſuperior but ourſelves, and our moſt dear brother the king of *Spain*, as being the ſole lords and lawful poſſeſſors of the duchy of *Milan*, to whom the ſaid duke is anſwerable for our rights, and thoſe of the ſacred *Roman* empire."

Antony *marries his brother's widow.*

THE viciſſitudes of war prevented this diſpute from coming to an iſſue; it being an eſtabliſhed maxim, with the papal court never to give up a claim, or terminate a difference, but to make temporary compromiſes, ſtill keeping their claims open, and reſuming them at proper junctures. An accommodation afterwards took place between the emperor and the pope, but without any deciſion being made as to the ſovereignty of *Parma.* The new duke, however, behaved ſo inoffenſively, that he would gladly have been excuſed from having the imperialiſts quartered upon his dominions; yet he was regarded by both parties, inſomuch, that in the year 1695, his holineſs gave him a diſpenſation for marrying his brother's widow, to the aſtoniſhment of all *Europe*, the former having had children by her. But *Antony* having no children by the ſaid lady, the ſucceſſion to his eſtates became a very ſerious conſideration with the powers of *Europe*, after the acceſſion of king *George* I. The duke of *Parma* himſelf inclined to be a feodatory to the court of *Rome*, rather than to the emperor, who he was ſenſible wanted to reannex his duchies to the dominions of the houſe of *Auſtria*; and the ſame fate muſt have attended them, had they been declared to be fiefs of the crown of *Spain*, which was then claimed by his brother *Charles*, in oppoſition to *Philip*, duke of *Anjou*; both of them aſſuming the royal titles of *Spain*, and each in poſſeſſion of part of that kingdom. To prevent, if poſſible, ſuch a reannexation from taking place, *Antony* duke of *Parma* married *Elizabeth*, his elder brother's daughter, and only ſurviving child to *Philip*, by which the deſcendants of the marriage claimed the rights of ſucceſſion to the duchies of *Parma* and *Placentia*.

Account of the ſucceſſion to Parma, *as ſettled by the quadruple alliance.*

WHEN the ſtate of affairs in *Europe* rendered it neceſſary to ſupply the defects of the treaty of *Utrecht*, in which nothing effectual had been ſtipulated with regard to *Parma* and *Placentia*, that ſucceſſion came under the conſideration of the contracting powers. At firſt a triple alliance was concluded between *Great Britain*, *France*, and *Holland*, and the emperor, who was then at war with *Spain*, thinking the ſame to be injurious to his intereſt, refuſed to accede to it; but by the unwearied application of the *Engliſh* and *Spaniſh* miniſters, who declared, that one of the main objects of the alliance was to bring about a peace between their imperial and catholic majeſties, his difficulties abated; and upon his acceding to the treaty, it got the name of the quadruple alliance, the fifth article of which was as follows; " The duchies of *Tuſcany*, *Parma*, and *Placentia*, were to be accounted for ever as male fiefs of the empire, and were to deſcend, in default of the male heirs, to the queen of *Spain*'s eldeſt ſon. As the conſent of the empire was neceſſary, the emperor was to uſe his utmoſt endeavours to obtain it. *Leghorn* was to remain a free port; and the king of *Spain* was to yield to his ſon the town *Porto Longone*, with what he poſſeſſed in the iſland of *Elba*, as ſoon as the prince of *Spain* ſhould be in poſſeſſion of *Tuſcany*. None of theſe duchies was to be poſoſſeſſed by a prince who ſhould, at the ſame time, be king of *Spain*; nor was the king of *Spain* ever to take upon himſelf the guardianſhip of that place.”

THIS ſettlement of ſucceſſion to ſo conſiderable dominions, without conſulting the parties who were in poſſeſſion of them, ſurprized all *Europe*, but thoſe who were in the ſecret of the alliance; and therefore by the mediators, to quiet the apprehenſions of the dukes of *Tuſcany* and *Parma*, it was provided, “That it ſhould never be allowed, during the lives of the oſſeſſors of *Tuſcany* and *Parma*, that any forces of any counry whatſoever, whether their own or hired, ſhould, either y the emperor, the kings of *France* or *Spain*, or even by the rince appointed to the ſucceſſion, be introduced into any garriſon, city, port, or town of thoſe duchies. But for ſecurity of the ſucceſſion, ſix thouſand *Swiſs* were to be put nto *Leghorn*, *Porto Ferraro*, *Parma*, and *Placentia*.” After he concluſion of this treaty, a new treaty was entered into between the emperor and the king of *Sicily*, by which *Sicily* was reſtored to the emperor, who agreed to give his *Sicilian* majeſty in return the iſland of *Sardinia*. The farther particuars of this treaty, only as they related to the duchies of *Parma* and *Placentia*, are foreign to my purpoſe. It is ſufficient to ay, that upon the whole, the negociations exaſperated *Spain* o greatly, that cardinal *Alberoni*, then his catholic majeſty's irſt miniſter, made amazing attempts for enabling *Spain*, both by ſea and land, to withſtand the efforts of all the contracting parties in the quadruple alliance. This produced a reſolution n the allies to deprive the queen of *Spain*'s iſſue, if that court hould continue obſtinate, of their ſucceſſion to the duchies of *Tuſcany*, *Parma*, and *Placentia*, and to give the inveſtitures f the ſame to ſome other prince. Such a proceeding diſuſted the ſtates general, and the rather, as the miniſters of *Great Britain* and *France*, ſeemed rather to preſcribe than to egociate a peace, and had not conſulted their high mightieſſes during the whole progreſs of the treaty. This and arious other conſiderations, determined the *Britiſh* court, efore they ſtruck the important blow they were then meditating, to ſend the earl of *Stanhope* into *Spain*, with freſh inructions to make that court ſenſible of its danger, if his atholic majeſty ſtill held out. The fourth article of thoſe inſtructions were, “That in caſe his catholic majeſty ſhould efuſe to accept of the ſaid treaty, the confederates ſhould nanimouſly diſpoſe of his expectations on the dominions of *Tuſcany* and *Parma*, in favour of ſome other prince.” The ifth article was, “That the emperor ſhall not act within the ſaid term of three months, upon condition that the king of *Spain* does not act on his ſide; but that if his catholic majeſty, inſtead of accepting the ſaid treaty, ſhould, within the ſaid term, act any hoſtilities which might prevent the execution of any diſpoſition of the ſaid treaty, then the allies ſhall immediately, and without waiting the expiration of the ſaid term, ſupply the emperor with ſuch forces as are therein ſtipulated." The public knows in what manner thoſe inſtructions were rejected, and the ſignal blow which, in conſequence of that rejection, the marine of *Spain* received from Sir *George Byng*, the *Britiſh* admiral. But though the conduct of the *Britiſh* miniſters and admiral on this occaſion, were juſtified by parliament, the active ſpirit of *Alberoni*, who was the greateſt miniſter *Spain* ever had, embroiled the affairs of *Europe* ſo much, as to kindle a war in *Italy*, and to threaten *Great Britain* with an invaſion in favour of the pretender, which laſt project was defeated by the accidents of winds and tides. At laſt, in the year 1719, *Spain* being exhauſted by the amazing efforts ſhe had made, began to think of peace, and the plan of an accommodation was ſent to his catholic majeſty's miniſter, the marquis *de Beretti Landi*, at the *Hague*. Amongſt the other articles of this plan it was propoſed, that *England* ſhould reſtore *Gibraltar* and *Port Mahon* to *Spain*, and that the ſucceſſions to *Tuſcany*, *Parma*, and *Placentia*, ſhould be ſettled on the queen of *Spain*'s ſon, without being held either of the emperor or the empire. The pope was likewiſe to be obliged to reſtore the duchy of *Caſtro* to the duke of *Parma*. But this plan was rejected, and *Spain* was at laſt obliged to accede ſimply to the quadruple alliance. In the year 1723, the diſcontented *Italian* ſtates againſt the treaty of *London* was ſo great, that the king of *Sardinia*, with the dukes of *Tuſcany*, *Parma*, and *Modena*, preſented memorials againſt it at the congreſs of *Cambray*; and the emperor evidently ſhewed that he diſliked it. Matters ſtood upon this footing till the year 1725, when the treaty of *Vienna* was concluded between the emperor and the king of *Spain*. By this famous treaty, the emperor granted (without the conſent of the empire) the inveſtiture of the dukedoms of *Tuſcany*, *Parma*, and *Placentia*, to the queen of *Spain*'s eldeſt ſon, in caſe thoſe dukedoms ſhould be vacant for want of heirs; the determination of king *George*, and the regent of *France*, in the treaty of *London*, that they are maſculine fiefs of the empire, being taken for granted. This treaty was counterbalanced by the treaty of *Hanover*, concluded between *France* and *Great Britain*, to humble the emperor and the queen of *Spain*; but nothing particularly was ſtipulated in that treaty with regard to the ſucceſſion to

Britain *threatened with an invaſion.*

Parma. Thus that ſucceſſion continued in a very indetermined ſtate till the year 1728, when the congreſs of *Soiſſons* aſſembled, at which the duke of *Parma* had a miniſter to take care of his intereſt there. The negociations at that congreſs proved abortive and trifling, and a war ſeemed inevitable between *Great Britain* and *Spain.*

In the mean while the duke of *Parma*, ſtill reſenting the ſettlement of the ſucceſſion to his dominions by the quadruple alliance, and imagining, that he would be ſupported by *Spain*, invited the pretender to the crown of *Great Britain* to reſide in his dominions, where he treated him with the ſame diſtinctions, as if he had been actually upon the *Britiſh* throne. This being known to the *Engliſh* government, ſignior *Camo*, agent for the duke of *Parma* at *London*, was, by his majeſty's command, ordered to depart the kingdom in two days, and to be attended by one of the meſſengers of ſtate to the place of his embarkation. Notwithſtanding this, *Spain* and *England* being equally averſe to a rupture, colonel *Stanhope*, afterwards earl of *Harrington*, was nominated ambaſſador extraordinary to his catholick majeſty, and, in conjunction with Mr. *Keene*, the *Britiſh* plenipotentiary at the court of *Madrid*, negociated with the marquis *de la Paz* and Don *Joſeph Patinho*, on the part of *Spain*, the treaty of *Seville.*

By the ninth article of that treaty, " ſix thouſand of his catholic majeſty's troops are, without loſs of time, to garriſon *Leghorn*, *Porto Ferraro*, *Parma*, and *Placentia*, which troops ſhall ſerve for the better ſecuring and preſerving of the immediate ſucceſſion of the ſaid ſtates, in favour of the moſt ſerene infant Don *Carlos*, and to be ready to withſtand any enterprize and oppoſition which might be formed, to the prejudice of what has been regulated touching the ſucceſſion."

By the tenth article, " the contracting powers are to uſe the ſofteſt and moſt effectual means of perſuading the dukes of *Tuſcany* and *Parma*, that the garriſons might be quietly received; and ſtipulating the taking of an oath to be faithful to the regnant powers, in every thing that ſhall not be contrary to the right of the ſucceſſion, reſerved to the moſt ſerene infant Don *Carlos*. It is likewiſe ſtipulated, that the ſaid garriſon ſhall not meddle, directly nor indirectly, in the government of the places where they are garriſoned, and render to the dukes of *Tuſcany* and *Parma*, all the honours that are due to a ſovereign in their own dominions."

By the eleventh article, " his catholic majeſty engages to withdraw his troops from the ſaid garriſons, as ſoon as the ſaid ſucceſſions are quietly ſettled in the perſon of Don *Carlos* his ſon." By the twelfth article, "the contracting powers became guarantees for Don *Carlos* quietly poſſeſſing and enjoying the ſaid ſtates of *Tuſcany*, *Parma*, and *Placentia*, after he has ſucceeded thereunto."

By the thirteenth article, "the kings of *England* and *France* promiſe to ratify and guaranty all the particular regulations that ſhall be concerted between his catholic majeſty, and the two dukes of *Tuſcany* and *Parma*, relating to the ſaid garriſons." The fourteenth articles ſtipulates, "that the ſtates general of the United Provinces ſhall be invited to accede to the treaty, the ratifications of which were to be diſpatched within the ſpace of ſix weeks at fartheſt."

THOSE ſtipulations with regard to the ſucceſſion to *Tuſcany* and *Parma*, were ſeverely cenſured in *England*, as being foreign to the national intereſt, and tending to involve *Great Britain* in a war upon the continent of *Europe*, and inconſiſtent with the tenor of the quadruple alliance. To this it was anſwered, "That there neither was, nor could be, any eſſential difference, if the emperor was ſincerely, and *bona fide*, reſolved to fulfil the terms of the quadruple alliance, as to the eventual ſucceſſion to the duchies of *Tuſcany*, *Parma*, and *Placentia*; and that introducing *Spaniſh*, inſtead of neutral troops, into the garriſons of thoſe dominions, could make no material difference, eſpecially as the treaty had in the ſtrongeſt manner ſtipulated, the troops ſhould be withdrawn, as ſoon as the ſucceſſion to the duchies, which was a main object of the quadruple alliance, ſhould be ſecured." This apology did not quiet the national animoſities againſt the treaty; and a motion was made in the houſe of peers, that the agreement in the treaty of *Seville*, to effectuate the introduction of *Spaniſh* troops into *Tuſcany* and *Parma*, was a manifeſt violation of the fifth article of the quadruple alliance, tended to involve the nation in a dangerous and expenſive war, and to deſtroy the ballance of power in *Europe*. A negative was put upon this motion; but the emperor ſtill continued to exclaim moſt violently againſt the treaty, though it was acceded to by the ſtates general. In the year 1730, the court of *Spain* made vaſt preparations for carrying the treaty of *Seville* into execution, while the emperor publiſhed manifeſtoes, impeaching the juſtice of the treaty, and alledging, that he was ready to give Don *Carlos* the inveſtiture of *Tuſcany*, *Parma*, and *Placentia*, with the conſent of the empire, provided it was required in a regular manner; but that the court of *Spain* had farther views in his favour, than the ſtipulations in the treaty of *Seville*.

THE event juſtified the imperial court's conjecture, though perhaps at that time it was thrown out without real foundation. The duke of *Parma* died. After his death, his will being opened, it contained very moving requeſts to the other powers of *Europe* for favour to his diſtreſſed family, and he declared, that his ducheſs was three months advanced in her pregnancy; for which reaſon he hoped, that they would defer the execution of their projects till ſhe was delivered. If the child was ſtill-born, or ſhould die ſoon after its birth, he appointed that the infant Don *Carlos* ſhould ſucceed him, but he named five regents to govern the duchy during the child's minority. A ſcene now ſucceeded which aſtoniſhed all *Europe*, by its novelty and abſurdity. The ducheſs of *Parma* was prevailed upon by the imperial court to declare, that ſhe was with child, and general *Stampa*, at the head of ſix thouſand imperial troops, took poſſeſſion of the duchies of *Parma* and *Placentia*; but they publickly declared, that they kept the ſame for Don *Carlos*, who, if the ducheſs was not delivered of a ſon, might, whenever he pleaſed, receive the inveſtitures of the ſaid duchies from the emperor. In the mean while the imperial general declared, that his troops ſhould behave with the utmoſt regularity and moderation; and that the government, till the event of the pregnancy of the ducheſs was known, ſhould be adminiſtered by the regency appointed in the late duke's will.

Death of the duke of Parma.

THE pope was far from being an unconcerned ſpectator of a tranſaction, in which he pretended to have ſo great a concern; and upon this occaſion he revived his claim of ſuperiority upon *Parma* and *Placentia*. He had expreſſed great uneaſineſs at the diſpoſition of the ſucceſſion to the ſame by the quadruple alliance; and expecting that it might be confirmed by the congreſs at *Cambray*, he ordered a proteſt to be entered on that head, in which were the following expreſſions: "Can Chriſtian princes flatter themſelves with the hopes of "concluding a laſting peace, when the depriving the holy "ſee and the vicar of Chriſt of their undeniable rights is "made the foundation of it? Can they promiſe themſelves "to enjoy what they violently ſeize, againſt all manner of "juſtice, and invade the indiſputable right of an uninter"rupted poſſeſſion, which has been acknowleged for ſeveral "ages by all the nations of *Europe*?" The miniſter of his holineſs then entered a proteſt, "That no power hath, or had, a right to ſettle or diſpoſe of the duchies of *Parma* or *Placentia*, to the prejudice of the ſovereignty, and rights of the *Roman* church; and conſequently, that all treaties, conventions, agreements, and diſpoſitions, with their confirma-

Affairs of Italy.

tions and ratifications, already made, or to be made, either at *Cambray* or *Ratisbon*, or in any other congreſs whatever, concerning the inveſtiture, infeoffment, or conceſſion of the ſaid duchies, are and will be for ever null and void; and diſowns and rejects the ſame in the moſt authentic manner."

THE *Roman* catholic powers of *Europe* paid as little regard as the proteſtants did to this proteſt; but as it was notorious, that the imperial court had prevailed upon the dutcheſs of *Parma* to declare herſelf to be pregnant, which declaration ſuſpended the execution of their favourite meaſure, that of introducing the infant Don *Carlos* into *Italy*, the marquis *de Caſtelar*, his Catholic majeſty's miniſter at *Paris*, declared, in the name of the king his maſter, in a writing under his hand, that his Catholic majeſty looked upon himſelf as intirely free from the obligations of the treaty of *Seville*. Notwithſtanding this, the crown of *Great Britain*, at that time, had ſo vaſt a ſway in the affairs of *Europe*, that, on the 16th day of *March*, 1730-1, a new treaty, called the ſecond treaty of *Vienna*, was concluded between his *Britannic* majeſty and the emperor. By the third article of that treaty, "his imperial "majeſty conſents to the introduction of the *Spaniſh* troops "into the duchies of *Tuſcany*, *Parma*, and *Placentia*; and "binds himſelf to uſe his utmoſt endeavours to obtain the "conſent of the empire for that purpoſe." In a ſeparate article of the ſame treaty, his *Britannic* majeſty declared authentically, that notwithſtanding the introduction of *Spaniſh* garriſons into the ſtrong places of *Tuſcany*, *Parma*, and *Placentia*; yet that he had no intention to depart from what had been ſettled by the fifth article of the quadruple alliance, either with regard to the rights of his imperial majeſty and the empire, or to the ſecurity of the kingdom and ſtates which his imperial majeſty actually poſſeſſes in *Italy*; or, laſtly, to the preſervation of the quiet and dignity of thoſe who were then the lawful poſſeſſors of thoſe duchies, and therefore he renews to the emperor the guaranty of thoſe countries. But to take away all ſuſpicion of the emperor's trifling in this matter, he emitted a declaration, of the ſame force and date with the treaty, importing, "that if the pregnant dutcheſs "dowager of *Parma* ſhould be brought to bed of a ſon, the "introduction of the *Spaniſh* troops to that duchy ſhould "ſtill take place; and that, if ſhe ſhould be brought to bed "of a daughter, Don *Carlos* was immediately to be put into "poſſeſſion of the duchies of *Parma* and *Placentia*, by an "eventual inveſtiture from the emperor and the empire." And his imperial majeſty further declares, "that, in caſe the "dutcheſs dowager ſhould be brought to bed of a daughter,

“ he will immediately withdraw his troops from the duchies
“ of *Parma* and *Placentia*, to give way to the peaceable poſ-
“ ſeſſion.”

Pragmatic ſanction.

THE great inducement which the emperor had for making thoſe conceſſions in favour of the ſucceſſion of Don *Carlos* to the duchies of *Parma* and *Placentia*, was his *Britannic* majeſty's guaranty of the pragmatic ſanction, by which his female iſſue was rendered capable of ſucceeding to his hereditary dominions. But though by this guaranty he gained his favourite point, yet it is certain that he prevailed with the dutcheſs of *Parma* to act a part, which, had it been ſucceſsful, might have diſappointed all the ambitious views of her Catholic majeſty for the aggrandizement of her family. She ſtill obſtinately maintained that ſhe was with child; and it is more than probable, that ſome very dark ſcene of impoſture might have been acted, had it not been prevented by the vigilance of the *Spaniſh* party in *Parma*. They inſiſted upon a formal examination of the pregnancy of the dutcheſs by able midwives, and in the preſence of the eldeſt dutcheſs dowager, which was ſubmitted to, and the youngeſt dutcheſs dowager was declared to be pregnant. This declaration ſuſpended the operations of all the courts of *Europe*, as the introduction of Don *Carlos* into *Italy* was the main ſpring of their political ſyſtems. At laſt, after a delay of about ſix months, the dutcheſs declared, that ſhe believed herſelf not to be with child; upon which the imperial general *Stampa* ſignified to the great duke of *Tuſcany*, and to *Dorothea* the dutcheſs dowager of *Parma*, who were joint guardians to the infant Don *Carlos*, that he then held the dutchies of *Parma* and *Placentia* for him, and not for his imperial majeſty; and ſoon after he withdrew his troops into the *Milaneſe*. Notwithſtanding this pacific appearance on the part of the imperial court, neither *Spain* nor *Great Britain* believed that it was ſincere; and therefore the *Britiſh* miniſtry this year equipped a ſtrong fleet, the command of which was given to Sir *Charles Wager*, for carrying the infant Don *Carlos* to his new dominions. Sir *Charles* failed from *Portſmouth* on the 14th of *July*, and on the 1ſt of *Auguſt* he arrived at *Cadiz*, where he found the *Spaniards* had made no preparations to join him with a fleet, as they had engaged to do. After obtaining an audience of his Catholic majeſty at *Seville*, he proceeded to *Barcelona*, where he was joined by a few *Spaniſh* ſhips of war. In the mean while, Don *Carlos*, inſtead of going on board the *Britiſh* fleet, which had been fitted out at vaſt national expence, went by land through *Languedoc* and *Provence*, notwithſtanding the pretended diſlike which *France* had expreſſed

Impoſture of the dutcheſs of Parma diſcovered.

at his ſucceſſion to the *Italian* dominions, and embarked at *Antibes* for *Leghorn*. This gave great diſguſt to the *Britiſh* nation, and was conſidered as a ſlight put upon their flag. The *Britiſh* miniſtry, however, punctually performed all their ſtipulations in his favour; and Sir *Charles Wager*, after ſeeing him quietly ſettled in *Italy*, returned on the 10th of *December* to *England*. At the opening of the ſucceeding ſeſſion of parliament, his *Britannic* majeſty felicitated the members upon the accompliſhment of this great work, which, as matters then ſtood, was thought to be of great importance to the ballance of power in *Europe*, by preventing ſo large a ſucceſſion from devolving upon any of the great potentates.

Ambition of the court of Spain.

THE public of *Europe* was far from ſuſpecting the real views of her Catholic majeſty, which pointed at raiſing her family not only to the ſucceſſion of *Tuſcany*, *Parma*, and *Placentia*, but to that of *Naples*. For this purpoſe, ſhe had formed the project of an alliance between *France*, *Spain*, and *Sardinia*, which ſoon afterwards took place; and the marechal *de Villars* was appointed to the command of a *French* army of thirty thouſand regular troops, under the king of *Sardinia*. This army began its march on the 12th of *October*; and, after paſſing the *Alps* by *Briançon*, the valley of *Barcelonette*, and *Savoy*, joined the *Sardinian* troops in the *Vigevano*. In the mean while, the young duke of *Parma*, who, after his introduction into *Italy*, had been educated at the great duke of *Tuſcany*'s court, declared himſelf to be of age; and the king of *Sardinia* publicly notified his joining with *France* and *Spain*, to mortify the exceſſive pride and power of the houſe of *Auſtria*.

Progreſs of the allies in Italy.

THE progreſs of the allies in *Italy* was rapid beyond all expectation. The king of *Sardinia* having, on the 29th of *October*, put himſelf at the head of the allied army, the *German* garriſon evacuated both the city and caſtle of *Pavia*, which his *Sardinian* majeſty took poſſeſſion of. Soon after the city of *Milan* likewiſe made its ſubmiſſion to the conquerors, and nine thouſand men took poſſeſſion of the caſtle, and blocked up the citadel, which ſoon after ſurrendered likewiſe. His *Sardinian* majeſty then, almoſt without any loſs, reduced the important fortreſs of *Pizzighitone*; and, though it was the depth of winter, took poſſeſſion of *Cremona*, the caſtles of *Frezza* and *Secco*, and of the fort *Fuentes*. Soon after, the citadel of *Milan* likewiſe ſurrendered. About the ſame time, the marquis *de Coigny*, a *French* lieutenant-general, took *Novaro*, which made a much feebler reſiſtance than was expected; and the marquis *de Maillebois* reduced *Sarravale*, and made its garriſon priſoners of war; while the *Spaniſh* troops beſieged and took the imperial fortreſs of *Aula*, and ſent the garriſon priſoners to *Spain*.

Affairs of Europe.

THE neutral powers of *Europe*, *England* eſpecially, were not leſs aſtoniſhed at the amazing progreſs of the *French* and *Spaniards* in *Italy*, than they were at a loſs to account for the motives that induced them to attack the emperor in *Italy*. Mr. *Keene*, the *Engliſh* ambaſſador at *Madrid*, by his maſter's orders, endeavoured to reconcile matters between the courts of *Vienna* and *Madrid*; but received no other anſwer than "that matters had gone too far for his Catholic majeſty to retract the meaſures he had laid down; and that the count *de Montijo* had orders to communicate to the *Engliſh* miniſtry the reaſon of his Catholic majeſty's procedure." The count accordingly laid his memorial before the *Britiſh* miniſtry, which, in the beginning, complained, in general terms, of the emperor, and the court of *Vienna*, for excluding king *Staniſlaus* from the throne of *Poland*. "Nevertheleſs," continues the memorial, "his Catholic majeſty, out of his great deſire of peace, and conſtant zeal for the public tranquility, had recourſe to the mediation and guaranty of the king of *Great Britain*, for an amicable ſatisfaction for the inſults, damages, and infractions, exerciſed in the territories and againſt the perſon of the infant of *Spain*, Don *Carlos*, his ſon: but the emperor's ambition was already beyond all bounds; and the court of *Vienna*, animated by the inſatiable fury of the ſupreme power to which the general complaiſance of *Europe* had raiſed them, by ſuffering them to acquire ſo many vaſt dominions, did, at laſt, make uſe of extraordinary methods, to render fruitleſs a long negociation for a friendly accommodation, which the Catholics waited for with a religious reſignation, by forming the difficult deſign of ſacrificing to their caprice the ſovereignty of two great monarchs in the perſon of king *Staniſlaus*; and, at the ſame time, deſpiſing the wiſe and prudent propoſals of the king of *Great Britain*."

Memorial.

THE memorial then proceeds to recapitulate all the provocations his Catholic majeſty had received from the imperial court, upon the death of the late duke of *Parma*; and acknowledged, that the peaceful ſettlement of Don *Carlos* in *Italy* was wholly owing to the friendſhip of his *Britannic* majeſty; and accuſed the emperor with all manner of fraud and perfidy, and with ſtirring up the ſubjects of Don *Carlos* to diſobey his authority. The emperor was likewiſe accuſed of publiſhing a reſcript, condemning the great duke of *Tuſcany* for ſuffering Don *Carlos* to receive the homage of his ſubjects, as lawful ſucceſſor to the duchy of *Tuſcany*. And Don *Carlos*, in another reſcript, was condemned for reſuming the title of the Great Prince, though, it ſeems, it had been allowed to him by the court of *Vienna*. His Catholic majeſty had complained of all theſe affronts to the king of *Great Britain*, who acknowledged the juſtice of his complaints, and uſed his good offices at the court of *Vienna*; and conferences were entered upon, to find out the propereſt means of procuring an honourable and friendly accommodation: but the continual delays, the ambiguous anſwers, the impracticable propoſals, the imperious terms made uſe of in the projects of the court of *Vienna*, the pretended diſtance between the courts, and the methodical dilatorineſs of that of *Vienna*, drew the negociation to a great length; and it was as much as the *Britiſh* miniſters could do to draw up a project the 21ſt of *July*, 1733. His Catholic majeſty's ambaſſador approved of that project; but the emperor's refuſed to accept it, till he had received new orders from his ſovereign. His majeſty's miniſter conſented to this, after repeated proteſtations, that he would not come into any future captious delays, which might loſe the opportunity of the campaign. In this interval, the projected adjuſtment was diſpatched to the two courts; and though it was readily ſent back on the part of his Catholic majeſty, with his royal approbation, the anſwer of the court of *Vienna* was a long time in coming. This delay was attributed to the contrary winds, and to the extraordinary buſineſs of the miniſters at *Vienna*; but under this were concealed malicious views.

Counter-memorial of the emperor.

THE emperor, inſtead of ſending a ſatisfactory anſwer to this adjuſtment, projected by the court of *England*, ſent to his *Britannic* majeſty a counter-project or declaration, which his Catholic majeſty and his miniſters complained of, as being illuſory and injurious to the crown of *Spain*; and the count *de Montijo* declared, that he would break off the negociation. But king *George* II. or, more properly ſpeaking, his miniſtry, were at this time ſo invariably bent upon peace, that they applied to the court of *Spain* for a ceſſation of hoſtilities for thirty days, which propoſal was rejected by the court of *Madrid*. The *Spaniſh* miniſtry, all this time, endeavoured to conform itſelf to the ſentiments of the *Britiſh* court, as much as poſſible, by an affectation of moderate and equitable meaſures; while they were preparing an army of ſixteen thouſand foot, four thouſand horſe, and ten ſquadrons of dragoons, with proper trains of artillery; all which were deſtined to act againſt the Imperialiſts in *Italy*. The mediation of the *Dutch* proved as ineffectual as that of the *Engliſh*, and it was with difficulty they procured a convention of neutrality for the

Auſtrian Netherlands; for the *French* poſitively rejected their mediation between *Spain* and the Empire.

Corruption of the court of Vienna.

THE ſucceſſes of the allies in this *Italian* war were leſs owing to their own courage and power, than to the miſmanagement, corruption, and diviſions of the court of *Vienna.* The imperial general *Merci*, though a man of great courage and integrity, was very ill ſupported: his muſter-rolls doubled the number of effectual men who ſerved under him; and the *Auſtrian* commiſſaries, thoſe moths of the imperial armies, with-held the money neceſſary for paying his troops. In *Italy* the allies divided their army. The *French*, under the king of *Sardinia*, after reducing *Milan*, entered the *Modeneſe*; but his *Sardinian* majeſty found ſo much difficulty in curbing the impetuoſity of *Villars*, the *French* general, who, in his old age, retained nothing of his former qualities but his native vivacity, that he was obliged ſecretly to apply to the court of *Verſailles* for his being recalled. The *Spaniſh* general was the count *de Montemar*, an officer of great genius; and the diſaffected *Neapolitans* having repeated their invitations to Don *Carlos*, he reſolved no longer to delay his expedition againſt *Naples*. He began his march in *February*, at the head of the *Spaniſh* troops; and, without bloodſhed, he obtained poſſeſſion of *Naples*. Previous to this, he publiſhed a manifeſto, in which he declared, that he was ſent by the king his father to relieve the *Neapolitans* from the intolerable yoke of the houſe of *Auſtria*, and to take poſſeſſion of the kingdom. *Viſconti*, the imperial viceroy in *Naples*, finding that the *Neapolitans* in the capital, an inconſtant race of men, were ready to receive, with open arms, Don *Carlos* as their king, abandoned the ſame; but took care to ſtrengthen the garriſons of *Gaeta* and *Capua*; and endeavoured to aſſemble the *Neapolitan* militia, and the few troops that ſtill continued faithful to the emperor, at *Nocera*, intending to form a camp at *Barletta*. For this purpoſe, he had got together an army of ſeven thouſand foot, and two thouſand four hundred horſe; but, receiving intelligence that the count de *Montemar* was advancing to attack him, he fortified himſelf at *Bitonto*. On the 25th of *May*, he was attacked in this poſt by the duke *de Montemar*, who, in leſs than three hours, forced his entrenchments, and intirely defeated his army. No fewer than ſix thouſand ſix hundred foot-ſoldiers were killed, and about ſix hundred horſe. Two generals, the duke of *Monteleon*, with the princes of *St. Vincent* and *Belmont*, were made priſoners, with the ſecretary's office, baggage, and treaſure. The count *Viſconti* eſcaped by ſea to *Ancona*.

Succeſs of the French *in* Italy.

THE *French* were no leſs ſucceſsful on their part. The application of the king of *Sardinia* for recalling marechal *Villars* had the deſired effect; and when the marechal came to take leave of his *Sardinian* majeſty, he was treated with ſo much politeneſs, that he had not the ſmalleſt idea of what had happened. Upon his return to *Turin*, in his way to *France*, he was preſented by the queen of *Sardinia* with a ſword, richly adorned with diamonds, to the value of three hundred piſtoles; but ſoon after he fell ill of a fever, and died. The two marechals *Coigny* and *Broglio* ſucceeded to his command, under the king of *Sardinia*, and their army was entrenched near *Parma*. Count *Merci* had been moſt cruelly treated by the *Auſtrian* miniſtry, who continued him in his command, but refuſed him the neceſſary ſupports. He was, by this time, rendered in a manner deſperate; and, againſt the advice of all his officers, he reſolved to attack the *French* in their entrenchments. He fell in the attempt, as did a great number of his officers and beſt ſoldiers, and the imperial army was intirely defeated. This battle was fought near *Parma* on the 29th of *June*, 1734. The loſs of men was almoſt equal on each ſide; but by the retreat of the Imperialiſts, when it was dark, the victory remained indiſputably on the ſide of the *French*, who were commanded by the marechal *de Coigny*. Beſides count *Merci*, the Imperialiſts loſt the prince of *Culmbach* and M. *de Vins*, nine officers of the firſt rank, and about ſeven thouſand ſoldiers. The whole ſpace of the field of battle is ſaid to have contained not above one hundred and fifty fathom ſquare; ſo that it might be ſaid to have been a carnage rather than an engagement. The prince of *Wirtemberg*, who was wounded, ſucceeded count *Merci* in the command of the Imperialiſts. This battle had a great effect on the affairs of *Italy*. The king of *Sardinia* took poſſeſſion of *Modena*, which was in no condition to hold out; and the ſtrong fortreſs of *Gaeta*, which had been beſieged by the confederates, was obliged to ſurrender to Don *Carlos*.

Don Carlos *king of* Naples.

THAT prince was now, in fact, king of *Naples*, as well as duke of *Parma*; and he had created his *Spaniſh* general, *Montemar*, duke of *Bitonto*. His ſucceſſes in *Italy* encouraged him to attempt the conqueſt of *Sicily*; and, on the 24th of *Auguſt*, a fleet of three hundred and fifty ſhips, having on board it eighteen thouſand foot and two thouſand horſe, ſailed for that iſland. The inconſiſtency of his *Neapolitan* majeſty's conduct, on this occaſion, was remarkable; for though he owed all that he poſſeſſed to the friendſhip of *Great Britain*, yet he aſſociated himſelf with the eldeſt ſon of the pretender to that crown; and an inconſiderable circumſtance, which then happened, occaſioned various ſpeculations in the public: for while the *Sicilian* embarkation was going on, the hat of the young Pretender being blown into the ſea, "Let it alone," ſaid he, to ſome officers who endeavoured to recover it, "I "will go to *England* and get another:" "And I will go "along with you," added his *Neapolitan* majeſty, throwing his hat into the ſea likewiſe.

WHEN the *Spaniards* landed on the iſland of *Sicily*, they met with little or no reſiſtance. His *Neapolitan* majeſty had created the duke of *Bitonto* viceroy of that kingdom, and the *Sicilian* noblemen flocked in to ſubmit to him. Thoſe ſucceſſes, amazing as they were, did not quiet his *Neapolitan* majeſty's new ſubjects, who complained of the exceſſive contributions under which they were laid; and fifteen hundred troops were ſent to keep the *Calabrians* in awe. The *Milaneſe* were ſo much oppreſſed, at the ſame time, that they ſent deputation to complain of their hardſhips at the court of *France*; but, far from meeting relief, they were ordered to apply to the king of *Sardinia*, who was ſo much ſtraitened for money, that he was obliged to let out his own revenues to *French* farmers. The *Modeneſe*, who had ſo lately ſubmitted to the king of *Naples*, were in the ſame undeſirable ſituation, being likewiſe laid under heavy contributions, as it was well known that their duke, however he accommodated himſelf to the times, leaned towards the Imperialiſts. All this time, the court of *Great Britain* was earneſtly bent upon a peace, and the *Hague* was the ſcene of negociation, where all parties agreed in making his *Britannic* majeſty the umpire of their diſputes. Many difficulties, chiefly occaſioned by the obſtinacy of the imperial court, were got over; but, at laſt, his *Britannic* majeſty, and the other neutral powers, compriſed the different claims of the contending parties in two ſhort queſtions, which were communicated to the miniſters of the powers at war, *viz.*

A negociation propoſed.

"WHETHER the emperor and *France* would be content "that Don *Carlos* remain king of *Naples* and *Sicily*, on con- "dition of giving the houſe of *Auſtria Parma* and *Placentia*, "with a part of *Milan*, and the ſucceſſion to *Tuſcany*, as an "equivalent? Whether king *Staniſlaus*, preſerving his regal "titles, will be ſatisfied to be made duke of *Lorrain*, and "that duchy erected into an electorate? The duke of *Lor-* "*rain* to marry the eldeſt archdutcheſs, to be declared king "of the *Romans*, and to have *Parma* and *Placentia* imme- "diately, and *Tuſcany* after the death of the great duke? Or, "in caſe this ſecond article is rejected, whether *Poland* ſhall

The war continues in Italy.

" not be divided between *Staniſlaus* and *Auguſtus*, the longeſt " liver to take the whole?"

THE parties at war were ſo little diſpoſed to peace, that no regard was paid to thoſe moderate propoſitions. The *Spaniards* were elevated by the uninterrupted ſuccefs of Don *Carlos*, and the *Germans* were enraged by the frequent defeats or checks they had received. The *German* garriſons in *Sicily*, one after another, ſurrendered priſoners of war to Don *Carlos*; and, at laſt, all their force in that iſland was reduced to the garriſon of *Meſſina*, in which the Imperialiſts were ſhut up. In the *Parmeſan*, the allies had reaped no real advantage from their victory at *Parma*. The Imperialiſts had retired towards *Monte Cirugalo*, from whence they moved to *Reggio*. They then encamped on the plains of *Carpi*, on the right of the *Secchia*, where they received ſome reinforcements from the imperial court, which began now to be aſhamed of its own miſmanagement; and count *Konigſegg*, one of the beſt officers in their ſervice, was appointed to command their army in *Italy*, which was reinforced by a detachment from prince *Eugene* on the *Rhine*. The allies were preparing to beſiege *Mirandola*, when he put himſelf at the head of the Imperialiſts, which remained encamped on the plains of *Carpi*. He then took poſt at *Quingentolo*, by which movement he covered *Mirandola*; and the *Secchia* only interpoſing between the two armies, he reſolved to ſtrike a blow that might retrieve the credit of the imperial arms. For this purpoſe, on the 19th of *September*, he paſſed the *Secchia* with the utmoſt ſecrecy, and attacked the quarters of marechal *Broglio*, the *French* general, ſo ſuddenly and vigorouſly, that he was almoſt taken priſoner; his guards being able only to protect him while he eſcaped in his ſhirt and ſlippers, with his children and a few domeſtics: he loſt, however, all his equipages and baggage, and his ſtrong box, which contained upwards of fifty thouſand livres. On this occaſion the loſs of the *French* was very great; for, beſides their ſlain, no fewer than two thouſand of them were taken priſoners, and they retreated with the utmoſt precipitation to *Guaſtalla*. The Imperialiſts endeavoured to purſue their advantage; and, after taking and plundering the *French* camp, they followed their enemies, and attacked them in their intrenchments on the 19th of the ſame month: the action that followed was very bloody. The battle laſted from ten in the morning till five in the afternoon, and the infantry on both ſides behaved with equal intrepidity, being engaged all that time man to man. *Konigſegg* endeavoured, but in vain, to break the *French* cavalry; and, at laſt, the Imperialiſts were obliged to retreat to *Luzara*. In this battle both parties claimed the victory; the loſs on both ſides, which amounted to about ſeventeen thouſand men killed, of whom eight hundred were officers, being almoſt equal: but the *French* had the beſt claim to the honours of the day, by their taking ſeveral pieces of cannon, ſome colours and ſtandards, and remaining maſters of the field. Amongſt the ſlain, on the ſide of the Imperialiſts, were the prince of *Wirtemberg*, and the generals *Valpareze* and *Colminero*, with many other officers of the higheſt diſtinction. The Imperialiſts repaſſed the *Po* at *Borgoforte*; but broke down the bridge over which they marched, and took poſt on the banks of the *Oglio*. After this, the *French* army likewiſe repaſſed the *Po*, in order to prevent count *Konigſegg* from penetrating into the *Cremoneſe*. Both armies, at this time, were in expectation of large reforcements; but none arriving, no general engagement happened. The marquis of *Maillebois*, however, was ſent with a detachment of *French* to beſiege *Mirandola*; which count *Konigſegg* underſtanding, ſent ſix thouſand Imperialiſts, who marched ſo ſecretly, that they forced the *French* to break up the ſiege, and relieved the place, when it was upon the point of ſurrendering. In this expedition, the *French* loſt a great part of their artillery, ammunition, and baggage; and when a cartel came to be ſettled, it appeared that they had not *German* priſoners enough to exchange for thoſe of their own country, and they were obliged to be ſupplied with ſome by the king of the *Two Sicilies*. After this diſappointment, *Maillebois* rejoined the *French* army, which, notwithſtanding its ſucceſſes, was unable to continue its operations, and was obliged to retire under the walls of *Cremona*, till it could receive reinforcements from Don *Carlos*. In the mean while, the Imperialiſts, being ſtrongly reinforced, obliged the king of *Sardinia* to evacuate the *Parmeſan*, retook *Sabionetta*, with many other places of importance, and advanced within fifteen leagues of *Milan* itſelf, where the people were very uneaſy under the yoke of the *French* and *Spaniards*. The ſame diſcontent prevailed in the kingdom of *Naples*, where *Capua* ſtill held out; and the governor of that city, in one ſally, killed above eight hundred of the beſiegers.

Negociations of Great Britain *for peace.*

THE miniſters of his *Britannic* majeſty were all this while labouring for peace at the *Hague*; but were thwarted by the inſolence of the *French*, and the obſtinacy of the Imperialiſts. The former, in conjunction with the *Spaniards*, were in hopes of prevailing with the *Turks* to declare war againſt the emperor; and the loſſes which the court of *Vienna* had ſuſtained, ſeemed only to exaſperate them into endeavours to retrieve them; and his imperial majeſty threatened, that he would make the campaign of 1735 more bloody than the preceding. This alarmed the *French* in *Italy*; and the marechal *de Broglio*, who commanded them, fortified all the important paſſes into the *Parmeſan*, and his other conqueſts, ſo as to render them almoſt inacceſſible to the Imperialiſts. The inability of the emperor to execute his menaces becoming every day more apparent, the court of *London*, which continued ſtill indefatigable in its endeavours for reſtoring the public tranquility, propoſed, in the conferences at the *Hague*, that, as the baſis of a future treaty, king *Staniſlaus* ſhould reſign the crown, but keep the title of king of *Poland*; that Don *Carlos* ſhould remain in poſſeſſion of *Naples* and *Sicily*; that *France* ſhould reſtore all the places ſhe had conquered in *Italy*, and elſewhere; and that all the powers in *Europe* ſhould guaranty the pragmatic ſanction. All thoſe pacific propoſals were rejected by the court of *Vienna*; and, in the beginning of the year 1735, count *Konigſegg*, the brave imperial general in *Italy*, after throwing ſome troops into *Mantua*, was obliged to retreat towards the biſhopric of *Trent*, through the *Venetian* territories, after abandoning the fortified towns of *Oſtiglia*, *Borgoforte*, *Goito*, and *Caſtellucchio*, to the armies of the allies, who took poſſeſſion of the ſame. After this, the important fortreſs of *Mirandola*, having made a brave reſiſtance, was ſurrendered to the allies, as was *Orbitello*; and Don *Carlos*, having been as ſucceſsful in *Sicily*, where he was crowned king, as he had been in *Italy*, returned to *Naples*, where his government now enjoyed a perfect tranquility.

Joined by the French.

FRANCE by this time began to think that Don *Carlos*, by being in poſſeſſion not only of the *Parmeſan* and the *Placentine* dominions, but of the kingdom of *Naples* and *Sicily*, was more aggrandized than was conſiſtent with the plan of power which the court of *Verſailles* had laid down. It is plain, that his moſt Chriſtian majeſty had hitherto acquired little or nothing for himſelf in *Italy*, and therefore his miniſters now began to liſten to the terms of an accommodation that had been propoſed by *Great Britain* and the neutral powers. Thoſe terms had been communicated to the *Spaniſh* court, where they were rejected, at which the *French* miniſtry were inwardly diſpleaſed. Cardinal *Fleury* was then at the head of the *French* government; and his pacific ſyſtem falling in with that of Sir *Robert Walpole*, the firſt miniſter to his *Britannick* majeſty, he ſecretly communicated to the court of *England*, the difficulties he was under through the haughtineſs of the *Spaniards*, and deſired the *Britiſh* miniſtry to propoſe to the powers at war a ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities.

This being done, the marquis *de Fenelon*, the *French* ambaſſador at the *Hague*, agreed to the ſame; and the count *Uhlfelt*, the imperial ambaſſador there, preſented in his maſter's name a memorial to the ſtates general, importing, "That his imperial majeſty, having already given innumerable inſtances of his ſincere deſire of peace, and his confidence in the maritime powers, a late proof of which was his readineſs in accepting the plan of pacification as ſettled by the king of *Great Britain* and their high mightineſſes, yet ſtill was ready to give new evidence of his pacific diſpoſitions, and had accordingly inveſted him (count *d'Uhlfelt*) with proper powers to conſent to an armiſtice, being content that it ſhould be a general one, and that affairs in *Italy* ſhould remain in their preſent ſtate. But, on the other hand, inſiſting that, for the ſake of the princes of the empire, whoſe territories were expoſed to the *French* army, the moſt Chriſtian king ſhould withdraw his troops from the empire, thoſe in the fortified places excepted; and that negotiations ſhould be immediately commenced in a congreſs, upon the baſis of a plan of accommodation concerted by the maritime powers."

Affairs of Italy.

THE ſupport of the election of king *Staniſlaus* to the crown of *Poland*, was now the only objection that remained on the part of his moſt Chriſtian majeſty, who thought he could, with no ſhew of decency, ſacrifice the intereſts of his father-in-law. The *Britiſh* court, however, was ſenſible, that the acquiſition of *Lorrain* was the ultimate view of the *French*; and that both the emperor and they, being exhauſted of money, were heartily tired of the war. The *Britiſh* miniſter at *Paris*, therefore, hinted to cardinal *Fleury*, that it was poſſible the court of *England*, and the neutral powers, might be brought to agree to his favourite meaſure. Upon this, *Fleury* ordered *Chavigni*, the *French* miniſter who attended his *Britannick* majeſty then at *Hanover*, to break the affair in private to the imperial ambaſſador at the ſame court; and after ſome little points, rather ceremonious than material, were got over, an armiſtice was concluded both in *Germany* and *Italy* between the two nations, in the following terms: "That there be a ceſſation of all acts of hoſtility, as is already obſerved upon the *Rhine* and the *Moſelle*: that the ſuſpenſion of arms ſhall equally extend to the allies of *France*, till they ſhall have declared whether they accept or refuſe; that tho' by the term ſuſpenſion of arms, nothing is meant more than a ceſſation of hoſtilities, yet it is agreed, that the *French* troops ſhall retire from the banks of the *Adige* and the *Mincio*: that they remain in poſſeſſion of *Goito* and *Borgoforte*. The ſaid troops ſhall have the courſe of the *Oglio*, as far as its junction with the *Po*, for their bounds; and the *Po* from that place to the firſt town in the pope's territory. The troops of the two powers ſhall not penetrate within each other's limits, except when the *French* have a mind to relieve or refreſh the garriſon of *Goito*. Paſſports ſhall be granted for all boats and waggons belonging to the two armies."

An armiſtice.

THIS armiſtice, for ſome time, ſtopped the effuſion of blood between the *French* and imperialiſts in *Italy*; but *Chauvelin*, the *French* miniſter, who was in the greateſt truſt with *Fleury*, having ſecretly attached himſelf to the queen of *Spain*, the court of *Madrid* could not be brought to render the armiſtice general. Her Catholic majeſty, who had the entire direction of the *Spaniſh* government, being afraid that the court of *Great Britain*, tired out by ſo many repeated inſtances of her haughtineſs and ambition, might interpoſe and check the progreſs of her ſon Don *Carlos* in *Italy*, quarrelled with the court of *Liſbon* upon a frivolous pretence, which obliged the *Britiſh* court to ſend a ſtrong ſquadron, under Sir *John Norris*, to the *Tagus*, for the protection of his *Portugueſe* majeſty. The court of *Spain* was informed by Mr. *Keene* of the deſtination of this ſquadron, upon which Don *Joſeph Patinho*, the firſt miniſter of *Spain*, ſignified, by his maſter's orders, that he was willing to ſubmit all differences between the two courts, to his *Britannick* majeſty's arbitration; but this offer not being ſatisfactory, the *Britiſh* fleet proceeded to the *Tagus*, as the *Spaniards* had foreſeen; and thus Don *Carlos* was left in full poſſeſſion of all his *Italian* dominions.

Diſcontent of the king of Sardinia,

BY this time, the ambition of *Spain* appeared in ſo ſtrong a light, that ſhe was deſerted by all her allies. The king of *Sardinia*, who had been ſo ſerviceable to her in her *Italian* conqueſts, claimed the *Milaneſe*, which had been poſitively ſtipulated to him when he embarked in the confederacy. But though his ſolicitations were backed by the *French* miniſtry, he could obtain no ſatisfaction. This injuſtice obliged cardinal *Fleury* to talk in very high terms to the *Spaniſh* miniſter at *Verſailles*; nor did he diſſemble that meaſures were concerting for obliging the court of *Madrid* to accede to an equitable peace. In the beginning of the year 1736, the preliminaries were finiſhed between the courts of *London* and *Verſailles*, and were in ſubſtance as follow:

"FIRST, that *France* reſtore to the empire all the places taken from it during the late war. Second, that the emperor keep the *Mantuan*, *Parma*, and *Placentia*, and the *Milaneſe*. The king of *Sardinia* to have *Vigevanaſco*, *Novarra*, and all its dependencies. Third, that the duchy of *Tuſcany*, after the death of the preſent duke, be given to the duke of *Lor-*

raine, and *Lorraine* annexed to the monarchy of *France*; but without any vote in the empire. Fourth, that king *Staniſlaus* be acknowledged king of *Poland* by all *Europe*, and enjoy all the honours of a crowned head, after which to reſign that kingdom to king *Auguſtus*, who ſhall reſtore to him all the eſtates in *Poland*, which belonged to him or his queen. Fifth, that king *Staniſlaus* have, by way of equivalent for *Poland*, the immediate poſſeſſion of the duchies of *Bar* and *Lorraine*, after the duke of *Tuſcany*'s death. Sixth, Don *Carlos* to be acknowledged king of *Naples* and *Sicily*, and to have the *Del Preſidii* and the iſle of *Elbe*; but *Leghorn* to be declared a free port. Seventh, that *France* guarantee the pragmatical ſanction. Eighth, that *Spain* and *Sardinia* be invited to accede to the treaty; *England*, *Holland*, *Portugal*, and *Venice*, to guarantee it."

who agrees to peace.

THOUGH all the diſintereſted part of *Europe* approved of thoſe preliminaries, the queen of *Spain* objected to them; but the king of *Sardinia*, though he had the greateſt reaſon to be diſſatisfied, declared he would agree to them, if he was indemnified for the money he had expended in fortifying the places he was to reſign. At laſt, the queen of *Spain* was overruled by her huſband and his miniſters, who thought that enough had been done for her ſon Don *Carlos*; and ſhe acquieſced in them in compliment, as ſhe pretended, to the crown of *Great Britain*. After this, the imperial court, which was in fact under a force to accept of the preliminaries, obtained the acceſſion of the empire to them; and in the beginning of *May*, 1736, the three colleges of the empire unanimouſly approved of them, and gave his imperial majeſty full power to perfect the great work of peace. New negociations were then begun. One was carried on between the *French* and imperial miniſters, for the execution of the preliminaries, and for regulating the manner in which the proper evacuations were to be made in *Italy*. The court of *Madrid*, however, continued ſtill ſullen and reſerved, and ſtarted ſo many objections to the execution of the preliminaries, that the *French* and imperial miniſters prevailed with the court of *Great Britain* and the ſtates-general, to grant a guaranty of the new diſpoſition of affairs as ſettled by the preliminaries. This guaranty was communicated to the imperial and *Spaniſh* miniſters; but was diſliked by the court of *Spain*. Her Catholic majeſty, who continued to rule every thing there, was extremely unwilling to deprive her family of the *Tuſcan* and *Parmeſan* ſucceſſions; but of the latter more eſpecially; and as the poſſeſſion of *Tuſcany* had been already virtually granted to Don *Carlos*, ſhe refuſed to give poſitive orders for the evacuation of that duchy, until her ſon the king of *Naples* was put into poſſeſſion of the allodial eſtates depending on *Parma* and *Placentia*, by which was meant thoſe eſtates that belonged to the family of *Farneſe*, independent of either the emperor or the pope. She next demanded, that he ſhould be ſecured in the ſucceſſion to the moveable effects of the houſe of *Medici*, after the death of the great duke of *Tuſcany*, who was now old, and lay paſt all hopes of recovery. Her Catholic majeſty's trifling in this manner, at laſt exaſperated the emperor ſo much, that he gave orders for ſome troops, in the beginning of the winter, to move towards *Tuſcany*. This obliged her Catholic majeſty ſecretly to apply to the court of *London*, and to offer, if his *Britannick* majeſty would aſſiſt her in procuring the ſucceſſion to the duchies of *Parma* and *Placentia* for her ſecond ſon Don *Philip*, that her huſband ſhould renounce all his claim to *Gibraltar* and *Portmahon*, and ſettle every thing to the contentment and ſatiſfaction of the court of *Great Britain*, even ſo as to extricate the *Britiſh* miniſter from all his difficulties, on account of his pacific diſpoſition, which had exaſperated the commercial part of the kingdom.

Cunning of the court of Spain.

THIS propoſal was equally artful as ſpecious. Sir *Robert Walpole*, the *Britiſh* miniſter, was willing, if poſſible, to avoid a war; and the court of *Spain* thought that he would ſtick at nothing to obtain the continuance of peace. The depredations which the *Spaniards* were daily making upon the *Britiſh* ſhips on the *American* ſeas, had incenſed the parliament to an incredible degree; and it was in the power of her Catholic majeſty, by a ſhort explanation of the commercial treaties ſubſiſting between the two crowns, to place him above all attacks from domeſtic faction; but he reſiſted the temptation, as his compliance could only tend to kindle an univerſal war in *Europe*; and her Catholic majeſty was at laſt forced to conform herſelf to the execution of the preliminaries that had been agreed on. The *French* accordingly entered into the poſſeſſion of *Lorraine*, which was ceded to king *Staniſlaus*, as an equivalent for his loſing the crown of *Poland*; and they delivered up to the *Germans* fort *Kehl* and *Philipſbourg*, after demoliſhing the works they had added to their fortifications. At the ſame time, the cardinal, to deprive her Catholic majeſty of all hopes of intereſting the court of *Verſailles* in her ambitious views, prevailed with his maſter the *French* king totally to diſgrace *Chauvelin*, who had ſo ſtrenuouſly ſupported her intereſts at that court. The diſgrace of this miniſter, who was baniſhed at the ſame time, was a great mortification to the queen of *Spain*; but at laſt ſhe was prevailed upon, though with great reluctance, to give orders for the *Spaniſh* troops to evacuate *Italy*, and re-embark at *Leghorn*. The cardinal having gained this great point, offered his maſter's mediation to the court of *Madrid*, to accommodate all farther differences between the courts of *Great Britain* and *Spain*; but the oppoſition in *England* was now grown ſo intractable, that the miniſter durſt encourage no propoſals of that kind.

Death of the duke of Tuſcany.

In *July* 1737, the great duke of *Tuſcany*, the laſt of the family of *Medici*, died; and by his death, *Europe* ſaw itſelf once more in danger of being involved in a general war. Her Catholic majeſty had privately inſtructed the *Spaniſh* miniſters, to encourage the depredations made upon the *Britiſh* commerce in *America*, in hopes of thereby rendering her friendſhip indiſpenſible to the *Britiſh* miniſtry; but ſhe overdid her part. The wrongs that had been done to the *Britiſh* navigation appeared ſo flagrant, that the miniſter himſelf openly condemned them; but he ſtill flattered himſelf that he ſhould be able to avoid a war by his negociations. This brought on the famous convention which threw *England* into a flame; and in the year 1739, both nations prepared for war, orders being given by the *Engliſh* government for general repriſals on the *Spaniards*, on the 10th of *July*; and that the high court of admiralty, and other courts of admiralty within his majeſty's dominions, ſhould be empowered, by commiſſion, to judge of and condemn all ſhips, veſſels, and goods, taken from the crown and ſubjects of *Spain*, by virtue of letters of marque and repriſals granted by the high court of admiralty of *Great Britain*; and that inſtructions to the ſame purpoſe ſhould be ſent to the *Britiſh* foreign governments and plantations.

It is foreign to our deſign to recount the hiſtory of the war that followed after this, farther than as it affected the dominions of *Parma*, and the intereſts of the king of *Naples*, as duke thereof. Upon the death of the emperor *Charles* VI. on the twentieth of *October*, 1740, his daughter *Maria-Thereſa*, who had been married to the duke of *Lorraine*, now grand duke of *Tuſcany*, took poſſeſſion of his hereditary dominions, in virtue of the pragmatic ſanction, which had been guarantied by the greateſt powers in *Europe*, and by *France* herſelf; but the elector of *Bavaria* was choſen emperor of *Germany*. The court of *Spain* laid claim to all the poſſeſſions which had belonged to the houſe of *Auſtria* in *Italy*. This claim was ſupported by a ſtrong naval armament of two hundred ſail of tranſports, with fifteen thouſand land forces on board, which ſailed from *Barcelona*, and was joined by the *Spaniſh* admiral *Navarro*, while *Haddock*, the *Britiſh* admiral in the *Mediterranean*, was repairing his ſhips at *Gibraltar*. It is not to be diſſembled, that though the court of *France* had ſhewn an unjuſt partiality in favour of the *Spaniards*, with whom *Great Britain* was then at war, yet the *Britiſh* miniſtry were very backward in their reſentment of this partiality. The *Spaniſh* fleet was inferior in ſtrength to that of *Haddock*; and being forced back by contrary winds, in attempting to paſs the ſtraits, *Haddock* having refitted his ſhips, prepared to attack them; when the *French Toulon* ſquadron, conſiſting of twelve ſhips of the line, ſtood in between the two fleets with a flag of truce, and ſent a meſſage to *Haddock*, importing, that the *Spaniſh* and his fleet being engaged in the ſame expedition, he muſt obey his orders, and could not avoid his taking the *Spaniſh* ſhips under his protection. *Haddock* had no inſtructions to conſider the *French* as enemies; and therefore, after calling a council of war, he returned to *Gibraltar*, and from thence proceeded to *Minorca*, where he received a reinforcement. In the mean time, however, the *Spaniſh* tranſports from *Barcelona* landed at *Orbitello*, while the *French* and *Spaniſh* ſhips of war put in at *Toulon*.

Revival of the war.

THE queen of *Hungary*, at this time, ſaw all the ſtipulations which had been made in favour of her family's ſucceſſion to the duchies of *Parma* and *Placentia*, ready to vaniſh into air, and had no other recourſe, either for aſſiſtance or protection, but the court of *England*. From thence ſhe was adviſed to make the king of *Sardinia*, who had received great provocations from the *Spaniards*, her friend, as being the only power that could check the ambitious views of *France* and *Spain* in *Italy*. That prince durſt not take upon himſelf ſo hazardous a province; but it was eaſy for him to foreſee that his own deſtruction muſt be the conſequence, if the ambitious views of her Catholic majeſty ſhould take place in *Italy*. After ſome deliberation, he agreed to join the houſe of *Auſtria*, in oppoſition to the queen of *Spain*, who now openly avowed her intentions of erecting all the *Auſtrian* dominions in *Lombardy* into a kingdom, and of beſtowing the ſame upon her ſecond ſon Don *Philip*. He made, however, very advantageous terms for himſelf, by not only ſtipulating a large ſubſidy from *England*; but by procuring for himſelf a ceſſion, ſo far as it could be ceded by his allies, of ſuch places in *Italy* as lay moſt convenient for his hereditary dominions. Don *Carlos* was ſtill in poſſeſſion of *Parma*; but Don *Philip*, his younger brother, had ſet out from *Spain* to take upon himſelf that government. The king of *Sardinia* united his troops with thoſe of her *Hungarian* majeſty; a *Britiſh* fleet was deſtined to watch the embarkations

King of Sardinia *joins the* Auſtrians, f the *Spaniards* in the *Mediterranean*, and the ſtates of *Modena* and *Mirandola* were covered from inſult. Notwithſtanding thoſe precautions, his *Sardinian* majeſty could not revent the *Spaniards*, who landed at *Orbitello*, from joining vith the troops under the command of the duke of *Montemar*, vhoſe army, when aſſembled, amounted to forty thouſand nen. The junction was formed at *Rimini*; and the duke *e Caſtropignano*, general of the *Neapolitans*, ſerved under *Montemar*, who obtained leave from the pope to march through is dominions. The king of *Sardinia* publiſhed a manifeſto, mporting, that he was reſolved to protect the *Auſtrian* dominions in *Italy*; and in the ſpring he marched towards the *Milaneſe* with thirty thouſand men, and was joined by count *Traun* at the head of ſeventeen thouſand *Auſtrians*. He could ot attack *Montemar*'s army, without marching through the ominions of the duke of *Modena*, who, notwithſtanding his retended neutrality, had entered into a treaty with the *Spaniards*. This negociation came to the knowledge of his *Sardinian* majeſty, whoſe firſt ſtep was to ſtrip the duke of *Modena* of his dominions, and to ſeize upon his capital, whilſt he himſelf was obliged to take refuge in the *Spaniſh* army, of which he aſſumed the nominal command.

and takes Modena.

Exploits of the Britiſh *fleet.*

THE *Engliſh* fleet in the *Mediterranean*, at this time, was commanded by admiral *Leſtock*, an officer of great abilities and capacity, but of little enterprize. The chief command therefore was given to admiral *Matthews*, under whom *Leſtock* was to ſerve as ſecond in command, though they mortally hated one another. The *Spaniards* continued pouring men into *Italy*; but five of their gallies which had taken refuge at *St. Tropez*, a *French*, and therefore a neutral port, in the *Mediterranean*, were deſtroyed by the *Engliſh*. Soon after, *viz.* about the beginning of *Auguſt*, admiral *Matthews*, in conſequence of his inſtructions, ſent captain *Martin*, as commodore, in the *Ipſwich*, the *Panther* captain *Gideon*, the *Oxford* captain *Paulet*, the *Feverſham* captain *Hughes*, and the *Durſley* galley captain *De l'Angle*, four bomb veſſels, and four tenders, to the bay of *Naples*. The commodore was charged with a meſſage in writing, demanding, that his *Sicilian* majeſty ſhould recal his troops from the aſſiſtance of the *Spaniards*: if he did not, his neutrality was to be conſidered by *Great Britain* as at an end, and the commodore had orders to bombard his capital. A farther demand was made, that his *Sicilian* majeſty ſhould give it under his hand, not to ſend for the future any aſſiſtaece to the enemies of *Great Britain*. The *Neapolitan* miniſter, upon the appearance of the *Britiſh* ſquadron before *Naples*, deſired the *Engliſh* conſul to go on board the commodore's ſhip to know his intentions, which he did, and at his return delivered the meſſage as above. As ſoon as poſſible a grand council was ſummoned, and, notwithſtanding the reſentment of the court, a reſolution was immediately taken to comply with the demand, which was ſignified to the *Britiſh* commodore, who was required by his *Neapolitan* majeſty to give in writing an aſſurance, that he would commit no hoſtilities in the mean while. The commodore, not ſatisfied with this general intimation of compliance, demanded, that in an hour at fartheſt, after the meſſengers ſhould be ſet on ſhore, he ſhould receive a letter of abſolute and direct aſſurance, that orders had been expedited for the recal of the troops, and that his *Neapolitan* majeſty would not, in any manner whatever, aid or aſſiſt the *Spaniards*, who were then in *Italy*. The commodore having received this letter, which was ſigned by the *Neapolitan* miniſter, immediately ſet ſail, and returned to the main body of the fleet, which was now employed in blocking up *Toulon*, or in deſtroying the *Spaniſh* magazines upon the coaſt of *Italy*.

A new imbarkation of Spaniards *for* Italy.

DURING thoſe tranſactions by ſea, the queen of *Spain* was making diſpoſitions for a third imbarkation of troops, and Don *Philip*, her ſecond ſon, who was to have the duchy of *Parma*, with the title of king of *Lombardy*, arrived by land at *Antibes*, in his way to *Italy*. The dread of the *Britiſh* fleet obliged him to carry on his operations by land; and his mother was ſo exaſperated at the firmneſs of his *Sardinian* majeſty, that ſhe procured the recal of the *Spaniſh* ambaſſador from the court of *Turin*; and when the *Sardinian* ambaſſador came to take leave of her, her paſſion hurried her into the indecency of deſiring him to tell his maſter, that her ſon ſhould be a king whether he would or not. In *April* 1742, twenty-eight ſquadrons of *Spaniſh* horſe, and twenty battalions of foot, marched through *France*; and being joined by other reinforcements, the whole made up a body of thirty thonſand men, commanded by Don *Philip*, and under him by count *de Glimes*, who was the acting general. *Parma*, and almoſt all *Lombardy*, was at that time in the poſſeſſion of his *Sardinian* majeſty. The rendezvous of the *Spaniſh* army under *Montemar*, was at *Rimini*; but the vigilance of the *Britiſh* fleet brought it into great difficulties, for want of proviſions and ammunition. The ſame vigilance had defeated all attempts that were made by Don *Philip*, who was now ſtiled the infant duke of *Parma*, for proceeding by ſea to recover his hereditary dominions, which had been formerly ceded to him by his *Neapolitan* majeſty. The infant duke, therefore, endeavoured to draw his *Sardinian* majeſty out of *Lombardy*, by making a vigorous impreſſion upon *Savoy* and *Piedmont.* He firſt attempted to force his way into the latter by *Nice* and *Villafranca*, but all the ways had been broken up by the *Piedmonteſe* militia, aſſiſted by detachments from the *Britiſh* fleet, ſo as to render them impaſſable with artillery. He then attemped to ſend a body of *Miquelets* through the vale of *Barcelonetta*; but he found all the paſſages ſo well guarded by the *Piedmonteſe* militia, intermixed with regular troops, that he was obliged to recal his *Miquelets*, who had ſuffered greatly in the attempt, eſpecially from the fire of the *Britiſh* ſhips which lay on the coaſt, by which they were to paſs. The duke then, all of a ſudden, defiled to the left and entered *Savoy*, which not being prepared for reſiſtance, was ſoon reduced to his power. On the firſt of *September*, he began to act as ſovereign of that duchy, by way of repriſals for what *Parma* and *Placentia* ſuffered from his *Sardinian* majeſty. He ordered the inhabitants, under pain of death, to withdraw their allegiance from their native ſovereign, and to pay it to him. He then emitted an order for the deputies of the provinces to ſettle the ſubſiſtence of his army, and to take the oaths to him; to pay no more taxes to their ſovereign, and to deliver up their arms. The defenceleſs people were obliged to comply with all thoſe demands, and on the 10th of the ſame month he entered *Chamberri* in triumph, and obliged the magiſtrates, greatly againſt their wills, to receive him as their maſter.

Don Philip *conquers* Savoy,

THE progreſs of Don *Philip* in that poor barren country was no way proportioned to the vaſt ſums which the expedition had coſt him, yet it obliged his *Sardinian* majeſty to interrupt the courſe of his victories in *Lombardy*. He had added *Modena* to his other conqueſts, and *Montemar*, after paſſing the *Panaro* for the relief of *Parma* and that duchy, found his army ſo diſtreſſed through ſickneſs and deſertion, occaſioned by the *Britiſh* fleet continuing to cut off all his ſupplies, that he was obliged to retreat towards *Ferrara*; and was purſued by his *Sardinian* majeſty, who, on the 8th of *Auguſt*, took poſſeſſion of the ſtrong camp of the *Spaniards* at *Rimini*.

which is recovered by the king of Sardinia,

HERE his *Sardinian* majeſty diſcontinued the purſuit, and prepared to march to the relief of his hereditary dominions. He committed the adminiſtration of *Modena* to *Chriſtiani*, one of her *Hungarian* majeſty's ſubjects, and at that time her podeſta in *Placentia*, and left the counts *d'Apremont* and *Traun*, with a ſufficient number of troops, for the defence of the *Parmeſan* and the *Modeneſe*. The great force which the *Spaniards* at this time had in *Italy*, and their being obliged every where to retreat before the *Auſtrians*, gave the court of *Madrid* a bad impreſſion of *Montemar*'s capacity, if not his fidelity; and they ſent count *de Gages*, a more enterprizing general, to ſuperſede him in his command. Count *Traun* was then encamped at *Buon Porto*, and intended to keep on the defenſive; but the *Spaniards* marching in a moment towards *Bologna*, he paſſed the *Panaro* and offered them battle; upon which the *Spaniards* retired. They then attempted to make their winter-quarters good in *Tuſcany*; but count *Traun* having detached five thouſand troops to join thoſe of the archduke, they were diſappointed in that deſign likewiſe. The reſt of the ſeaſon was ſpent in ſkirmiſhes, and then the *Spaniards* retired to winter quarters in *Bologna* and *Romagna*, as the imperialiſts did to the *Parmeſan* and *Modeneſe*.

who loſes it again.

DURING thoſe tranſactions, his *Sardinian* majeſty was continuing his march towards *Turin*, which city he entered on the 10th of *October*, being then at the head of thirty thouſand men. The count *de Glimes*, who continued to command under the infant duke of *Parma*, had not the ſpirit to oppoſe his *Sardinian* majeſty, who advanced to *Conſlans*, twenty miles eaſt of *Chamberri*, while the infant duke, after his troops had ſuffered a great deal in ſkirmiſhes, retired with precipitation towards *Dauphiny*, where he embarked under the cannon of fort *Barreaux*, while his *Sardinian* majeſty encamped at *Mians*, near *Montmelian*. This retreat aſtoniſhed her catholic majeſty ſo much, that ſhe perſuaded her huſband to recal count *Glimes*, and to give his command to the marquis *de Las Minas*. Upon the arrival of this general, the fortune of the war was again changed. *Las Minas* took *Apremont*, a fort of the greateſt conſequence, by a very maſterly ſeries of operations; and though he could not force his *Sardinian* majeſty to a battle, yet he took his meaſures ſo well, that he obliged him to abandon his camp at *Mians*, and the infant duke, without further difficulty, again became maſter of *Savoy*. Had it not been for the ſteadineſs of his *Britannic* majeſty, the king of *Sardinia*, at this time, might have paid dearly for his connections with the court of *Vienna*. But admiral *Matthews* had orders from his maſter to riſk every think for his *Sardinian* majeſty's ſupport. The court of *Naples*, at this time, had ſent ſome regiments to join the *Spaniards* under *de Gages*; upon which *Matthews* remonſtrated againſt that ſtep, as being a breach of his *Neapolitan* majeſty's neutrality. The count *de Monteallegre*, the firſt miniſter at *Naples*, undertook to vindicate his maſter's conduct on this occaſion, and delivered to Mr. *Allen*, the *Britiſh* miniſter, a declaration to be forwarded to admiral *Matthews*,

thews, importing, "That the king being reſolved to keep the neutrality in the moſt inviolable manner, according to his engagements, his majeſty did not think he had acted contrary thereto, by ſending to the *Spaniſh* army the troops that were in his army belonging to that nation: that they were really the very regiment that have always belonged to *Spain*, and which were lent by that court to the king, in order to take poſſeſſion of *Sicily*; and that body of troops, having always been in the conſtant pay of his catholic majeſty, muſt neceſſarily obey his majeſty's orders to march, whenever he ſhould think fit to recal them."

State of the war and the negociations in Italy.

THIS apology would not have contented the *Britiſh* court, if the various operations of the war in the *Mediterranean*, for the aſſiſtance of his *Sardinian* majeſty, and blocking up the combined fleets of *France* and *Spain*, had left the *Britiſh* admiral a ſufficient force to be employed againſt *Naples*, which of late had received ſome additional fortifications towards the ſea. At laſt *Matthews* received a reinforcement he expected, under vice-admiral *Rowley*, of eight ſhips of the line, by which he was enabled to diſtreſs the navigation and convoys of the *Spaniards* in thoſe ſeas more than ever. The courts of *France* and *Spain*, all this while was tampering and treating with his *Sardinian* majeſty. The former offered to put him into poſſeſſion of the city and republic of *Geneva*. The inhabitants came to the knowledge of this propoſal, and made requiſitions of the ſtipulated ſuccours from the *Swiſs* cantons, which were accordingly held in readineſs. At the ſame time they concerted the proper ſignals between them and their allies, and fortified their city. The *Dutch* ambaſſador reproached cardinal *Fleury* upon this head; but he denied the charge. This deſign not ſucceeding, the *French* court offered one of their princeſſes in marriage to the prince of *Piedmont*, his *Sardinian* majeſty's eldeſt ſon, with vaſt advantages. It was generally thought that his *Sardinian* majeſty did not diſcourage thoſe advances made by *France* and *Spain*, that he might procure ſome relief to his harraſſed dominions, and gain time for the arrival of the *Britiſh* ſuccours. As to the houſe of *Auſtria*, which was ſo capitally intereſted in his *Sardinian* majeſty's fate, all the efforts it made for his relief, conſiſted of preſſing memorials preſented to the court of *Great Britain*; ſetting forth their own inability to aſſiſt him, and the neceſſity of ſupporting him more powerfully the more he was oppreſſed.

THE *Britiſh* miniſtry at this time fell in with the favourite principle of their maſter, which was to ſupport the houſe of *Auſtria*, and to maintain the ballance of power on the Continent, *King of* Sardinia *ſupported by* Eng-land.

tinent, eſpecially in *Germany*. The parliament, at leaſt a great majority of it, was of the ſame opinion, and enabled his majeſty to ſend that prince large ſupplies of money as well as ſhipping. Orders were given to *Matthews* to do every thing conformable to his engagements; and on the 11th of *November* he acquainted the governor of *Villafranca*, that he had orders from his maſter to declare, "that if his excellency ſhould at any time ſtand in need of part of the artillery, ammunition, or land forces, on board his ſquadron, he would, on the firſt notice, ſend him any ſuccours he ſhould find neceſſary." He likewiſe acquainted him of rear-admiral *Rowley*'s arrival with the ſquadron under his command. Soon after *Matthews*, underſtanding that the *Genoeſe* had both ſecretly and openly favoured the *Spaniards*, ſent an order to the *Britiſh* conſul at *Genoa*, to remonſtrate to the ſenate upon that head, and to require its being attentive to preſerve his *Britannic* majeſty's friendſhip, by hindering its ſubjects from ſupplying the *Spaniſh* ſquadron with proviſions, or ſending any to the coaſt of *Provence*. The ſenate of *Genoa* pretended, that it was not in their power to hinder their ſubjects from trading on that coaſt; but that neither party ſhould be ſupplied by the republic, which was reſolved to maintain a ſtrict neutrality. *Matthews*, diſſatisfied with this anſwer, repeated his requeſt; and inſiſted not only upon the ſubjects of the republic not furniſhing the *Spaniards* with proviſions or forage, but upon her denying them a paſſage through her dominions. To this the ſenate anſwered, "that being well acquainted with the rules of neutrality, they were reſolved inviolably to maintain one; but with regard to the paſſage of troops through their territories, be they of what power ſoever, the republic was not in condition to oppoſe it, and that they ſhould do nothing more than proteſt againſt all ſuch as ſhould attempt it, without their conſent." This anſwer being found likewiſe to be evaſive, hoſtilities were commenced againſt the *Genoeſe*, and the *Engliſh* ſhips of war deſtroyed all their magazines wherever found upon their territories, on preſumption of their having been formed for the uſe of the *Spaniards*. They burnt a *Spaniſh* ſhip of ſeventy-two guns, which had been driven upon the coaſts of *Corſica*, and refuſed to perform quarantine; all which infractions of neutrality threw the *Genoeſe* into the utmoſt conſternation: but their applications for redreſs to the court of *England* proved to be in vain.

He publiſhes a manifeſto.

So much firmneſs and ſpirit exerted on the part of *Great Britain*, kept the king of *Sardinia* ſteady to his engagements; and to wipe off any prepoſſeſſions which the public might have conceived, on account of his leaving *Savoy* in the poſſeſſion of the infant duke, he publiſhed a manifeſto, declaring, that he was forced by a ſuperior army to depart from one part of his dominions, that he might protect the other, and more valuable part, and he publickly ordered his miniſters to trouble him no longer with any propoſals for an accommodation between him and *France*. The death of cardinal *Fleury*, the firſt miniſter of *France*, whoſe politics were intirely pacific, made a great alteration on the face of affairs in *Europe*. The *French* miniſtry engaged deeper than ever in the *German* war, by which the aſſiſtance they gave to the *Spaniards* in *Italy*, became more feeble than before. The queen of *Spain*, ſenſible of this, reſolved to ſtrike a bold deciſive blow, without ever ſuffering the *Spaniſh* troops in *Italy* to reſt in their winter quarters. Count *de Gages* was then at *Bologna*; and her catholic majeſty gave it him in his option either to fight count *Traun*, the imperial general, within three days, or to reſign his command to count *Mariani*. *De Gages* choſe the former; but as ſecrecy was the life of his enterprize, he made a magnificent ball at *Bologna*, from which his principal officers dropped out unperceived by degrees, and he himſelf before day-light was in the field. All his precautions could not blind the marquis *de Pavia* from ſuſpecting the truth, and he found means, though with great difficulty, to convey ſome intimation of it to count *Traun*.

Battle of Parma *loſt by the* Spaniards.

THAT general's army had been weakened by the departure of three thouſand *Croats*, who had left it without leave at the end of the campaign; and the intelligence of this had encouraged her catholic majeſty in her ſcheme. *Traun* received the intimation from the marquis *de Pavia*, time enough to draw up his army; ſo that when *de Gages* advanced with his army early on the 3d of *February*, he found the *Auſtrians* and *Piedmonteſe* in order of battle. Being thus diſappointed in his main hope, that of a ſurprize, he ordered his army to halt, that he might make new diſpoſitions; but before they could be formed, he was himſelf attacked by *Traun* before *Campo Santo*. The *Spaniards* were computed to be in number about twenty-five thouſand, and the imperialiſts about twenty thouſand. The battle continued from eight in the morning till ſeven at night, it being then moon-light. The *Spaniards* routed the left wing of the *Auſtrian* cavalry; but the imperial and *Piedmonteſe* foot behaved ſo well, that the *Spaniards* were at laſt obliged to retreat; which they did, however, in good order, carrying with them ſome military trophies, ſuch as colours, ſtandards, kettle-drums, and cannon, which gave them a pretence to claim the victory, tho' in fact they loſt it, by *Gages* having failed in his attempt. The loſs of the *Spaniards* was computed to be about four thouſand men; that of the imperialiſts was not ſo great. The count *de Aſpremont*, the *Piedmonteſe* general, fell upon the field of battle, as did many other officers of great diſtinction and merit on both ſides. The conſequences plainly ſhewed the advantage to lie with the imperialiſts.

Demands of the king of Sardinia.

THE *Spaniards* could not reflect upon the deſperate attack they had made, and the hardſhips they had undergone in the field, without remembering they were fighting in a foreign quarrel, and to gratify the ambition of a haughty *Italian* princeſs. Thoſe conſiderations increaſed deſertions amongſt them ſo greatly, that when *de Gages* returned to *Bologna*, he found his army reduced to half the number with which he took the field. He diſpatched meſſengers in great abundance to his *Neapolitan* majeſty for aſſiſtance; but all was in vain, becauſe it was ſtill poſſible for the *Britiſh* fleet to bombard his capital. *De Gages* therefore, finding that he could not maintain his ground at *Bologna*, retreated to *Rimini*, where he remained till *September* in a very ſtrong camp. But a treaty was now ſet on foot, which bade fair to divide the allies of the houſe of *Auſtria*. The king of *Sardinia*'s miniſter at the court of *London*, intimated to the miniſtry of *Great Britain* the uneaſineſs of his maſter's ſituation; and that he expected, before he embarked farther in the defence of the houſe of *Auſtria*, that her *Hungarian* majeſty would ſtipulate ſomewhat to him by way of indemnification for the great loſſes he had already ſuffered; but ſignified at the ſame time, that he could expect ſuch indemnification only through the interpoſition of his *Britannic* majeſty with the court of *Vienna*. The *Britiſh* court and miniſter thought this indemnification highly reaſonable, and *Oſorio*, the *Sardinian* ambaſſador, was to name his maſter's terms. He demanded to be put into poſſeſſion of *Final*, a ſea-port town belonging to the *Genoeſe*, who had purchaſed it from the emperor *Charles* VI. but lying very convenient for his *Sardinian* majeſty's dominions. He likewiſe demanded poſſeſſion of the *Vigevanaſco*, with that part of the duchy of *Pavia* that is between the *Po* and the *Teſſin*, with the towns of *Placentia* and *Bobbio*, and all the tract of land from the ſource of the *Nura* to the lake *Maggiore*, and the frontiers of the *Swiſs* cantons.

Treaty at Worms.

WHEN thoſe demands were made on the part of his *Sardinian* majeſty, the queen of *Hungary* was not in that diſtreſſed ſituation that had ſo lately obliged her to implore his *Sardinian* majeſty's aſſiſtance. She treated his demands with the higheſt diſdain; but the *Britiſh* miniſtry giving her to underſtand that they muſt be complied with, ſhe was obliged to acquieſce; and count *Waſner*, her ambaſſador at *London*, having concluded the treaty, carried it to *Worms*, where it was ſigned by *Oſorio* in his maſter's name, he being there attending his *Britannic* majeſty; and from thence it has obtained the name of the treaty of *Worms*. By the third article of that treaty, his *Sardinian* majeſty renounced all claims upon the duchy of *Milan*, and guarantied anew the pragmatic ſanction. By the 4th, his *Sardinian* majeſty's troops were to act in concert with thoſe of the queen of *Hungary*, for repelling the invaſion of the *Spaniards* upon *Italy*. By the fifth article, her *Hungarian* majeſty ſtipulated to augment her army in *Italy* to thirty thouſand men, as ſoon as the ſituation of affairs in *Germany* would permit it; and his majeſty, the king of *Sardinia*, engaged to keep and employ the number of forty thouſand foot and five thouſand horſe, comprehending in it what would be neceſſary for the garriſons and defence of his own dominions. The ſixth article gave the king of *Sardinia* the ſupreme command of both armies, when there in perſon. The ſeventh article, ſtipulated the naval aſſiſtances which their *Hungarian* and *Sardinian* majeſties were to receive from *Great Britain*. The tenth article ſtipulated the famous ceſſion of *Final*; and the eleventh and twelfth articles regarded the mutual aſſiſtance which the queen of *Hungary* and the king of *Sardinia*, were to give to each other, in defence of their reſpective dominions in *Italy*.

Such were the ſtipulations that concern our preſent purpoſe in the treaty of *Worms*, againſt which *Palavicini*, the *Genoeſe* miniſter, proteſted; and in fact the treaty itſelf proved ineffectual, for the *Genoeſe* fortified and prepared to defend *Final*: nor did either party gain by the treaty. The courts of *France* and *Spain* counter-acted it by one much more political, tending to her catholic majeſty's favourite purpoſe of introducing her ſon Don *Philip* into *Parma* and *Placentia*. It took its riſe from her impatience at ſeeing the combined fleets ſo long ſhut up by that of *Great Britain*, in the harbour of *Toulon*. The terms offered by her to the *French*, who were not fond of riſking their marine in Don *Philip*'s cauſe, were very advantageous; for *France* was to be indemnified for all the loſs ſhe ſhould ſuſtain in aſſiſting the infant duke; and if the *Britiſh* fleet was beat, *Spain* was to aſſiſt her to invade *Great Britain*. When the reſolution of ſailing for *Toulon* was taken by the two courts, admiral *Matthews* was at that of *Turin*; where underſtanding that the *Breſt* fleet had already ſailed, he ſent orders for all the *Britiſh* ſhips of war in the *Mediterranean* to join him, and he himſelf repaired on board his own ſhip. The particulars of the famous ſea-fight that followed, *Sea fight off* Toulon.

Battle of Veletri.

is well known to the public, as is the miſcarriage that afterwards followed, through the ſhameful animoſities that prevailed between *Matthews* and *Leſtock.* It is ſufficient here to ſay, that the *Britiſh* fleet, at the time of the engagement, was ſuperior in ſtrength to that combined fleets of *France* and *Spain,* and that had it not been for the diſagreement, the combined fleets muſt have been deſtroyed, but they eſcaped, tho' with ſome damage. After this, the king of *Naples* threw off all pretexts to a neutrality, and publiſhed a declaration, in which he complained that his moderation had been abuſed by the court of *Great Britain*; that his frontiers were ſubjected to all the calamities of war; and that the queen of *Hungary* had publickly threatened to invade his kingdoms, with ſeveral other allegations of the like importance. His majeſty therefore aſſembled an army, and joined that of *de Gages.* Prince *Lobkowitz* was at this time general of the imperialiſts in *Italy,* and had received orders from his court to ſupport and favour an inſurrection, which the *Auſtrian* agents were endeavouring to raiſe in *Naples.* It was chiefly with that view that *Lobkowitz* had taken poſt at *Monte Rotondo* in the neighbourhood of *Rome,* while his *Sardinian* majeſty and *de Gages* encamped at *Veletri,* in ſight of the imperialiſts. While the two armies were in this ſituation, *Lobkowitz* detached a part of his troops to make an irruption into *Abruzzo,* where they took the city of *Aquila,* and publiſhed manifeſtos, exhorting the *Neapolitans* to throw off the *Auſtrian* yoke. This attempt proving unſucceſsful, *Brown,* an *Auſtrian* general, of a bold enterprizing genius, ſurpriſed his *Neapolitan* majeſty's quarters; and it was with the utmoſt difficulty he eſcaped being made priſoner, by flying through a poſtern to the quarters of count *de Gages.* It was owing to the courage and preſence of mind of the latter that the *Spaniſh* and *Neapolitan* armies did not ſuffer more than they did from the unexpected attack: for *Brown* perceiving that *de Gages,* after collecting and forming his regiments, was making diſpoſitions for cutting him off from the main body of the *Auſtrian* army, ordered a retreat, after killing about three thouſand *Spaniards,* making an immenſe booty, and acquitting himſelf with vaſt intrepidity. His own loſs was about ſix hundred.

Retreat of the Auſtrians.

THIS ſhining exploit was more glorious than advantageous to the *Auſtrians.* *Lobkowitz,* either through inadvertency, or what is more probable, from the orders he received, had brought his army into a ſituation where he could not maintain it, the country round him being intirely eaten up, or in the hands of his enemies; add to this, his men were daily dying through fatigue and the heats of the ſeaſon; ſo that he was at laſt obliged to order a retreat. *De Gages* had foreſeen this, and prepared to follow him. *Lobkowitz* paſſed under the walls of *Rome*, and could but juſt break down *Ponte Molle*, when the van of the *Spaniſh* and *Neapolitan* army appeared. He could not, however, prevent part of his rear-guard being made priſoners at *Nocera*, nor the frequent deſertions that happened amongſt his troops; ſo that his retreat had all the appearances of the moſt precipitate flight; but at laſt having paſſed the mountains of *Gubio*, he arrived at *Bologna*, by the way of *Viterbo*. But notwithſtanding all his addreſs and expedition, his army muſt have been totally ruined, had not count *de Gages*, who followed him, received a peremptory order from his own court, to lay aſide all other conſiderations but that of joining the infant Don *Philip*, who was preparing to march through the *Genoeſe* territories, to diſpoſſeſs the *Auſtrians* of *Parma* and *Placentia*; and this brings us to attend the operations of the infant duke.

Don Philip *joined by the* French *army.*

IN conſequence of the ſecret treaty with *France*, the prince of *Conti*, at the head of a *French* army, had joined him early in the year at *Antibes*; and after paſſing the *Var*, they took *Apremont*, and without oppoſition entered *Nice*. His *Sardinian* majeſty was, at this time, greatly diſtreſſed for money, and obliged to entrench himſelf near *Villafranca*, where he was attacked, and, after an obſtinate engagement, defeated by the combined army. He then was forced to embark with his troops on board the *Britiſh* ſquadron, which carried him to *Vado*. Don *Philip* would then have penetrated through the *Genoeſe* territories, had not admiral *Matthews* threatened to bombard their city if they gave him a paſſage thro' their dominions. Intimidated by this menace, the ſenate interceded with the two princes, who, at their requeſt, changed their route, and marching toward *Piedmont*, they laid ſiege to *Chateau Dauphine*, which the king of *Sardinia* defended in perſon. They loſt four thouſand men before the place; but they took it, and the conſequence was, that *Demont* ſurrendered, which reduced almoſt all the open country of *Piedmont* to ſubmit to contributions; while his *Sardinian* majeſty, to cover his capital, entrenched himſelf at *Soluzza*. The ſiege of *Coni*, one of the ſtrongeſt places in *Italy*, was then formed by the combined army about the beginning of *September*. It was held out by baron *Leutrum*, whoſe gallant defence of the place, gave the king of *Sardinia* leiſure to march with his own troops, and ten thouſand *Auſtrians* under *Palavicini*, to his relief. The *French* and *Spaniards* kept on the defenſive; ſo that the attack made by his *Sardinian* majeſty upon their entrenchments, was bloody and deſperate; and finding it impracticable to force them, he retreated to his camp at *Muraſſo.* The combined army then reſumed its operations againſt *Coni*; but under prodigious diſadvantages, from the heavy rains that fell, as well as the good ſtate of the garriſon, which had been reinforced with men and proviſions by his *Sardinian* majeſty. The ſiege, however, went on; and tho' the beſiegers began to be much ſtraitened for proviſions, it was continued, with the greateſt obſtinacy, till the end of *November*, when the beſiegers received certain intelligence, that a reinforcement of ſix hundred freſh men, under the chevalier *de Soto*, had entered the place; upon which they abandoned their enterprize, in a manner by no means to their honour; for leaving all their ſick and wounded to the mercy of their enemies, they retired to *Demont*, the fortifications of which they diſmantled. The *French* then marched into *Dauphiny*, as the infant duke of *Parma* did into *Savoy*, where he ſtill kept his footing, and where his army was extremely oppreſſive to the inhabitants.

Siege of Coni *raiſed.*

Uneaſineſs of the king of Sardinia.

NOTWITHSTANDING this retreat, the king of *Sardinia* was under great apprehenſions from the *Genoeſe*. The treaty of *Worms* had not met with the approbation of the public. The *Britiſh* miniſter, by whom it had been concluded, was himſelf but on a precarious footing at his own court. He knew the queen of *Hungary* had been forced into it; and which was worſt of all, the principles on which it was concluded, were juſtifiable only in point of expediency. Though the terror of the *Britiſh* marine had, during the preceding campaign, made an impreſſion upon the *Genoeſe*; yet, by the preparations they were making, he had reaſon to believe that they would ſpeedily declare themſelves in favour of his enemies; and he knew the dreadful conſequences to himſelf and the houſe of *Auſtria*, if they were permitted to march through that territory. All thoſe, and many other conſiderations, determined him, if poſſible, to make the *Genoeſe* his friends, by offering to renounce all his pretenſions upon *Final*. But though the *Genoeſe* ſeemed to give ſome ear to this propoſal, they had in their councils come to a final determination to accept of the offers of *France* and *Spain*. They had ſecretly diſpatched *Grimaldi* to *Spain*; and a treaty was concluded between *France*, *Spain*, and *Genoa*, which is known by the name of that of *Aranjuez*, and which in fact made Don *Carlos* maſter of *Parma* and *Placentia*. The principal articles relating to that prince are as follow: "That the republic of *Genoa* ſhall aſſiſt the armies and fleets belonging to the princes of the houſe of *Bourbon*, with all manner of neceſſities, both by ſea and land: that the *Genoeſe* ſhall join their armies

Treaty of Aranjuez.

ies in *Italy* with ten thouſand men, all well armed and ›utred, and followed by a train of thirty-ſix cannon; but they ſhall not be obliged to do till after the *French* and *nish* armies are united, and have paſſed the mountains and ow paſſes lying between their republic and the *Milaneſe*, called the ſtraits of *Lombardy:* that the princes of the ſe of *Bourbon* ſhall guarantee the towns, territories, and he preſent poſſeſſions of the *Genoeſe:* that all the allies, united forces, ſhall endeavour to obtain a ſettlement in for Don *Philip*, the king of *Spain*'s third ſon: that the of *Spain* ſhall pay the *Genoeſe* a ſubſidy of twelve thou-pounds monthly, ſo long as the war continues in *Italy*." e remaining part of this treaty contains ſtrong guaranties he *Genoeſe* rights and poſſeſſions on the part of the two ns.

Progreſs of the war in Italy.

his treaty being concluded, count *de Gages* on the one of the *Appennines*, and the infant Don *Philip* on the other, le incredible efforts to effect their junction. *De Gages* ed the *Appennines*, entered the *Lucqueſe*, and marched by eaſtern *Riviera* of *Genoa*; and on the 14th of *June*, 1745, army joined that of the infant duke near *Genoa*. The two ies amounted to ſixty-eight thouſand men, and were ſoon r joined by the ten thouſand *Genoeſe*, ſtipulated by the treaty *Aranjuez*. All this while his *Sardinian* majeſty had been manner treating with the *Genoeſe*, at whom he was ex-rated to the higheſt pitch, when he underſtood that they not only joined his enemies, but that they had publiſhed claration of war againſt himſelf, though they had preſerved appearance of regard towards his *Britannick* majeſty and queen of *Hungary*. They were anſwered by a counter-aration, in which he accuſed them of breach of faith, by ing long favoured his enemies, and in other reſpects treated with very little ceremony. The queen of *Hungary*'s re-ment was ſo high, that ſhe threatened the extinction of commonwealth, and gave her troops orders to proceed nſt them in all reſpects, and on all occaſions, as enemies; thoſe threatenings would have made very little impreſ-upon the *Genoeſe*, had not the two powers made the moſt rous remonſtrances at the court of *Great Britain*, where *Britannick* majeſty gave orders for the commanders of ſhips in the *Mediterranean*, to begin hoſtilities againſt oa, for breaking her neutrality. The force of the *Bri-* fleet in the *Mediterranean*, at that time, was twenty-four s of the line; but it muſt have been far inferior to thoſe the *French* and *Spaniards*, if the *Breſt* ſquadron could have ed the *Spaniſh* fleet, which was blocked up in the har-

Genoa *declares for the* French *and* Spaniards.

bour of *Carthagena*; but that not happening, the *French* returned to the coaſt of *France*, to the amazement of all *Europe*, without attempting any thing againſt even a *Britiſh* ſquadron of no more than twelve ſhips, which was ſent out to obſerve their motions. Upon their return admiral *Rowley*, who commanded the *Engliſh* fleet in the *Mediterranean*, ordered commodore *Cowper* with a ſquadron to begin hoſtilities againſt the *Genoeſe*; and he bombarded *Savona*, *Genoa*, *Final*, *St. Remo*, and *Baſtia* in *Corſica*. The damage done on this occaſion was not ſo conſiderable as might have happened, had the *Genoeſe* been immediately the enemies of *Great Britain*; and this the queen of *Hungary* complained of.

Great ſucceſs of Don Philip.

COUNT *Schulenberg* was now the *Auſtrian* general in *Italy*, where his army, joined with that of his *Sardinian* majeſty, amounted to no more than forty-five thouſand men. The great object of Don *Philip* was to get poſſeſſion of *Parma*, *Placentia*, and *Modena*; and his *Sardinian* majeſty found himſelf under the neceſſity to act on the defenſive, and accordingly made the proper diſpoſitions for defending thoſe duchies, as well as the *Milaneſe*. *Schulenberg* was aſſigned to the defence of *Parma*, with twenty-four thouſand men; but he was obliged by count *de Gages* to retire under the cannon of *Tortona*, to preſerve his communication with his *Sardinian* majeſty. Upon his retreat *de Gages*, with thirty thouſand men, took poſſeſſion of *Saravalle*. On the ſide of the *Milaneſe*, the king of *Sardinia* was poſted in the neighbourhood of *Aleſſandria*, with no more than twenty thouſand men, and therefore was obliged to give way to the entrance of the infant duke, and the *French* general *Maillebois*, who commanded under him, into the *Modeneſe*, at the head of forty thouſand *French* and *Spaniards*. The infant duke's firſt exploits were to take *Aqui* and *Seva*; and a paſſage being thereby open for him to *Aleſſandria* itſelf, the king of *Sardinia* and count *Schulenberg* were obliged to retire beyond the *Tanaro*. On the 24th of *July* count *de Gages*, after an inconſiderable reſiſtance, took the ſtrong citadel of *Tortona*. This acquiſition was followed by the ſurrender of *Parma* and *Placentia* to the duke of *Modena*; and thus the great object of Don *Philip*'s ambition was accompliſhed. Nothing now could reſiſt the fortune of the infant duke. The city of *Pavia* was taken by a ſcalade; and the *Auſtrian* garriſon, conſiſting of two thouſand five hundred men, ſhut themſelves up in the citadel of *Milan*, while the city fell into the hands of *de Gages*, who ſoon after joined his army with that of Don *Philip*; and attacking the *Piedmonteſe* poſts upon the *Tanaro*, they forced his *Sardinian* majeſty, whoſe troops ſuffered greatly upon this occaſion, to re-ire towards the *Po*, for the ſecurity of his own capital. By he 30th of *September*, Don *Philip* took the city of *Aleſſandria*, ut not the citadel; and after that he became maſter of *Vaenza*, *Caſal*, *Aſti*, *Gabrano*, and *Vienne*, which lies but twenty niles diſtant from *Turin*, then almoſt the only poſſeſſion that was left to his *Sardinian* majeſty.

Policy of the French.

NOTHING but the ſecret policy of the court of *France* ould have prevented Don *Philip* from becoming maſter of that apital likewiſe; but *d'Argenſon*, the *French* miniſter, hated he *Spaniards*; and there was a perſonal friendſhip between is *Sardinian* majeſty and *Maillebois*. *Maillebois* perſuaded his naſter, that it was not his intereſt to ruin the king of *Sardiia*, or to aggrandize the *Spaniards* too much in *Italy*; and that *France* had already obtained her ends, by obliging the queen of *Hungary* to weaken herſelf on the ſide of *Germany*, in defending her *Italian* dominions. Tho' his moſt Chriſtian majeſty had made choice of the infant duke to be his ſon-in-law, yet reaſons of ſtate prevailed over all other conſiderations, and he even obtained an order from the court of *Madrid*, that all military operations without the dominions of the infant duke ſhould be under the direction of *Maillebois*. *De Gages*, on the other hand, warmly preſſed for the continuance of the operations againſt his *Sardinian* majeſty, and even for laying ſiege to *Turin*; and he was ſeconded by the infant duke himſelf; but at laſt receiving intimation of his father-in-law's pleaſure, he was obliged to ſubmit to *Maillebois*. Thus *Turin* remained in the poſſeſſion of his *Sardinian* majeſty; and Don *Philip*, attended by the duke of *Modena* and *de Gages*, made a triumphal entry into *Milan*, from whence he went to *Parma*, of which and *Placentia* he took poſſeſſion.

Don Philip *takes poſſeſſion of* Parma *and* Placentia;

AFTER this event the aſpect of the war in *Italy* was unfavourable for the three crowns. His *Sardinian* majeſty, to his immortal honour, continued faithful to his engagements; and the death of the emperor of *Germany*, with the accommodation which the queen of *Hungary* had made with his ſon, the election of her huſband the great duke to the imperial dignity, and ſeveral other favourable incidents, enabled her to ſend new ſupplies to his *Sardinian* majeſty, who, on his ſide, being ſtill vigorouſly aſſiſted by money from *England*, made a great augmentation of his army, which now amounted to thirty ſix thouſand men; and he was joined by the prince of *Lichtenſtein*, the *Auſtrian* general, with a much greater number. At the opening of the campaign, in the year 1746, *Maillebois*, with about thirty thouſand men, was in poſſeſſion of the greateſt part of *Piedmont*. A ſtill greater army, under the infant duke, covered the *Milaneſe*, the *Par-*

meſan, and the *Placentine*; while the duke of *Modena*, with eight thouſand men, protected his own dominions. The operations of his *Sardinian* majeſty, and the *Auſtrian* army, were ſo vigorous, that the armies of the three crowns, inſtead of acting offenſively, retired towards the *Mantuan*; while *Leutrum*, the *Piedmonteſe* general, made himſelf maſter of *Aſti*, reduced *Caſal*, and raiſed the blockade of the citadel of *Aleſſandria*, which had continued during all the preceding winter; ſo that *Maillebois* was obliged to retire to the *Genoeſe* territory. Don *Philip* and count *de Gages* had no better fortune on the ſide of *Milan*, which the *Auſtrians* obliged them to abandon; as they did *Pavia*, and at laſt *Parma* itſelf, where the *Auſtrians* found a large magazine of proviſions, a fine train of artillery, and a great quantity of baggage. On this occaſion, the advice of *de Gages* to the infant duke was to march to *Placentia*, where they could occupy a ſtrong camp, againſt all the efforts of their enemies, till they could be joined by the marquis *de Caſtellar*, with a freſh reinforcement of *Spaniards*, and the *French* troops under *Maillebois*; and in the mean time he affirmed, that the army under *Lichtenſtein* muſt be ruined by its fatigues, and the diſeaſes already raging in it. This advice was ſo far followed, that the infant duke retired to the camp near *Placentia*; and *de Gages*, by the excellent diſpoſitions he made, kept the *Auſtrians* at bay. In the mean while *Pignatelli*, a *Spaniſh* general, paſſed the *Po*, in the night time, to *Codogno*, where he beat up the quarters of ſeven thouſand *Auſtrians*.

but is worſted.

ALL this while, the queen of *Spain* was ſo bent upon her *Italian* expedition, that ſhe had employed *Grimaldi* to negociate a ſeparate peace with the queen of *Hungary*, who rejected all propoſals of that kind, by the perſuaſion of the *Britiſh* miniſtry. She attributed the neceſſity ſhe was under of taking this diſagreeable ſtep to the conduct of *Maillebois* and the *French*, who, as ſhe alledged, had ſacrificed the intereſts of the infant duke. The *French* were not ſtrangers to the juſtice of her complaints on that head; and being in great want of money, with which they knew it was in her power to furniſh them, *Maillebois* was ordered to rejoin the infant duke's army as ſoon as poſſible, which he did in the beginning of *June*, before the king of *Sardinia*, who was making forced marches for that purpoſe, could join the prince of *Lichtenſtein*. This junction being effected between the infant prince and *Maillebois*, the former found himſelf at the head of fifty-two thouſand men. Her Catholic majeſty, before this, had obtained from her huſband a proviſional order, commanding *de Gages*, as ſoon as that junction was formed, to attack the *Auſtrian* army, whatever his ſituation was, and under whatever diſadvantages he might lie. This peremptory order overthrew all the prudent ſchemes of *de Gages*; and having, for form-ſake, ſummoned a council of war, it was, without a contradictory vote, reſolved to attack the *Auſtrian* camp at *St. Lazaro*, which lay about twenty-two miles diſtant from *Placentia*.

Battle of Placentia,

THE *Auſtrians* had ſuſpected or foreſeen ſuch an attempt as this, and had fortified their camp, though naturally ſtrong, with many additional works. *De Gages* had for ſome days left his ſtrong camp at *Placentia*, and was advanced within a very ſhort diſtance of that of the *Auſtrians*. On the 14th of *June*, the diſpoſitions having been concerted in a council of war, *de Gages* began his march early in the evening, and by eleven he reached the *Auſtrian* trenches, which he vigorouſly attacked. Notwithſtanding the *Auſtrians* were prepared to receive him, he muſt have beat them, had the *Bourbonite* officers done their duty; but the attack, though brave and intrepid, was irregular and injudicious. The cavalry was diſpoſed in ſuch a manner, that they could not ſupport the infantry; and though the *French* and *Spaniards*, notwithſtanding this diſadvantage, mounted the trenches of their enemies, whom they forced to retire towards their camp, yet they made no uſe of the enemy's artillery they found within their lines, and had neglected to bring faſcines for paſſing a broad wet ditch, which lay before the *Auſtrian* camp. Such, however, was the incredible ardour of the combined army, that they paſſed even this ditch; but with vaſt loſs, and unſupported by their cavalry. It was now day-break; and the *Auſtrians*, who were upon the point of being totally routed, perceiving the diſadvantages under which their enemies lay, charged them, in their turn, with their cavalry, with a horrible carnage; upon which *de Gages* ordered a retreat. His loſs, in this battle, was about ſix thouſand killed, and about eight thouſand wounded, or taken priſoners; and that of the *Auſtrians* was about four thouſand. *De Gages* made an admirable retreat to his camp at *Placentia*; but ſo critically, that, had he delayed it for a few minutes, his whole army muſt have been deſtroyed, as the *Piedmonteſe*, who were to join the *Auſtrians*, were ſo near the place of action as to hear the firing.

fatal to the French *and* Spaniards.

King of Sardinia *commands the* Auſtrians.

THE junction of the *Auſtrians* and the *Piedmonteſe* being thus effected, the command of both devolved upon his *Sardinian* majeſty, according to the ſtipulation in the treaty of *Worms*, and he thereby ſaw himſelf at the head of ſixty-four thouſand men; but the prince of *Lichtenſtein*, who had acquired ſo much honour by the late battle, being indiſpoſed, he was ſucceeded in his command by general *Botta*. On the other hand, the marquis *de Caſtellar*, who had ſome time before joined Don *Philip*'s army, was left with a ſtrong garriſon in *Placentia*; while *Maillebois* and count *de Gages* entrenched themſelves between the *Lambra* and the *Adda*; and the infant duke, having paſſed the *Po*, occupied the open country of the *Milaneſe*. His *Sardinian* majeſty was perfectly ſenſible, that no time muſt be loſt in driving his enemies out of *Lombardy*. He appointed general *Botta* to march up the *Tydone*, and to block up *Placentia* on the one ſide, ſo as to cut off all communication between it and the combined army; while he himſelf, on the other, paſſed the *Po*, to diſlodge *Maillebois* and *de Gages*, not without hopes of taking the infant duke priſoner, whoſe head-quarters were at *Codogno*. This was reckoned a maſterly diſpoſition. His *Sardinian* majeſty took *Lodi*, which lay in the rear of his enemies; and *Botta* lying between *Codogno* and *Placentia*, the ſituation of Don *Philip*, and his two generals, became very dangerous on all ſides.

Death of the king of Spain.

Battle of Rotto Freddo.

THE death of *Philip* V. king of *Spain*, gave a new complexion to the war. *Maillebois* was ignorant of the diſpoſitions of *Ferdinand*, his ſon and ſucceſſor, towards the *French* court, and towards the war in general, and therefore he propoſed retreating to *Tortona*. This was oppoſed by *de Gages*; but the *French* intereſt being now as prevalent at the court of *Madrid* as it had been in the late reign, king *Ferdinand* ſent an order, under his own hand, to make the retreat propoſed by *Maillebois*: it was begun accordingly; but the *Auſtrians* who ſtill continued their purſuit, overtook their enemies at *Rotto Freddo*, and attacked them early on the 9th of *Auguſt*. The *Auſtrians* were commanded by general *Serbelloni*, who fought till *Botta* came up, and the battle continued till four in the afternoon. But though *de Gages* and *Maillebois* did all that could be expected from brave men and able generals, victory declared itſelf for the *Auſtrians*. In this battle the *French* and *Spaniards* loſt eight thouſand men, eighteen pieces of cannon, with many ſtandards and colours. The loſs of the *Auſtrians* was four thouſand men killed on the ſpot; amongſt whom was general *Bernclau*. After the battle was over, *Placentia* was ſummoned to ſurrender, which it did; and its garriſon, ſaid to have conſiſted of nine thouſand men, was made priſoners of war.

DE GAGES and the infant duke of *Parma* continued their march to *Gavi* and *Tortona*, where *de Gages* began to intrench his army, till he could receive reinforcements; but

his

new maſter had now altered his ſentiments; and as want
ucceſs in the court of *Spain* had been generally conſidered
ant of merit, his Catholic majeſty ſent an order for *de*
es to reſign his command to the marquis *de las Minas*,
ch he immediately did. The conduct of the *Spaniards*
ards the *Genoeſe*, on this occaſion, was very inſincere. It
known that *Genoa* was the great object of the vengeance
the *Auſtrians*, who, after taking poſſeſſion of *Placentia*,
made an irruption into the weſtern *Riviera*, towards *Al-*
ga, where their behaviour was ſuch as might have been
ected from the moſt inflamed reſentment. The army of
two crowns was at this time in the *Genoeſe* territories;
it was computed, that, ſince the opening of the cam-
gn, forty thouſand of them had been killed, or taken pri-
ers. The conſideration of this vaſt loſs, with the proſpect
ſome differences ariſing between her *Hungarian* majeſty
l the king of *Sardinia*, and of the *Britiſh* ſubſidy being
hdrawn from that monarch, had prevailed on his Catho-
majeſty to give private inſtructions to *las Minas*, by all
ans, to ſave his troops; and, if practicable, to proceed in
way of negociation. The *Auſtrian* progreſs in the *Ge-*
ſe territory was rapid, and the *Genoeſe* applied to *las Minas*
protection. At firſt he diſſembled the inſtructions he had
eived, and declared he would defend their city to the laſt;
t the *Auſtrians* ſtill advancing, he moſt ungratefully picked
uarrel with the *Genoeſe*; and leaving them to their own
e, Don *Philip* and he continued their retreat towards
ance.

Genoa *conquered by the* Auſtrians.

IT is foreign to this part of our hiſtory to enter upon the
ticulars of the ſurrender of *Genoa* to the Imperialiſts, *Bot-*
s inſolent and inhuman conduct towards them, and the
ſperate efforts they made when they threw off the *Auſtrian*
ke. The queen of *Hungary* was now in poſſeſſion of *Par-*
ı and *Placentia*, and had recovered all her dominions in
mbardy; and the king of *Sardinia* began to think her ſome-
ıat too powerful in *Italy*. After her acquiſition of *Genoa*,
thing leſs would ſatisfy her than the re-conqueſt of *Naples*;
d *Botta* propoſed, that the *Genoeſe* ſhould furniſh her with
nſports for that purpoſe; but this was a meaſure as little
reeable to the court of *Great Britain* as it was to his *Sardi-*
n majeſty, and therefore it was laid aſide. In the mean
ile, that monarch had paſſed the *Var* at the head of his
my, in purſuit of the infant duke; but, falling ſick at *Nice*,
e command of his army, which conſiſted of forty-five thou-
d men, devolved upon general *Brown*, who was aſſiſted by
e *Britiſh* admiral *Medley*, and a draught of one thouſand

Count Brown *enters* Provence;

men from the garriſons of *Port Mahon* and *Gibraltar*. *Maillebois*, in paſſing the *Var*, had left ſome poſts well fortified to ſtop the *Auſtrians* in their purſuit; but *Brown*, by the help of the *Britiſh* ſhips and auxiliaries, ſurmounted all difficulties, and at laſt laid ſiege to *Antibes*. The courts of *France* and *Spain* were equally ſtruck with the rapid ſucceſs of the *Auſtrians*. His Catholick majeſty, and the queen dowager of *Spain*, had little expected ſo many diſaſtrous events; and they well knew, that while *Genoa* and its territory were in the hands of the *Auſtrians*, the infant duke could have no proſpect of regaining *Parma* and *Placentia*. They threw the blame of all upon *d'Argenſon*, who, at their requeſt, was diſgraced; and *Maillebois*'s command was taken from him, and given to the marechal *Belleiſle*. He was reckoned the ableſt general, as well as ſtateſman, then in *France*; but his army did not exceed twenty thouſand regular troops, excluſive of the militia. He was however ſenſible, that the *Auſtrian* plan of penetrating into *France* was impracticable, and had been formed upon wrong principles. At firſt, he made no oppoſition to *Brown*, that he might entice him farther into the country, and cut off his retreat; but *Antibes* making a vigorous defence, notwithſtanding the ſevere bombardment it ſuffered from the *Britiſh* ſquadron, and *Belleiſle*'s army amounting now to fifty thouſand regulars, while that of *Brown* was waſting by ſickneſs and deſertion, the latter was obliged to raiſe the ſiege of *Antibes*, and repaſs the *Var*, not without ſuffering great loſs in his retreat.

but is forced to retire.

French *invade* Piedmont.

THIS irruption into *Provence*, though greatly applauded at the time it was made, threatened deſtruction to the *Auſtrian* intereſt in *Italy*, and gave the queen-mother of *Spain* freſh hopes of being able to replace Don *Philip* in the duchies of *Parma* and *Placentia*. Upon *Brown*'s repaſſing the *Var*, *Belleiſle* and his brother took *Nice*, *Montalbin*, *Villa Franca*, and *Ventimiglia*; while the *Auſtrians* retired towards *Final* and *Savona*. Their retreat encouraged *Belleiſle* to form a plan of operations, which he knew would be extremely agreeable to the court of *Spain*, which was no leſs than making an irruption into *Piedmont*. This ſpirited meaſure gave a ſudden turn to the affairs of *Italy*. After the expulſion of the *Auſtrians* out of *Genoa*, the *French* court had made extraordinary efforts for ſupporting the *Genoeſe*; while that of *Vienna* was as abſolutely bent upon retaking it. *Schuylemburg* had ſucceeded *Botta* in the command of the *Auſtrian* army there; and, though he was ill provided for ſuch an undertaking, he received peremptory orders from his court, at all events, to attempt the re-conqueſt of *Genoa*. This ſcheme did not coincide with his

Sardinian majeſty's views; and *Schuylemburg* repreſented to his miſtreſs, that it was impoſſible for him to ſucceed, without a reinforcement from that monarch, who, at laſt, by the mediation of the *Britiſh* court, and upon being promiſed a large ſhare of the *Genoeſe* ſpoils, when conquered, agreed to aſſiſt *Schuylemburg* with twelve battalions and a train of artillery. After this agreement, the *Auſtrians* for ſome time were in a fair way of ſucceſs; but the reſentment of the *Genoeſe*, at the horrid barbarities of the *Auſtrians*, prevented *Schuylemburg* becoming maſter of that city. At laſt, his *Sardinian* majeſty became ſo uneaſy at the progreſs of *Belleiſle*, that *Schuylemburg* was obliged to give over the ſiege, at the very time when he thought himſelf ſure of ſucceeding.

Peace of Aix la Chapelle.

Nothing memorable is related, concerning the hiſtory of *Parma*, from the time of this event to the concluſion of the peace of *Aix la Chapelle*. Mr. *Wall* was ſecretly employed by the court of *Spain* to diſpoſe the *Britiſh* miniſtry towards a peace, which was the more readily agreed to, as the obſtinacy and ambition of the court of *Vienna* grew daily more and more outrageous; and the putting *Parma* and *Placentia* into the poſſeſſion of a prince of the houſe of *Bourbon*, was by no means incompatible with the ſyſtem of power that had been adopted by *Great Britain*. In 1747-8, though the war was ſtill raging on the continent of *Europe*, the preliminaries of a peace were ſettled; and in *April*, proclamation was made for a ceſſation of arms. This was followed by the meeting of plenipotentiaries at *Aix la Chapelle*, where the marquis *de Soto Mayor* was plenipotentiary on the part of *Spain*, and took care of the intereſts of the infant duke of *Parma*.

Article concerning Parma *and* Placentia.

The ſeventh article of that treaty runs as follows: "In conſideration of the reſtitutions their moſt Chriſtian and Catholic majeſties make, by the preſent treaty, either to her majeſty the queen of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, or to his majeſty the king of *Sardinia*, the duchies of *Parma*, *Placentia*, and *Guaſtalla*, ſhall, for the future, belong to the ſerene infant Don *Philip*, and be poſſeſſed by him and his male deſcendants, born in legitimate marriage, in the ſame manner and extent as they have been enjoyed by the preſent poſſeſſors; and the ſaid ſerene infant, and his male deſcendants, ſhall enjoy the ſaid three duchies, agreeable to and on the conditions expreſſed in the acts of ceſſion of the empreſs-queen of *Hungary* and the king of *Sardinia*, to be remitted, together with their ratifications of the preſent treaty, to the ambaſſador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Catholic king, in the ſame manner as the ambaſſadors extraordinary and plenipotentiaries of their moſt Chriſtian and Catholic majeſties ſhall remit, with the ratifications of their ma-

majeſties, to that of the king of *Sardinia*, the orders to the generals of the *French* and *Spaniſh* troops, for reſtoring *Savoy* and the county of *Nice* to perſons commiſſioned to receive them; ſo that the reſtitution of the ſaid ſtates, and the taking poſſeſſion of the ſaid duchies of *Parma*, *Placentia*, and *Guaſtalla*, by or in the name of the ſerene infant Don *Philip*, may be effected at the ſame time, agreeable to the articles of ceſſion, the tenor whereof is as follows: that the empreſs-queen of *Hungary*, whoſe ceſſion was wrote in the *Latin* language, in order to diſcharge herſelf of what ſhe was bound to by the preſent articles, in a well-grounded hope, that their moſt Chriſtian and Catholic majeſties, as well as the party who ſhall hereafter be poſſeſſed of the three duchies, and his male deſcendants, will actually, and *bona fide*, fulfil the purport of the articles abovementioned, doth renounce and quit all manner of claims, rights, and pretenſions to her belonging, under what title or cauſe ſoever, to the ſaid three duchies of *Parma*, *Placentia*, and *Guaſtalla*, of which ſhe was formerly poſſeſſed; which ſaid claims, rights, and pretenſions, ſhe doth hereby, in the beſt and moſt ſolemn form ſhe poſſibly can, transfer to the ſaid ſerene infant Don *Philip*, and to his male deſcendants lawfully begotten. She abſolves likewiſe all the inhabitants of the ſaid duchies, in general, from that oath of allegiance which they have taken to her; but as to that they ſhall hereafter take to thoſe to whom ſhe transfers her rights, it is to be of force no farther than while the ſaid ſerene infant Don *Philip*, or any of his deſcendants, have not aſcended the throne of the *Two Sicilies*, or that of *Spain*; for ſhe doth expreſly reſerve, as well for herſelf as for her ſucceſſors, all the claims, rights, and pretenſions to thoſe duchies, which formerly did belong to her; as alſo the right of reverſion, provided the ſaid infant Don *Philip* ſhould die without iſſue male. The ceſſion of his *Sardinian* majeſty, which was wrote in the *Italian* language, imported, that he, by virtue of the preſent act, did renounce, transfer, and ſet over, as well for himſelf as for his ſucceſſors, to the ſaid ſerene infant Don *Philip*, and to his male deſcendants lawfully begotten, the town of *Placentia*, and the *Plaiſantin*, whereof his majeſty was before poſſeſſed, for him to enjoy it as duke of *Parma*; renouncing, on this account, all claims, rights, and pretenſions to him belonging; but expreſly reſerving, nevertheleſs, as well for himſelf as for his ſucceſſors, the right of reverſion in the caſes abovementioned."

IN conſequence of this article, Don *Philip* was put into immediate poſſeſſion of the duchies of *Parma*, *Placentia*, and *Guaſtalla*. His *Neapolitan* majeſty, however, thought that tipulation concerning the ſucceſſion of his brother to the doms of the *Two Sicilies* were injurious to his rights; and only refuſed to accede to the preliminaries, but to ſend a lpotentiary to aſſiſt at the treaty. Means, however, were d to compromiſe matters between the two brothers; ſo , when *Ferdinand* king of *Spain* died, in 1759, his *Nea-an* majeſty, upon the report made him by his phyſicians his ſecond ſon was unfit for government, paſſed an act of cation and ſettlement, dated *October* 6, in favour of his l ſon, Don *Ferdinand*, by which he received the ceſſion e *Italian* kingdoms, his eldeſt ſon being to ſucceed to the m of *Spain*. It does not appear, that either the duke of *ma*, or the imperial court, whoſe intereſts are immediately erned in this great event, have made any remonſtrances nſt ſo arbitrary a diſpoſition of a rich and powerful ter- y. It is pretty plain, that conſiderations of conveniency, intereſted politics, have prevailed with her imperial ma- and her huſband to be ſilent on this occaſion. On the r hand, by the famous family-compact amongſt all the ches of the houſe of *Bourbon*, in which the duke of *Par*- s a party, there is little room to doubt that there are cer- ſecret ſtipulatious in his favour, to indemnify him for the ifice he has made.

Difficulty on the ſame.

ND *of the* HISTORY *of* PARMA *and* PLACENTIA.

The HISTORY of GENEVA.

SECT. I.

Containing the Deſcription of Geneva *and its Territory; with a Sketch of its Hiſtory to the Year 1500.*

Deſcription of Geneva.

THE town or city of *Geneva* ſtands on an eminence, at the diſcharge of the *Rhone*, out of the lake of *Geneva*, or lake *Leman*; and below it the *Rhone* joins itſelf to the *Arve*. *Spon*, the learned hiſtorian of *Geneva*, is diſſatisfied with the derivation of the word *Geneva* from the juniper ſhrubs that grew upon the eminence whereon it is built; "as if, ſays he, the *Latin* or *French* tongues were ſpoken four ages before *Rome* was built." But he does not conſider, that both the *Latin* and *Greek* tongues, as well as the *French*, have their roots in the *Celtic*, of which the *Tuſcan* itſelf was no other than a dialect. It is divided by the *Rhone* into three unequal parts, which are joined by four bridges. The largeſt diviſion lies towards *Savoy*; another called *St. Gervais* adjoins to the *Pais de Gex* in *France*; and the third conſiſts of an iſland in the *Rhone*, of ſeven hundred feet in length, and two hundred broad. Its inhabitants in general are *Calviniſts*. It contains ſix churches, of which the fineſt is the cathedral of *St. Peter*. The profeſſors of philoſophy read their lectures in the chapel of the *Maccabees*, where the *Italians* and *Germans* are allowed to perform divine worſhip; and in the year 1707, the *Lutherans* obtained the like indulgence, but within a private houſe. The town-houſe of *Geneva* is a ſtately building; and its univerſity, which was founded in 1558, and has twelve profeſſors belonging to it, is, to this day, famous all over *Europe*.

The manners of the inhabitants,

MANY circumſtances contribute to render *Geneva*, ſmall as its territory is, a moſt delightful place. The air of tranquility, freedom, and politeneſs, that is viſible amongſt the better ſort of the inhabitants, is very inviting for ſtrangers, eſpecially thoſe of a ſtudious or contemplative caſt, to reſide amongſt them. Its neighbourhood, both by art and nature, is enchantingly pleaſant; its air wholeſome; its inhabitants, mechanics eſpecially, are induſtrious and ingenious. The city and ſmall territory about it, is ſerved with excellent proviſions, and at a cheap rate; and it is a general thoroughfare for traders and travellers to and from *France*, *Germany*, and

Italy. Thoſe and many other advantages, joined to the modeſty and regularity of the magiſtrates. and learned men here, have brought a great reſort of young foreigners of the higheſt diſtinction, to ſtudy under their profeſſors, and to complete themſelves in the *French* language. The city contains two hoſpitals, a houſe of correction, and an armoury, together with a kind of a large dock-yard for public barges, yachts, and other veſſels.

and government.

BUT that which perhaps contributes moſt to the importance and independency of *Geneva*, is its form of government, which is that of a free republic, the ſupreme power of which is veſted in the general council of citizens and burgeſſes. This council may be called the legiſlature of *Geneva.* It is ſubdivided, or rather modelled, into three other councils; *viz.* a council of twenty-five, or the leſſer council, a council of ſixty, and a council of two hundred. The twenty-five are part of the council of ſixty, as the latter are of that of two hundred, which are formed out of the general council. In the aſſemblies of this laſt the ſyndics, who in fact are the heads of the government, are choſen; as are other ſubordinate magiſtrates, and the wine tax ſettled. The ſyndics are only choſen from amongſt the council of twenty-five, who are charged with the executive part of the government, and who elect the members of the council of ſixty; but the great council elects the leſſer council. The council of ſixty meets only by ſummons from the council of twenty-five; but the proceedings of both are controulable by the great council. Depending upon thoſe councils are ſubordinate colleges, in which a lieutenant and his aſſiſtants preſide; and there is likewiſe a chamber of appeals, from which cauſes might be brought before the leſſer council. In ſhort, every branch of the *Genevan* government is a check upon the other; and the whole is admirably well calculated for preſerving the freedom and independency of their ſtate. Their eccleſiaſtical diſcipline is under the direction of a conſiſtory, who report matrimonial caſes to the leſſer council, and which in all caſes proceeds with great moderation and tenderneſs. Their military eſtabliſhment is properly regimented, of which the field officers are members of the leſſer council; but their garriſon conſiſts of twelve companies of ſixty men each, into which foreigners are inrolled. Upon the whole, though the republic of *Geneva* is far from being a powerful ſtate, yet its policy is ſo admirable, its members are ſo unanimous, and their œconomy ſo excellent, that the neighbouring kingdoms and ſtates treat them with the higheſt eſteem and regard; and the court of *France* always keeps a reſident there. The independency,

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however, of their government is owing to the importance of their ſituation, which would make the acquiſition of it ſo valuable to any particular power, that they all join in its defence, and the preſervation of its liberty.

Its antiquity.

Kingdom of the Bourguignons.

Meeting of the ſtates at Geneva *under* Charlemagne.

THE *Genevois*, like other ſtates, run up their antiquities to times long before the Chriſtian æra; and we have a particular detail of its hiſtory long before the time of *Julius Ceſar*; but as that is blended with the hiſtory of the foregoing part of this work, we ſhall omit it here. It is certain, that it early received the Chriſtian religion, and that the inhabitants were reckoned amongſt the *Allobroges*. It ſuffered in common with other *European* ſtates, by the incurſions of the barbarians, about the year 400; and in the year 440, we find one *Iſaac* biſhop of *Geneva*, whoſe juriſdiction was pretty extenſive. It was at this time that the *Vandals*, who had overrun *Gaul*, ſettled in the country of *Vaud*; and having built ſeveral boroughs, were called *Bourguignons*, and according to modern orthography *Burgundians*. Thoſe people at laſt were conſolidated into a monarchy[a]. The name of their firſt king, or as he is called by *Sidonius Apollinaris*, a cotemporary author, tetrarch, was *Gonderic*, who dying, divided his kingdom amongſt his four ſons, *Gondeband*, who had *Vienne*; *Chilperic*, *Lyons*; *Godeſigile*, *Geneva*; and *Gotmar*, *Beſançon*. The brothers, as uſual in ſuch partitions of territory, carried on bloody wars againſt one another; and *Godeſigile* was ſlain in a church, but was ſucceeded in the government of *Geneva* by *Sigiſmund*, who was either his ſon or nephew. The barbarity of the times prevents our knowing much either of the civil or military government of *Geneva* till the year 620; but to make up this loſs, the names and acts of its biſhops are related in eccleſiaſtical records, the laity being too rude and uninſtructed to keep any; and this ſilence as to temporal affairs, has probably given the firſt handle for the claim of the biſhops of *Geneva* to be its ſovereigns. The names of *Cariatho* and *Appellinus*, which laſt lived till the year 613, are however preſerved as ſovereigns of *Geneva*. In the year 620, *Clothair* the king of the *Franks*, drove out the *Bourguignons*, and gave the *Genevois* the form of a civil government; and his grandſon *Theodorick* II. erected ſeveral churches and religious houſes in that city. Between the years 650 and 773, we have only the uncertain names of the *Genevois* biſhops and princes, which ſeem to be confounded together. Towards the end of the eighth century, *Charlemagne* called an aſſembly of his ſtates at *Geneva*, to conſult about a

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[a] SPON's Hiſtory of the City and State of Geneva, p. 13.

war

vith *Didier*, king of the *Lombards*. We are told, that
great monarch confirmed both the civil and religious
eges of *Geneva*, and erected his own ſtatue in marble
the gate of the church, with an imperial double-headed
under it. The eagle was to be ſeen in *Spon*'s time.
the death of *Charlemagne*, we have nothing relating to
a but a dry catalogue of its biſhops and counts, who
d on their conteſts about the ſovereignty. As an apo-
or the lameneſs of their hiſtory, we are told of four
which at different times deſtroyed *Geneva* and its ar-
rs ſo that we are obliged to deſcend to the year 1050,
ich time we find three competitors for the ſovereignty
eva; the biſhop, the earl of *Genevois*, and the earl of
; and the city was more than once brought to the brink
ruction during their conteſts. The reader is to obſerve,
he earldom of *Genevois* is diſtinct from the preſent juriſ-
n of *Geneva*, though thoſe earls often called themſelves
s of *Geneva*[b]. In the year 1120, *Wide*, ſon [illegible] earl
nevois, was biſhop of *Geneva*; and, to ſtrengthen his ſu-
claim to the ſovereignty, or rather the ſuperiority over
ity, he gave his brother an inveſtiture of ſeveral villages
caſtles belonging to the dioceſe of *Geneva*, [illegible]
Lautecombe, with all his temporal juriſdiction in *Geneva*.
Humbert, his ſucceſſor in the biſhopric, diſputed this
; and the archbiſhop of *Vienne*, metropolitan of the pro-
, and apoſtolical legate, ended the difference by a treaty
24, by which it was agreed, firſt, that the biſhop ſhould
the adminiſtration of juſtice and lordſhip in the city, the
g of money and confiſcations of eſtates, as likewiſe the
of thoſe who had dwelt a year and a day at *Geneva*:
he earl ſhould not build any fort without the biſhop's
nt: that he ſhould have a vidame, or lieutenancy, for
r affairs: that he ſhould moreover do homage to the
, not reſpecting any one but the emperor before him:
veral other articles, touching tolls, forfeitures, and fines.
ius, a man of quality, but, as we perceive by a letter
St. Bernard to him, not very well qualified for eccleſiaſ-
functions, ſucceeded *Humbert* as biſhop of *Geneva*; and
the patronage of the emperor *Frederick Barbaroſſa*,
t the better of the earl of *Genevois*, who had made en-
ments upon his juriſdiction; and the earl, in the papers
is deſigned under the title of a faithful ſteward to
ſhop. The emperor, however, afterwards gave to the
of *Zeringuen* the ſovereignty of *Geneva*, which he [illegible]-

Riſe of the biſhops of Geneva.

and its earls.

A. D. 1153.

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[b] SPON's Hiſt. p. 16.

ſigned in favour of *Amé* the earl of *Genevois*. *Ardutius*, the biſhop, by his zeal and aſſiduity, prevailed with the emperor to annul his grant, as having been obtained by ſurprize, and to confirm the biſhop's right of ſovereignty. Thoſe grants in favour of the biſhop founded their temporal claims, which the citizens of *Geneva* afterwards oppoſed. They denied that the emperor could, without the conſent of the empire, give away the ſovereignty of an imperial city, as theirs was; and they quoted the oath of their biſhops, who, at the time of their admiſſion, ſwore to maintain the privileges and liberties of the city. They admitted, however, that the confidence their anceſtors had in their biſhops, had rendered them too remiſs; but they brought a ſtream of authorities to prove that their biſhop had no temporal juriſdiction over them, and that their power aroſe entirely from their eccleſiaſtical capacity. Notwithſtanding all their arguments, the biſhops ſeem at times to have acted as ſovereigns of the ſtate; though it does not appear that the people, or lay-magiſtrates, ever made any formal renunciation of their liberties to them.

Succeſſion of its biſhop.

ARDUTIUS, who held his ſee fifty years, was ſucceeded by *Nantelinus*, who was ſo preſſed by *William* the earl of *Genevois*, that he was obliged to have recourſe to the friendſhip of *Thomas*, the firſt count of *Maurienne* and *Savoy*, to whom the biſhop granted ſeveral lands and caſtles, which the earl of *Genevois* pretended were his property. This produced a war between the two counts, in which the earl of *Genevois* was worſted, and obliged, after the death of *Nantelinus*, to ſubmit to the arbitration of the archbiſhop of *Vienne*, and *Grandſon*, or *Grandiſon*, biſhop of *Geneva*, who built fort *de Peney*, which ſtill belongs to *Geneva*, and is governed by a caſtellan, who is a member of the great-council. After his death ſeveral biſhops ſucceeded, who exerciſed temporal juriſdiction over *Geneva*, and had many conteſts with their neighbours, in which they were always befriended by the counts of *Savoy*; one of whom, *Amé* IV. in the year 1285, came to *Geneva*, and with menaces demanded to be reimburſed for the charges of the war he had carried on with the earl of *Genevois*, on account of the city. *William* of *Conſtance* was then biſhop, and propoſed to compromiſe matters with the earl of *Genevois*; but the *Savoyard* party amongſt the inhabitants prevailed, and the earl of *Savoy* obtained the poſſeſſions of the earl of *Genevois* within the city, which was likewiſe to ſerve him as a place of arms, he promiſing, at the ſame time, to defend it at his own coſt againſt all enemies, and that there ſhould be a free intercourſe between his ſtates and *Geneva*. It was likewiſe agreed, that the earl ſhould become vidame

A treaty between them.

of *Geneva*, and that he ſhould have a bailiff under him, as being poſſeſſed of the earl of *Genevois's* property there. This treaty, to which the biſhop was obliged to conſent, continued in force ſome years.

Attempt of the dauphin defeated.

In the year 1291, *Humbert* dauphine of *Vienne*, and a friend to the earl of *Genevois*, attempted to ſurpriſe *Geneva*, while the earl of *Savoy* was fortifying it. His deſign was diſcovered; but, after burning part of the ſuburbs, he encamped before the city, with an intention to beſiege it regularly. The biſhop endeavoured, by intreaties, to divert him from his deſign; but the courage of the inhabitants proved more effectual than his ſubmiſſions, for they forced the dauphin to raiſe the ſiege. In his retreat he took and plundered two caſtles belonging to the biſhop, who thereupon excommunicated him. War continued between the courts of *Savoy* and *Genevois*, after the death of *William* of *Conſtance*, whoſe ſucceſſor was *Martin*, as his was *Amé*. The prelate equally dreaded both counts, and was therefore ſuſpected by both; and under him the earl of *Genevois*, who had built a caſtle called *Gaillard*, within a league of *Geneva*, gained ground; for he made an alliance with the biſhop and commonalty of that city, and paid homage to the church for ſeveral lands. This biſhop is noted for a remarkable decree he iſſued, that the inhabitants of *Geneva* ſhould begin the computation of their year from *Chriſtmas*, and not as they had always done before from *Eaſter*.

Diſputes about Geneva,

GENEVA, however, remained ſtill a bone of contention between the two counts; and in the year 1307, the dauphin of *Vienne* got poſſeſſion of the caſtle of *Entremont*, belonging to the earl of *Savoy*. That earl was ſhut up at *Geneva*, where he ſtill maintained his footing; but he marched out of that city to retake his caſtle. The earl of *Genevois* and his friends laid hold of that opportunity to appear at the head of an army before the city, which ſent out deputies to treat with him. His propoſals ſeemed reaſonable to the deputies; but when they made their report, the city was divided into two factions, which came to blows with each other. That of *Savoy* prevailed; for though the earl of *Genevois* and his followers were introduced into the city, they were driven out of it by the *Savoyard* party, with the loſs of one hundred and thirty-two men; and the *Savoyards* put to death, in a judicial way, ſeveral of their chief antagoniſts, and confiſcated the goods of others. Next year a difference happened between the biſhop and the earl of *Savoy*, on account of the latter having coined money at *Nion*, which lay within the dioceſe of *Geneva*; but his right to that coinage was confirmed

by

which is excommunicated.

by arbitrators, upon condition of the ſtamp being different from that of *Geneva*; that he did homage for the ſame; and that the eighth part of the profit ſhould go to the biſhop. The year 1309 was remarkable for the diſputes that happened between the biſhop and the people of *Geneva*, who complained that he had illegally extended his power. The biſhop cited them before his metropolitan, the archbiſhop of *Vienne*; but the people declining his juriſdiction, he excommunicated them, and obliged them to ſubmit to his terms. The people of *Geneva*, however, conſidered this ſubmiſſion, not as a proof of his legal right, but of his uſurped power. *Peter* of *Forigny* ſucceeded *Amé* as biſhop of *Geneva*; and in the year 1313, *William* earl of *Genevois* did homage to him for his poſſeſſions. The biſhop ſoon after accepted the like homage from *Edward* earl of *Savoy*; and this produced new wars amongſt all the three, which continued many years. In 1321, a fire reduced great part of *Geneva* to aſhes; and in the year 1330, the battle of *Monthoux*, or *Monthon*, was fought between the counts of *Savoy* and *Genevois*, in which two thouſand men were killed; but the advantage lay on the ſide of the *Savoyards*. Another great fire broke out, which conſumed two-thirds of the city of *Geneva* in 1334.

The Genevois *make peace.*

In 1342, *Peter* of *Forigny*, after being biſhop of *Geneva* for thirty-one years, was ſucceeded by *Alamand*; but the differences between the counts of *Savoy* and *Genevois* were now compromiſed. *Amé* VI. was then earl of *Savoy*; and in his minority he did homage to *Alamand*, for his *Genevois* poſſeſſions; but growing up, he was by *Charles* IV. emperor of *Germany*, made vicar of the empire in that country; and in that capacity, joined with that of vidame, he claimed the temporalities of *Geneva*. *William* of *Marcoſſay* was then biſhop; and the emperor coming in 1366 to *Geneva*, he and the ſyndics prevailed upon him to revoke the vicarſhip he had granted to the count. The latter, however, refuſed to give up poſſeſſion, and the emperor was obliged to publiſh four ſeveral decrees againſt him, with penalties in caſe of his non-compliance, The biſhop appealed to pope *Gregory* XI. who then reſided at *Avignon*, to whoſe arbitration the earl likewiſe ſubmitted. His award was, that the earl ſhould reſign his letters of the vicarſhip, and relinquiſh all he held belonging to the church; but that he ſhould be confirmed in the vidamate, and in poſſeſſion of the caſtle of the iſle. The earl ſubmitted to this deciſion, which ſeems to have reſtored peace to *Geneva*; and in the year 1387, *Ademor* was biſhop of *Geneva*. He publiſhed an act, confirming the liberties and privileges of the city: the moſt material articles of it are,

The liberties confirmed.

'hat all proceſſes brought before the vidame, or ſteward, l not be tranſacted in writing, but by word of mouth; in mother tongue: that criminal caſes ſhould be tried by ſyndics choſen by the citizens: that no one ſhould be to the rack by them: that it ſhould be lawful to none citizens to ſell wine: that the care of watching the town ıld be committed to none but citizens; and that neither biſhop, or any other deputed by him, ſhould exerciſe any ority after ſun-ſetting: that the citizens, burgeſſes, and nen of the city, might chuſe every year ſyndics, or recor- , for the town, to whom the commonalty ſhould give full er and authority."

OTWITHSTANDING thoſe excellent regulations, the earls *avoy* did all they could to eſtabliſh themſelves maſters of *eva*; but the ſpirit of the people rendering that impracti- e, they invented various pretexts for keeping ſome footing ıe city; but the magiſtrates always took care that it ſhould pon ſufferance; and the requeſts and conceſſions on both s are ſtill carefully preſerved, as evidences of *Geneva*'s in- endency on the houſe of *Savoy*. In the year 1398, *Wil-* of *Lornay* was biſhop of *Geneva*, and had the courage to the earl of *Genevois* to appear before him, to anſwer a rge of felony; and the earl not appearing, he was out- ed, and his eſtate declared to be forfeited to the church. 'o years after, *viz. June* 22, 1400, the emperor *Wenceſ-* gave *Geneva* a confirmation of her rights, in ſo ample a ner, that no ſucceeding emperor or king of the *Romans* ld violate them. The next year died the earl of *Genevois*; *Odo* his uncle, and ſucceſſor, made a compromiſe with the earl of *Savoy*, to whom he reſigned his eſtates, part which was claimed by *Humbert*'s daughter; but the earl *avoy* did homage to the biſhop for the whole. In the r 1409, *John de Bertrandis* having ſucceeded *William* of *nay*, was called upon by the earl of *Savoy*'s vicar-general, lo homage to that earl for *Geneva*; but the emperor *Sigiſ-* *d* interpoſed, and the claim was dropt. This *Bertrandis* a cardinal, and aſſiſted at the council of *Conſtance*, and ſuſpected of being a favourer of *John Huſs*, who was nt there. He afterwards made a viſit to *Charles* VII. of *nce*, and laid before him the injuſtice of his ſubjects in- neddling in the quarrel between the city of *Geneva* and earls of *Savoy*; and obtained an order, prohibiting ſuch ctices for the future. In the year 1415, the emperor *Si-* *nund* paid a viſit to *Geneva*, where he was magnificently ertained for three days. Two years afterwards he erected *voy* into a dukedom, in favour of *Amé*, the eighth earl, who

The earl of Genevois *outlawed.*

A cardinal and biſhop of Geneva.

2 paid

Pretenſions of the earl of Savoy.

paid a viſit to *Geneva*, in company with pope *Martin* V. and fifteen cardinals. This was in the year 1420. The purpoſe of this viſit was, to petition the pope for the ſovereignty of *Geneva*, of which *John* of *Pierrencize* was then biſhop; and to him the pope referred the duke's ſuit, which was founded upon the inability of the biſhop to puniſh crimes in the city and territory, unleſs aſſiſted by the power of *Savoy*. The biſhop ſummoned the people to a general aſſembly, and laid before them the duke's requeſt, which had been approved of by the pope. It was unanimouſly rejected by the inhabitants, who, in their turns, required the biſhop to be true to his charge, in which caſe he might depend upon their aſſiſtance for maintaining his juſt rights, and thoſe of the city.

The conſtitution of Geneva *ſettled.*

THIS noble ſpirit encouraged the biſhop, and produced a moſt excellent act in favour of liberty; for he entered into a formal concord or agreement with the people and the ſyndics, never to alter the conſtitution without their conſent. This act was ingroſſed in writing in *Latin*; and the obſervance of it ſworn to by the biſhop, the ſyndics, and the council, under the title of "A tranſaction between the reverend father *John*, patriarch and miniſter of the biſhopric of *Geneva*, on the one part, and the citizens, burgeſſes, and commonalty of *Geneva*, on the other, againſt the endeavours and ſuit of duke *Ami* to pope *Martin*." It was then ſubſcribed by all the magiſtrates, commonalty, and clergy of *Geneva*, to the number of ſeven hundred and twenty-ſeven; and the year after was confirmed by the emperor *Sigiſmund*, who declared *Geneva* to be an imperial city, under the title of *Nobile Imperii Membrum*, and took it into his immediate protection againſt all princes, the duke of *Savoy* in particular. *John* of *Pierrencize* was ſucceeded by *John* of *Courtecuiſſe*, who was biſhop for no more than one year. He was ſucceeded by *John* of *Brogny*, who in his younger days kept ſwine. He was then ſo poor, that not being able to buy a pair of ſhoes at *Geneva*, the ſhoemaker gave him credit for them, upon condition he ſhould pay him when he came to be a cardinal. A cardinal taking a liking to the boy, brought him up to literature; and becoming cardinal of *Oſtia*, and biſhop of *Geneva*, he rewarded the generous ſhoemaker by making him ſteward of his houſhold. He erected the chapel adjoining to the church of the *Maccabees*, where the philoſophy lectures are held; and was ſo little aſhamed of the meanneſs of his birth, that he bore a hog for his arms. He was ſucceeded in 1426, by *Francis* of *Mies*; and while he was in the chair, in 1430, another great fire happened in *Geneva*, which burnt down *St. Peter*'s church, and a great part of the town.

Hiſtory of John *of* Brogny,

IN

and pope Felix.

IN 1432, *Ame* I. duke of *Savoy*, turned hermit at *Ripaille*, near *Tonon*, upon the lake *Leman*, reſigning the title, but not the revenues, of duke of *Savoy* to his eldeſt ſon *Lewis*, and that of earl of *Genevois* to *Philip* his younger ſon. According to our hiſtorian[a], he obliged the duke his ſon to live at *Tonon*, in ſo frugal a manner, that he amaſſed money enough to purchaſe himſelf the popedom at the council of *Baſil*. His hiſtory as pope, under the title of *Felix* V. is foreign to this part of our work. His dignity, however, gave him authority enough to ſtrip the biſhop of *Geneva* of the greateſt part of his revenues; and, upon that prelate's death, he made himſelf adminiſtrator of the biſhoprics of *Geneva* and *Lauſanne*. His reign, as pope, ſeems to have been very ridiculous; though, in other reſpects, he appears not to have been a weak prince. He held the biſhopric of *Geneva* from the year 1444 to 1451, and governed it by an adminiſtrator or vicar; but, in the mean while, the emperor *Frederick* III. paid a viſit to *Geneva*, and perſuaded *Felix* to reſign the popedom. It is remarkable, that, while he was in poſſeſſion of that biſhopric, he and his ſons were ſo far from invading the ſovereignty of *Geneva*, that they were at great pains to confirm all its rights and privileges; and his holineſs declared, under his hand, that the *Genevois*, though not obliged ſo to do, lent him ſix hundred ſoldiers for the aſſiſtance of the city of *Lauſanne*; and acknowledging, that the ſyndics, burgeſſes, and their ſucceſſors, were no way obliged to ſuch things, unleſs it came from their own free will, leaving them in their ancient liberty. In the year 1450, the *Genevois* aſſiſted *Felix* againſt the *Friburghers*, with another body of troops under *Burdignin*, their chief ſyndic. Next year, *Felix* died; and is ſaid to have been buried with a Bible under his head, at the end of which was a *Latin* inſcription, importing, “That the city of *Geneva* is ſituated amongſt mountains; that it was of ſmall extent, ſandy, and its inhabitants deſirous of novelties.”

who is biſhop of Geneva.

Succeeded by his grandſon.

FELIX left *Cyprian*, archbiſhop of *Tarantaiſe*, his vicar in *Geneva*; and the people were ſo well pleaſed with the conduct of the houſe of *Savoy*, that *Peter*, his grandſon, though but eight years of age, was appointed biſhop of *Geneva*, which he held by his adminiſtrator for ſeven years and eight months. He was ſucceeded by his younger brother *John-Lewis*, ſon of duke *Lewis*, who, having a warlike turn, vigorouſly maintained his own authority and the privileges of the people, and forced his brother *Janus*, earl of *Genevois*, to reſign the title of earl of *Geneva*, which he had aſſumed; but this intimacy with the houſe of *Savoy* ſoon coſt the *Genevois* dear. Duke

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[a] SPON, p. 34.

Lewis had a ſon, *Philip*, whom he kept ſo bare in his pocket that the young man not only accuſed his mother, who was a *Cyprian* by birth, of laviſhing her huſband's riches upon her lovers, but was guilty of ſo many riots and murders about his father's court, which was held at *Tonon*, that the latter applied to his ſon the biſhop, and the ſyndic of *Geneva*, for an aſylum in that city, where he was accordingly received, and was lodged in the convent of the Grey Friars of *Rive*.

Remarkable adventure at Geneva,

THERE appears to have been ſome truth in part of *Philip's* charge againſt his mother; for he interrupted a cargo of cheeſes that were conveying to *Fribourg*, in which a large ſum of gold was concealed. On this diſcovery, he found means to get admittance into *Geneva*, where he informed his father of his mother's practices, and reſtored to him all the money, excepting what he had beſtowed upon his accomplices. After this, *Philip* attempted to apprehend and puniſh all the *Cyprians* who were about his father's court; but they having taken refuge amongſt the inhabitants of the city, he was obliged to leave *Geneva*. The uxorious duke, far from being pleaſed with this diſcovery and reſtitution, accuſed the citizens of conſpiring with his ſon againſt him; and one of the ſyndics was hanged on that account. This did not appeaſe the duke: he prevailed with his ſon to put him into poſſeſſion of the archives of *Geneva*, which he carried to *France*, and preſented to *Lewis* XI. who ſent them to *Lyons*, where *Spon*, who was a phyſician in that city, conſulted them, when he compoſed his hiſtory. The duke, at the ſame time, prohibited all merchants, travelling to or from his country, to go by the way of *Geneva*; and prevailed with the king of *France* to impriſon *Philip*, whom he offered to ſet at liberty, if the *Genevois* would acknowledge the duke for their ſovereign; but they rejected the terms. In the year 1465, duke *Ame* IX. of *Savoy*, proſecuted his father's deſigns againſt *Geneva*; but was, at laſt, obliged to reſtore the intercourſe between his ſubjects and the *Genevois*; an act which the late duke had made uſe of as an argument of their dependency upon the houſe of *Savoy*. *Ame* IX. died in 1472, and left his wife *Yoland*, ſiſter to *Lewis* XI. of *France*, guardian to his children. *John-Lewis* of *Savoy* was ſtill biſhop of *Geneva*, which he governed by vicars; and the dutcheſs *Yoland* was in that city when *Charles* duke of *Burgundy*, being defeated by the *Swiſſes* at the battle of *Morat*, took refuge at *Gex*, in the neighbourhood of *Geneva*. The dutcheſs went with her children to pay him a viſit; but the duke detained her priſoner by force; and would have ſeized the perſon of the young duke her ſon, had he not been hid in a corn-field by one of her domeſtics. After this, the duke's *Lombards*, as they are called, ravaged

which loſes its records.

Troubles of Geneva,

the neighbourhood of *Geneva*; the biſhop of which, by way of retaliation, hanged up all the duke's ſubjects that were found in *Geneva*, to the number of two hundred. This did not prevent the victorious *Swiſſes* from ravaging the ſtate of *Geneva* in their turn; but they were, with ſome difficulty, prevailed upon to deſiſt, and to agree to a conference at *Fribourg*, where the *Genevois* and *Savoyards* conſented to raiſe a ſum of money, of which two thouſand eight hundred crowns of gold were to be furniſhed by the *Genevois* for paying the *Swiſs* troops. The interruption of the intercourſe with *Savoy* had impoveriſhed the *Genevois* ſo much, that they were unable to raiſe the ſum ſo ſoon as the *Swiſſes* demanded; ſo that about two thouſand of them mutinied, and, breaking from their commanders, they would have plundered the city, had not the people of *Ligne* interpoſed, and obtained time for the *Genevois* to raiſe the money; which they did, with the utmoſt difficulty, by melting down their church-plate, and that of private citizens, beſides laying heavy taxes on the people. This tranſaction happened in 1476. Next year the biſhop, wiſely conſidering the *Swiſſers* to be the natural allies of *Geneva*, propoſed a perpetual league between them and the *Genevois*; but the latter were ſo jealous of their biſhop's intentions, that they rejected his propoſal; and he was obliged to limit the duration of the league to the term of his own life.

which leagues with the Swiſſers.

THIS year was diſtinguiſhed by ſome very remarkable adventures at *Geneva*. The biſhop had two favourites, the one *Pommieres*, the other *Chiſſy*; the former of whom, being diſguſted, retired to *France*; and, by repreſenting the duke of *Savoy* and the biſhop of *Geneva* as enemies to that crown, he obtained the biſhopric of *Vivieres*. He propoſed to the *French* king, at the ſame time, to ſurpriſe *Chiſſy* at the biſhop of *Geneva*'s court, and to carry him into *France*, till he ſhould be forced to reveal all the biſhop's ſecrets. He undertook to execute this infamous exploit himſelf; and accordingly repaired, with three or four of his brethren, to *Geneva*, on pretext of ſeeing their friends, and ſtaid there fifteen days; during which time their other accomplices, by degrees, dropt into the city, till *Pommieres* thought them numerous enough to execute his purpoſe. Being well acquainted with the biſhop's court and manner of living, and that his guards ſerved only for ſhew, early in the morning the conſpirators ruſhed into the biſhop's bedchamber, where they found *Chiſſy*, whom they carried out in his ſhirt, with his hands bound behind him, to be put on horſeback, the biſhop not daring to oppoſe them. The youngeſt brother of *Pommieres*, during this

A. D. 1477.

Hiſtory of the biſhop's favourites.

this tranſaction, was amuſing himſelf in entertaining ſome ladies of the court; and, before he could make his retreat, was taken priſoner, and by the biſhop put into the cuſtody of the relations of *Chiſſy*, who thereby obtained his liberty, by being exchanged for the other. This did not ſatisfy the biſhop, who, in the year 1479, underſtanding that the biſhop of *Vivieres* was at *Piedmont* upon a party of pleaſure, he ſurpriſed him at the head of about forty horſe, and killed him with his own hand as he was ſitting at table, ſome of his companions undergoing the ſame fate.

Famine in Geneva.

IN the year 1480, the city of *Geneva* was viſited by a famine, and ſo great a mortality, that ſeven thouſand of its inhabitants died; as did their biſhop, *John-Lewis*, the year following, of a peſtilential fever at *Turin*. This prince and prelate has the character of being brave and generous; but very amorous. Though he was, in general, vindictive, yet he had ſentiments of juſtice, as appeared by his forgiving a miller, who beat him for being too intimate with his wife, and making him a preſent of the cloaths he wore when he underwent the diſcipline.

Diſputes about the ſucceſſion to the biſhopric.

UPON the death of the biſhop *John-Lewis*, the pope, the chapter, and the people, were divided in giving him a ſucceſſor. The pope appointed his nephew, *Lauro Vere*, cardinal of *St. Clement*'s; the people were for *Francis*, archbiſhop of *Auch*; and the chapter choſe *Urbain* of *Chivron*, who reſigned his right to *Francis* of *Savoy*, as the cardinal of *St. Clement*'s did his to *Compois*, biſhop of *Turin*. *Francis* of *Savoy*, however, by the aſſiſtance of his family, drove *Compois* out of *Geneva*, and taking poſſeſſion of the ſee, he is noted for ſpending four hundred crowns at an entertainment which he gave to his brother *Philip*, lord of *Breſſe*, and his nephew *Charles*, duke of *Savoy*. *Compois* ſought relief at *Rome*; and, after ſome ſtruggle, matters were ſo compromiſed, that *Francis* of *Savoy* remained biſhop of *Geneva*; and, being like his predeceſſor, a laic, he had vicars who officiated under him, and took upon himſelf the title of adminiſtrator and protector of that church. Being ſettled in his new dignity, he prevailed with his nephew the duke of *Savoy*, and the earl of *Genevois*, to retract ſome acts which they had paſſed in prejudice of the church of *Geneva*; and the duke obtained leave to reſide in that city. Upon the death of *Francis*, in 1490, *Charles* of *Seyſſel* was choſen biſhop of *Geneva*; but *Anthony Champion*, chancellor of *Savoy*, was appointed by the pope. Both parties obſtinately ſtanding to their claims, *Champion* having got the metropolitan of *Vienne* on his ſide, and being aſſiſted by the lord of *Breſſe*, took arms and drove his antagoniſt out of the city. In the following year, one *John Gay* inſtigated the peaſants about *Foucigny*, to an inſurrection againſt their nobles, who oppreſſed them. They were encouraged by the example of the cantons of *Swiſſerland*, to make this attempt for aſſerting their liberty; but being no more in number than one hundred and twenty, they were firſt prevailed upon by the lord of *Breſſe*, with fair words, to return home, after committing many outrages; and being diſperſed, they were taken and executed as rebels.

Philip of Savoy *biſhop.*

UPON the death of *Champion*, *Philip* of *Savoy*, who was but ſeven years of age, was choſen biſhop of *Geneva*; and his election was confirmed by pope *Alexander* VI. who aſſigned the biſhops of *Lauſanne* and *Nice* for his guardians. Like ſome of his predeceſſors, he had a warlike turn; and, after his father's death, he threw off the eccleſiaſtical habit. In 1498, *Philibert* duke of *Savoy* came to *Geneva*, and was ſo delighted with its ſituation, that he obtained leave of the biſhop and the magiſtrates, not only to reſide there, but to keep courts of juſtice for his own ſubjects only. He was attended by *Rene*, his natural brother, a young man of a haughty tyrannical diſpoſition; and to him the duke, who was immerſed in pleaſure, committed the management of his affairs. *Rene* having a particular ſpite againſt the *Genevois*, ſought to make his brother abſolute in that city; and under the colour of the court of juſtice that had been erected, he arreſted one *Levrier*, a *Genevois*, which was ſo much reſented by the biſhop and ſyndics, that they cut off the right hand and head of a *Savoyard*, who had been guilty of coining money within their ſtate.

S E C T. II.

Geneva *recovers its Liberty from the Duke of* Savoy; *Agreement between the Duke of* Savoy *and the City*; *Impriſonment of the* French *Ambaſſador*; *Hiſtory of* Berthelier *of* Geneva; *Original of the Word* Hugonots; *Alliance between* Geneva *and* Fribourg; *Struggles between the* Genevois *and the Dukes of* Savoy; *the Dawnings of the Reformation in* Geneva; *Agreement between the Proteſtants and* Romaniſts *in that City*, *where* Farel *preaches*, *and where the Maſs is aboliſhed in* 1535.

Geneva *aſſerts its liberty.*

THE *Genevois* maintained their liberties againſt the repeated attacks made upon them by the dukes of *Savoy*, under moſt amazing diſadvantages. As thoſe princes were in a manner poſſeſſed of the keys of their city, the little trade the *Genevois* carried on lay at their mercy; and money, almoſt unknown to the inferior ranks of the people, was very ſcarce with their ſuperiors. Notwithſtanding all thoſe diſcouragements, their love of independency made them happy; and they had the ſpirit to oppoſe *Rene* in all his tyrannical practices. The reſidence of the duke of *Savoy* in their city, though it brought them ſome money, corrupted the manners of their youth, and gave *Rene* hopes of ſucceeding in his ſchemes of tyranny. He accuſed one *Eyria*, a *Genevois* gentleman, of having entered into a conſpiracy with a phyſician of *Lyons* to poiſon the duke; and having trepanned the phyſician, he was brought bound hand and foot to *Geneva*, where he was thrown into the priſon of the iſland, and beheaded, after being put to the rack by *Rene*'s orders. This inhuman proceeding exaſperated the magiſtrates and inhabitants of *Geneva*, who had in vain remonſtrated againſt it, ſo greatly, that *Rene* durſt not venture to put to death *Eyria*, who eſcaping out of priſon, fled to *Bern* in *Swiſſerland*, and prevailed with thoſe virtuous republicans to lay the oppreſſions and miſconduct of *Rene* before the duke his brother. At the ſame time, a bare-footed friar, in preaching before the duke, compared him to a great purſe, which was filled with a great many ſmaller purſes, all ſtuffed with money, alluding to *Rene* and his aſſociates, but, properly ſpeaking, had none belonging to itſelf. This ſermon, and the remonſtrances from *Bern*, opened the eyes of the duke, who gave *Rene* three days for leaving his dominions, upon pain of death. *Philibert*, at the ſame time, perceiving he had no right to *Geneva*, retired to *Chambery*; and thus *Geneva* once more recovered its independency.

And recovers it.

EYRIA was then called home; but ſoon after the plague broke out in the city, and diſſentions prevailed amongſt the citizens. By the conſtitution of *Geneva*, and indeed the ſame prevails in other republics, no man could be judicially put to death there, without confeſſing the crime for which he ſuffered. One *Cotton* being capitally convicted, died on the rack rather than confeſs; and this accident was repreſented in ſuch colours of inhumanity to the duke of *Savoy*, that he renewed his claim of juriſdiction over the city. The *Genevois* were forced to ſuffer the matter to be referred to arbitration; and the arbiters, though moſt of them were the duke's ſubjects, giving ſentence againſt him, he ſwore by God and *St. Peter*, that he would deſiſt from his claim, and leave the death of *Cotton* to the cognizance of his nephew the biſhop, when he ſhould come of age. This happened in

Duke of Savoy *renews his claims upon it.*

the year 1503, while *Geneva* was afflicted with an intolerable famine.

A remarkable robber.

Next year was remarkable for the reign of one *Mortel*, a thief of peculiar art and addreſs in *Geneva*. Neither locks nor bolts could withſtand him; but he was ſo moderate in his depredations, that he generally left behind him more than he carried off; and he was ſo punctual in paying his debts and tavern bills, that he was every where well received, which made the common people entertain a notion, that he was aſſiſted by faſcination, or witchcraft. He was, however, ſometimes apprehended; but ſo extraordinary was the ſtrength of his conſtitution, that he endured the torture, and even made light of it, ſo that he was always acquitted. He was as ſingular in his death as in his life. He fell ſick of the plague, and his mother who attended him, ſeeing him deprived of ſpeech, and afraid that he might recover, through the ſtrength of his conſtitution, ſhut him up in a coffin, and had him buried alive. Duke *Philibert* of *Savoy*, a prince of a mild and equitable diſpoſition, died in 1504, and was ſucceeded by his brother *Charles*. This prince, more ambitious than *Philibert*, being at variance with the inhabitants of *Valey*, obtained of the *Genevois* an aid of two hundred men, which were ſent him under captain *Burdignin*. He then demanded from them ſix pieces of ordnance, which, at the inſtigation of *Peter Faccon*, *Levrery*, *de Fonte*, *Hurich*, and other leading men, were refuſed him. The duke vowing revenge againſt thoſe citizens, they purchaſed, by the payment of a crown a year, the protection of the canton of *Fribourg*, with liberty to reſide ſtill at *Geneva*. The duke of *Savoy* refuſed either to enter the city, or to ſwear to maintain its privileges, till *Levrery* was delivered into his hands; upon which the latter was impriſoned by the biſhop's chancellor. The canton interpoſed; and the other cantons ſhewing diſpoſitions to protect the liberty of *Geneva*, *Levrery* was not only ſet at liberty, but ſent to the biſhop, who was then at *Piedmont*, to complain of the encroachments of the duke's officers upon *Geneva*; and *Anthony Pecolat*, another citizen, was ſent to complain to the duke himſelf, who being apprehenſive of a confederacy of the *Swiſs* cantons againſt him, conſented to come to *Geneva*, where he and his mother received ſmall preſents of plate from their ſtate, and not only ſwore to maintain its privileges, but acknowledged that the court of juſtice, which he held in the town, was merely by the indulgence of the ſyndics and council.

Beginning of the alliance between Geneva *and* Fribourg.

In the year 1510, *Philip* of *Savoy*, after being biſhop of *Geneva* for fifteen years, reſigned his biſhopric to *Charles* of

Succeſſion and diſputes of the biſhops.

Seyſſel, brother to that biſhop who had been driven out by *Champion*; and *Charles* himſelf was made earl of *Genevois*, and afterwards duke of *Nemours* in *France*. *Seyſſel*, ſoon after his election, obtained from the emperor *Maximilian*, king of the *Romans*, a confirmation of the city's privileges. Next year the walls round *St. Gervais*, one of the diviſions of *Geneva*, were finiſhed; the expence being defrayed by an exciſe on wine, and a loan of money. The duke of *Savoy* offered to aſſiſt them with workmen, and they accepted of his offer; but not till he had given it under his hand, that he aſſiſted them only as a neighbour, and not on account of any right he pretended over their city. Notwithſtanding this declaration, he laid a deep ſcheme for ſubverting the liberties of *Geneva*, by effecting a peace between the king of *France* and the *Swiſſes*, whom he perſuaded to interpoſe in his behalf with the *Genevois*. It had been uſual for the latter, before their breaches with the houſe of *Savoy*, to hold annual fairs; and the diſuſe of them was of great prejudice to both parties. The duke propoſed to reſtore them, and thereby to renew the footing of his family in *Geneva*, as well as to increaſe his revenue, by the toll upon goods brought through his country. The terms, however, that were annexed by the duke to this propoſal were,

Propoſals of the duke of Savoy

"First, that the city and biſhop ſhould appoint an officer to keep account of the profit of each fair, one third part of which ſhould be given to the duke, biſhop, and city. Secondly, that the city ſhould, once a year, make a preſent to the duke. Thirdly, that the warding the gates ſhould belong to the duke, during the time of the fairs. Fourthly, that the duke ſhould have, henceforward, fines paid for every new building, both in city and ſuburbs."

rejected.

A. D. 1512.

As thoſe propoſals tended towards a direct ſuperiority of the duke over the city, the *Genevois* unanimouſly rejected them. Notwithſtanding this the duke, who was a thorough politician, tried other means to accompliſh his ends. Several meetings were propoſed, and ſome were held, but all to no purpoſe; ſo jealous were the citizens of his views. Corn this year was ſo ſcarce at *Geneva*, that one *Francis Mallet*, the dean of the chapel of the *Maccabees*, lent his plate to the magiſtrates of the city, who cauſed it to be coined for the ſupply of the poor; and he was for this generous humanity made a citizen *gratis*.

Danger of Geneva

It muſt be acknowledged, notwithſtanding all the precautions the *Genevois* had taken to ſecure their liberties againſt the houſe of *Savoy*, they were ſtill very precarious. The duke's vidame was in poſſeſſion of the iſland of the *Rhone*, where the priſon for lay-perſons ſtood, as that for the clergy did within the biſhop's juriſdiction. The vidame's jailor had been excommunicated for debt, and was arreſted by the biſhop's officers; and thoſe of the vidame, in their turns, impriſoned them. A tumult enſued, and the vidame was forced to ſurrender himſelf priſoner to the biſhop's people; but at laſt mutual releaſes paſſed on all ſides, and all appeared ſatisfied.

from the duke of Savoy,

Both the duke of *Savoy* and the biſhop were then abſent from *Geneva*; but both of them, on this occaſion, repaired to that city. The duke laid hold of the opportunity to revive his claims upon the ſovereignty of *Geneva*; but the matter being fairly diſcuſſed, it appeared that the vidame was to blame. Not ſatisfied with this, the duke ſtill inſiſted upon his rights, and that the biſhop ſhould put to death the citizens we have already mentioned, who had obtained the protection of the canton of *Fribourg*, he not daring to do it by his own authority, for fear of provoking the *Swiſs* confederacy. The biſhop ſhewing a becoming firmneſs againſt this demand, the duke told him, that as he had made him biſhop, he would ſtrip him of that dignity, and render him the pooreſt prieſt in his dioceſe. The biſhop, however, died in 1513, lamented by the people of *Geneva*, for the prudence, rectitude, and ſteadineſs of his conduct; and his death bade fair to overthrow the conſtitution of *Geneva*.

and the pope.

The *Genevois*, who were no ſtrangers to the encroachments of the pope, and the ambition of the houſe of *Savoy*, ſhut the gates of their city upon the death of their biſhop *Charles* of *Seyſſel*; and the chapter choſe for their biſhop *Amé*, abbot of *Beaumont*; an eccleſiaſtic of noble extraction, and a fair character, only too much addicted to women. This choice being made, the chapter obtained the concurrence of the confederate cantons; and a joint letter was ſent, with a deputation to the pope, at the abbot's expence, for a confirmation of his election; but his holineſs had already been prevailed upon by the duke of *Savoy*, to grant the dignity to *John* of *Savoy*, prothonotary of *Auch*. This *John* of *Savoy* was the reputed natural ſon, by a common woman, to *Francis* of *Savoy*, biſhop of *Geneva*, and had been provided for by the duke in an obſcure ſtation in the church. Being of a mean appearance, and of an abject diſpoſition, the duke thought him a proper perſon to be preferred to the ſee of *Geneva*, as fearing from him no oppoſition to his ambitious views. It is even ſaid, not without probability, that *John*, before his promotion, took an oath, by which he promiſed to comply with whatever the duke ſhould command, with regard to his claims on the city.

John *of* Savoy *biſhop.*

The *Genevois*, unable to withſtand at once the papal and the ducal power, were obliged to receive him as their biſhop; and he entered upon his office with great pomp, and at firſt with appearances of moderation and generoſity; for he even obtained a promiſe from the duke of bringing the fair from *Lyons* to *Geneva*, with great advantages to the laſt.

Diſpute about a French *ambaſſador,*

TOWARDS the end of the year, *Villeneuſe*, the *French* king's miniſter, having diſobliged the *Swiſs* cantons, in his return to *France* ſtopped at *Geneva*, where deputies from *Bern* and *Fribourg* demanded of the magiſtrates and council, that he ſhould be put into their hands; and in caſe of non-compliance, they threatened them with an immediate invaſion. The biſhop was then abſent, and the danger was preſſing; for the protection of *France* was at too great a diſtance to ſhelter them from the reſentment of the cantons. After deliberation it was reſolved, to put the ambaſſador under arreſt; that a guard ſhould be raiſed, and the gates ſhut, to preſerve the public peace; and that, in the mean time, he ſhould be lodged in the epiſcopal palace. Nothing, however, would ſatisfy the cantons, but that the ambaſſador ſhould be immediately delivered up, while the court of *France* as ſtrenuouſly inſiſted upon his being releaſed. The ſyndics and magiſtrates applied to the biſhop, who refuſed to give the ambaſſador up, becauſe his enemies might put him to death; and adviſed the magiſtrates not to comply, becauſe their compliance would be a kind of acknowledgment of ſuperiority in the cantons over the city, beſides making the *French* king and nation their enemies. The *Swiſſes*, however, proving intractable, and ſeeming determined to put their threats into execution, the magiſtrates told them, that though they could not deliver the ambaſſador up, yet the deputies might take him by force, which they accordingly did; and he was carried priſoner to *Bern*, where he underwent the rack; but was afterwards ſet at liberty.

who is carried off:

and about the rights of the Genevois,

THE connection by marriage that happened between the family of *Medici* and the duke of *Savoy*, gave the latter great hope of prevailing with hope *Leo* X. to authorize his claim upon the ſovereignty of *Geneva*. To facilitate this, he obtained from the biſhop a conceſſion of all his rights over that city. The pope would readily have agreed to this requeſt; but it was oppoſed by the conclave, who were of opinion, that the biſhop's reſignation of his temporalities to the duke was invalid. In the mean while it appeared, that the biſhop was no better than the dependent and vaſſal of the duke. He was deeply in debt, on account of the expences of his nomination at the court of *Rome*; and the duke of *Savoy* received the revenues of the biſhopric, and the abbey of *Pignérol*; ſo that the prelate uſed to ſay, that he had nothing belonging to a biſhopric about him, but his mitre and croſier ſtaff. His poverty led him to oppreſs the poorer clergy, and thoſe who had ſuits in his court; ſo that he ſoon became equally hateful and deſpicable in the eyes of the *Genevois*. At laſt, being ſupported by the vidame, he wrongfully impriſoned a lawyer of good character, one *Vandel*, who had four ſons, who reſolved to reſcue him; and the people taking their part, the biſhop and the vidame were abandoned, even by their own creatures, and were obliged to releaſe the priſoner; but he harboured an implacable reſentment againſt thoſe who had been moſt forward to oppoſe him, particularly againſt one *John Bernard* and *John Pecolat*.

who pre-vail.

THE latter, in converſing with the biſhop of *Maurienne*, and the abbot of *Beaumont*, who were complaining of the wrongs they ſuffered from the biſhop, jokingly deſired them to be eaſy, intimating that the prelate (A) would not be long lived, being already far gone in the venereal diſeaſe. Theſe words being repeated to the biſhop by one of his ſpies who overheard them, he pretended that they implied a deſign againſt his life; and one of his ſervants happening to die of eating too heartily of a diſh of unwholſome fiſh that had been prepared for the biſhop's table, and ſeveral others falling ill of the ſame, he pretended that they had been poiſoned by *Pecolat*.

Perſecution of Pecolat, *and other* Genevois.

AMONGST the reaſons urged by the cardinals againſt the validity of the biſhop's conceſſions of his temporalities, the ſtrongeſt was, that it could not take place, but in caſes where the people are in rebellion againſt their biſhop, and he too weak to reduce them. The duke of *Savoy* and the biſhop, therefore, omitted no means to provoke the *Genevois* to rebel; and the natural vivacity of the *Genevois* laid hold of every opportunity to turn the biſhop and his officers into contempt. At laſt, upon an occaſion which is too ridiculous for hiſtory to tranſmit, the duke and the biſhop came to *Geneva*, with an intention to puniſh ſome young men, particularly one *Berthelier*, who had been guilty of ſome frolics againſt the biſhop's officers. They were attended by the archbiſhop of *Turin*; but upon examination the affair was ſo far from deſerving the name of rebellion, that, by the archbiſhop's advice, the perſecution was dropt againſt all but *Berthelier*, and one or two of the principals, who were particularly obnoxious to the eccleſiaſtical power, and to the *Savoyards*.

(A) His expreſſion was proverbial, *Non videbit dies Petri*, which is applied to popes when they are near their end (1).

(1) *Spon. pag.* 53.

Cruelty uſed againſt Pecolat,

The biſhop began now to deſpair of being able to prevail againſt the *Genevois* within the city, and withdrew to *Focigny*; where, in concert with the earl of *Genevois*, the duke of *Savoy*'s brother, and other noblemen of that court, he apprehended *Pecolat* at the village of *Preſinge*, together with his companion, and one ſervant. *Pecolat*'s proceſs had been privately drawn up by the vidame of *Geneva*; and being brought priſoner to the biſhop's houſe at *Forigny*, he was there three times put to the rack, to make him confeſs a deſign againſt the biſhop's life, on account of the words he had dropt, and the accident of the diſh of fiſh. *Pecolat* denied all; but at laſt worn out by the force of torments, and being told that his companion's ſervant had accuſed him, he anſwered whatever they deſired him to ſay. The inhabitants of *Geneva* took *Pecolat*'s part, and remonſtrated to the duke of *Savoy* upon the injuſtice of impriſoning him without the city, and trying him before any juriſdiction but that of the ſyndics, who were his lawful judges; upon which he was carried to *Geneva*, and being impriſoned in the caſtle on the iſland, he retracted all he had ſaid, as having been extorted from him by the force of torments. A diſpute then aroſe between the ſyndics on the one part, and the duke and the biſhop on the other; the latter inſiſting that *Pecolat* ought to be racked again. The ſyndics, though they were afraid of the duke, heſitated upon this; and the priſoner, under pretence that he was a clerk, and not amenable to a temporal juriſdiction, was carried to the biſhop's priſon. The barbarity of his enemies went ſo far, that perceiving him to be proof againſt the rack, they imagined that he was aſſiſted by ſome ſupernatural power which lay in his beard, and ordered a barber to cut it off. *Pecolat*, knowing what torments were intended againſt him, and afraid of his own weakneſs, had the reſolution to ſnatch the barber's razor, and to cut out part of his own tongue. This, with the torments he had ſuffered, procured him many friends; and the officer who was to pronounce ſentence againſt him, not only refuſed to perform that office, but adviſed him to appeal to the archbiſhop of *Vienne*, who ſent an order to ſtop all proceedings againſt him, even by the biſhop himſelf. One *Victor*, a young man of ſpirit, had the courage to ſerve this order upon the biſhop; upon which *Pecolat* was removed to the caſtle of *Peney*, belonging to the duke. The conſequence was, that the biſhop, diſregarding the ſummons of his metropolitan, was excommunicated, as were all his officers, which created ſuch a tumult in the city, that the clergy joined with the people, and forced the biſhop's officers to releaſe the priſoner, which was done juſt at the time when an order came from *Rome*, annulling the ſum-

who cuts out his own tongue.

tions and the proceedings of the metropolitan. *Pecolat*, we are told, afterwards recovered the uſe of his ſpeech, becauſe he had cut off only part of his tongue; but he attributed the ſame to a miraculous interceſſion.

Remarkable perſecution of Berthelier.

IN the mean while, the caſe of *Berthelier* proved ſtill more intereſting to the duke and the biſhop. He was a young man of great reſolution, vivacity, and addreſs, and had always diſtinguiſhed himſelf againſt the family of *Savoy*. Perceiving that the duke and the biſhop were reſolved, at any rate, to put him to death, he eſcaped in diſguiſe to *Fribourg*, where he had purchaſed the privilege of a citizen, and engaged the *Fribourgers* ſo much in his intereſt, that they not only ſheltered him, but ſent a meſſenger to the duke and the biſhop, to requeſt that *Berthelier* ſhould either be tried at *Fribourg*, where they might ſend lawyers to aſſiſt at the trial, or before the ſyndics of *Geneva*, if they would furniſh him with a ſafe-conduct to that city; but with a condition annexed, that ſome of the *Fribourgers* ſhould be preſent at his trial. The duke and the biſhop declined both thoſe propoſals; and the duke himſelf made a journey to *Fribourg*, but without being able to prevail with the *Fribourgers* to deliver up *Berthelier*. At laſt, rather than exaſperate the *Fribourgers*, and embroil themſelves with the other cantons, the duke and the biſhop granted a ſafe-conduct to *Berthelier*, in the terms he had demanded, and he preſented himſelf before the ſyndics. He boldly juſtified all he had done againſt the duke and the biſhop, and ſet aſide *Pecolat*'s evidence as being extorted by the rack; ſo that nothing appearing againſt him but a few youthful frolics, the ſyndics would have acquitted him, had they not been deterred by the power of his perſecutors, who offered him a pardon, which he refuſed to accept of, as having been guilty of no offence.

His courage.

BERTHELIER was ſo far from being intimidated by this perſecution, that during its continuance he was purſuing the plan of an alliance between *Fribourg* and *Geneva*, as the only means of ſecuring the independency of both ſtates; and the houſe of *Savoy* was equally intent upon defeating it, great numbers of the inhabitants of *Geneva* being *Savoyards*, and attached to that intereſt. This encouraged the duke to proceed with cruelty againſt ſuch of the *Genevois* as he found in his own dominions; and he put to death at *Turin*, two young gentlemen of reſpectable families at *Geneva*, as being accomplices with *Berthelier*, after extorting a confeſſion from them by the force of torments. A copy of this confeſſion was ſent to the ſyndics of *Geneva*, who paid no regard to it, and who ſent deputies to the duke and the biſhop, complaining loudly of what had been done. The duke diſſembled; but

Threats of the biſhop againſt the Genevois.

the biſhop threatened the city with the utmoſt penalties, if the magiſtrates did not renounce their connexions with *Fribourg*, and give up *Berthelier* and his accomplices to puniſhment. *Spon*[a] informs us, that the deputies had been debauched by the duke and the biſhop, who gave them an anſwer in writing, ſuch as the deputies themſelves dictated; but the letter was not to be delivered till the ſyndics and council of *Geneva* had ſworn to comply with the contents. The deputies returning, after an abſence of five or ſix weeks, acquainted firſt the leſſer, and then the greater council with the preliminary conditions; adding, at the ſame time, that if they were not complied with, the duke had ſworn that no *Genevois* ſhould poſſeſs his property in ſafety. The council treated this abſurd and imperious proceeding with the indignation it deſerved. They refuſed to take the oath; and returning the letter unopened, it was with difficulty the people were prevented from throwing the deputies into the *Rhone*.

Their alliance with Fribourg.

Origin of the word Hugonot.

THE independent *Genevois* now were ſenſible that nothing could ſave their liberties and eſtates from ruin, but the concluſion of the alliance propoſed by *Berthelier* with *Fribourg*. *Beſançon Huges*, one of the ſyndics of *Geneva*, befriended it warmly; but the *Savoyard* party was ſo prevalent at *Fribourg*, as well as *Geneva*, that it met with great difficulties; and at laſt *Beſançon* propoſed, that if the alliance could not be rendered general, that an aſſociation ſhould be entered into between its friends in both cities; thoſe in *Geneva*, amounting to three hundred of the principal and moſt reſolute of the citizens, who had ſet their names to the form of an aſſociation for that effect. Thoſe aſſociators were, by the *Savoyards*, termed *Eignots*, a *Swiſs* or *High German* word, which ſignifies confederates by oath; and *Spon*, with great appearance of juſtice, thinks that from thence aroſe the famous word *Hugonot*, notwithſtanding the various other etymologies that are aſſigned to it. The *Eignots*, on the other hand, called the *Savoyard* party *Mamalukes*, in alluſion to the *Egyptian* ſoldiery, who, being originally Chriſtians, had renounced both their religion and liberties, to become ſlaves to the ſultan. The *Savoyard* party in *Fribourg* objected to the propoſed alliance, becauſe it was not clear to them that the *Genevois* were an independent people, and at liberty to enter into ſuch an engagement. This objection being reported by the deputies at *Geneva*, the citizens were ſplit into factions and cabals. The duke of *Savoy* and the biſhop, perceiving that the *Eignots* had the majority in *Geneva*, complained to the *Fribourgers* of their debauching their ſubjects from their allegiance. The

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[a] Ibid. pag. 61.

Fribourgers, in anſwer to this, affirmed, that the magiſtracy of *Geneva*, in temporals, were independent of the biſhop; and that if the duke would prove his ſovereignty over that city, they would proceed no farther in the alliance; and that they were willing to enter a ſaving clauſe in the treaty as to his rights, till they could be judicially diſcuſſed. They added, that they were ſo far from being enemies to the biſhop's eccleſiaſtical authority, that they were ready to defend it againſt all who ſhould attack it.

Complaints of the duke of Savoy *and the biſhop.*

The duke and the biſhop, far from being ſatisfied with thoſe anſwers, complained of the *Fribourghers* in the next general aſſembly of the confederate cantons, for admitting the *Genevois* into their burgherſhip, alledging, that the *Genevois* by their conſtitution could pretend to no right of burgherſhip, being only *hinderſaſſen* or inhabitants of their own country, by ſufferance from the houſe of *Savoy*, whoſe dominions ſurrounded them. This plea was refuted by the *Genevois*, who produced evidences that the dominions he held about *Geneva*, had formerly belonged to them. While thoſe diſputes laſted, the abbot of *Beaumont*, and *Bonnivard*, prior of *St. Victor*, two young citizens, warm in the cauſe of liberty, and ſeveral other inhabitants, with the conſent of the council of *Geneva*, took up their burgherſhip in *Fribourg*; and at laſt the alliance between that city and *Geneva* was fully completed, and *Berthelier* was formally acquitted by the ſyndics, of all the crimes that had been laid to his charge, by the biſhop having only a ſlight fine impoſed upon him for his youthful exceſſes.

The duke of *Savoy* now perceived that the *Genevois* ſet both his and the biſhop's power at defiance. At firſt he proceeded with temper, and joined with the biſhop in ſending one *Salleneuſe*, a man of experience in buſineſs, to be their temporal deputy in *Geneva*; but the inhabitants diſowned his authority. The duke had no better ſucceſs in the complaints he had brought before the general aſſembly of the cantons; and while he endeavoured to amuſe both the *Fribourgers* and the *Genevois* with terms of accommodation, he ſecretly aſſembled an army of ſeven thouſand men at *St. Julien*. Before he began his march towards *Geneva* he ſent a herald, who demanded audience in a full aſſembly of the council; which being convened, the herald refuſed to ſeat himſelf along with the ſyndics, but placed himſelf in a chair above them, alledging, that he appeared there as repreſenting the duke of *Savoy*, the lord and maſter of their city. He then delivered his commiſſion, which contained a demand, that the council ſhould provide ſplendid and magnificent lodgings for the duke in their town-houſe, and that they ſhould furniſh him and his company, which conſiſted of ten thouſand men, with victuals, and all fitting entertainment, becauſe, concluded he, the duke intends to appear with that equipage to do himſelf juſtice.

They declare the Genevois *rebels,*

THE reader, from what we have already mentioned, may eaſily form an idea of the arguments made uſe of to evade this demand; upon which the herald pronounced them to be rebels; and other ceremonies of the like kind paſſed on the part of his attendants, and all of them left the city. The magiſtrates were not wanting to themſelves on this occaſion; they made the beſt diſpoſitions they could for their own defence; they obliged even the *Savoyard* party to take arms, and all of them appeared determined to defend their liberties to the laſt extremity. They ſent meſſengers to acquaint the *Fribourgers* with what had happened, but they were intercepted by the duke's army, and put to the ſtrappado, till they diſcovered all they knew with regard to the city. By this time the duke's army was increaſed to the number of ten thouſand, and he was advanced as far as *Gaillard*. The *Fribourgers* ſuſpecting what had happened, ſent *Marty*, one of their number, to endeavour to perſuade the duke to proceed no farther againſt their allies the *Genevois*. *Marty* reported his commiſſion to the duke, who pretended, that he only wanted to enter *Geneva* as a friend, to put an end to the diſſentions and heart-burnings of the inhabitants, and he ſent *Marty* to perſuade the *Genevois* to give him admittance; but in the mean while his army, which was deſtitute of great artillery, appeared at the gates of the city, while the citizens, who had never ſeen any action, deſerted their poſts, and a general confuſion enſued. The magiſtrates in public demanded from *Marty* what they had to truſt to from the *Fribourgers*, a ſuſpenſion of arms having been granted by the duke till next morning. *Marty* frankly acknowledged that, however well affected his countrymen were towards the *Genevois*, their aſſiſtance muſt come too late to defend them from the duke; upon which the inhabitants threw down their arms, and gave over all thoughts of reſiſtance.

and take Geneva,

NEXT morning *Marty* and the ſyndics ſent to *Gaillard*, to capitulate with the duke, who promiſed to enter the city only at the head of five hundred men, beſides his ordinary train. This capitulation, however, was moſt infamouſly broken. The earl of *Genevois*, the duke's brother, ordered the walls to be broken down, that the duke might enter as a conqueror through the breach; and ſoon after the whole *Savoyard* army marched into the city, where the ſoldiers were guilty of all manner of abuſes and enormities, while the earl of *Genevois* took up his quarters in the town-houſe, and ſeized upon the ic arſenal and artillery, as well as the keys of the gates. contented with this, proclamation was made by the duke's rs, that no citizen ſhould preſume to appear in the ſtreets, ven to put his head out of a window, under pain of being ickly whipped. Notwithſtanding this ſeverity, we are that ſome of the *Genevois* appeared abroad with their ds by their ſides, but were forced to undergo the penalty. probable that the *Eignots* within *Geneva*, ſtill depended ſecours from *Fribourg*, where the ſpirit ran ſo ſtrong in favour, that the *Genevois* deputies obtained a company ifantry, which was ſoon after augmented to ſix or ſeven ſand men, ſome of them *Savoyards*, and they formed ſelves into ſeparate bodies, under different colours. y ſet out on their march with incredible expedition, and iving that they could do nothing againſt *Geneva*, they hed to the country of *Vaud*, where they ſeized the 's governor *Lulins*, and deſired him to acquaint his maſter, he ought to beware in what manner he treated the *Ge-s*, becauſe they were determined to make ſevere repriſals his ſubjects.

he duke was ſenſible that his ſoldiers were all undiſciplined cowardly; and he took the advice of the *Fribourgers*, entered *Morges* without reſiſtance. He immediately or-d another proclamation to be made, ordering, that none he *Genevois* ſhould be moleſted either in perſon or eſtate, ain of death, and then poſted a body of horſe to guard important poſt of *Nyon*, which lies between *Morges* and *va*, on the ſide of the lake. He ſent for the deputy of *iurg*, and deſired him to repair with his deputies to *Mor-* to endeavour to pacify matters, promiſing that no ı ſhould come to the *Genevois*. The deputy reflecting ıe duke's late ſcandalous breach of faith with the *Gene-* treated his requeſt with a mixture of indignation and ı, and refuſed to obey it. The duke's deputies therefore ted to *Morges* by themſelves; but meeting with no ſuc- in their commiſſion, he ordered them to repair to the cantons, and endeavour to prevail with them to inter- their authority with the *Fribourgers*. In the mean he aſſembled the general council of *Geneva*, and he de-led of the members, that they ſhould renounce their ıerſhip with *Fribourg*, and ſend deputies to *Morges*, to the *Fribourgers* that they had ſuffered no outrages, hat *Huges* and *Malbreiſſon*, his coadjutor, had no public niſſion from them. The *Fribourgers* treated this meſ-

but it is relieved by the Fribourgers.

ſage

A treaty. ſage as being extorted by force, and carried their point. (B) The duke was forced to agree to make an immediate payment of four thouſand crowns, upon their promiſing to return home, without doing any other damage to the country than living at free coſt, and to withdraw his army from *Geneva*, without injuring either the city or inhabitants, whom he was to leave in full poſſeſſion of their privileges. He found himſelf, however, under great difficulties, to raiſe the money; but at laſt the *Genevois* agreed to pay one half, and the earl of *Genevois* pledged his plate for the other, which was to be redeemed by the *Genevois*. The duke remained at *Geneva* ſometime after his army had left it, and there, on account of the plague, he retired to *Tonon*, in the *Chablais*, from whence he ſent a ſafe-conduct by the vidame *Conſigli* to *Huges* and *Malbreiſſon*, deſiring them to attend him. They obeyed him, but had ſo indifferent an opinion of his honour, that they left the ſafe-conduct in the hands of the wife of *Huges*, with inſtructions to ſend it to *Fribourg* if ſhe heard they were detained. This was a neceſſary precaution; for they had not travelled a mile from *Geneva*, than the vidame inquiring about the ſafe-conduct, was told that it had been ſent to *Fribourg*, but that they were very willing to return to *Geneva*. This put the vidame into a paſſion: when they arrived at *Tonon*, the duke, ſurpriſed and vexed at his diſappointment, put them under a ſtrict arreſt; but diſmiſſed them, after making them ſwear to renounce the burgherſhip of *Fribourg*, and all public buſineſs without his leave. Soon after, by arreſting *Porral*, who was ſecretary of *Geneva*, he got into his hands the contract of burgherſhip between that city and *Fribourg*.

In *May* 1519, the differences between the duke of *Savoy* and the two confederate ſtates, *Fribourg* and *Geneva*, were laid before a general meeting of the cantons at *Zurich*, and accommodated on the following terms. "That the duke ſhould deſiſt from all attempts againſt the biſhop and city of *Geneva*; in which caſe no uſe was to be made of the confederacy between *Geneva* and *Fribourg*, and the *Fribourghers*, who demanded more money, were exhorted to be content with the four thouſand crowns they had already received." This accommodation being made under the ſanction of the cantons, for ſome time reſtored peace to *Geneva*; and the *Eignots* and *Mamalukes*, as they were called, began to reſume their intercourſe with one another.

(B) This expedition happening during lent, when little food beſides herrings were to be had, it was called the Herring campaign.

Duke of Savoy baffled,

OUGH the duke of *Savoy* was thus baffled in his attacks he independency of *Geneva*, yet having the biſhop at otion, he was ſtill very powerful in that city. Having implacable thirſt of revenge againſt *Berthelier*, he em- the vidame *Conſigli*, who was a thorough paced ruf- o arreſt him in the biſhop's name, which he did near es of *Geneva*. *Berthelier*, on this occaſion, behaved at ke a philoſopher and a patriot, though offered his life if ld ſubmit to the duke, and own him as his maſter; ing carried to the priſon on the iſland, he refuſed to be led by any but his lawful judges the ſyndics; upon which, t any farther ceremony, his head was next day ſtruck), by the ſentence of the biſhop's provoſt. The *Eig-* ty were ſtruck with conſternation at *Berthelier*'s death, e *Fribourgers* demanded ſatisfaction for it; but the duke the blame of it upon the biſhop. By this time the *Sa-* party had got a great aſcendency in the government *eva*; and the *Fribourgers*, who ſought only a pretext k with the duke, demanded more money, while he, other hand, inſiſted on ſatisfaction for the damages his y of *Vaud* had ſuſtained, and referred the *Fribourgers* ment to the *Genevois*, whom, at the ſame time, he to pay no more. This management increaſed his mongſt the citizens, who were diſguſted at the new de- of the *Fribourgers*; and he had even intereſt enough to new ſyndics ſet aſide, on pretence that they had not egally elected, and that they had encouraged the *Fri-*

The reader perhaps will diſpleaſed, at being in- of a few more particu- this extraordinary perſon. he ſaw the vidame ap- ing to arreſt him, he his fate, but refuſed to is eſcape, tho' he might one it. When he gave ord to the vidame, he told him to keep it well, muſt account for it; and ſhut up in cloſe priſon, ſo unconcerned, that he d himſelf with a little l, which he commonly carried about with him in his boſom. Though in mean cir- cumſtances, yet he had learning and great parts; and being told he muſt die, he wrote upon his priſon wall, "*Non moriar ſed vi-* "*vam, et narrabo opera Domini.* "I ſhall not die, but live and "declare the works of the "Lord." When he came to the place of execution, he was not ſuffered to ſpeak in public, and took very little notice of a con- feſſor who was offered him. His epitaph was as follows:

uid mihi mors nocuit? virtus poſt fata vireſcit.
ec cruce, nec ſævi gladio perit illa tyranni. (1)

(1) *Spon.* p. 71, 72.

bourgers in their exhorbitant demands. In their room were choſen citizens of the *Savoyard* party.

but prevails again.

Death of Peter *of* Savoy.

THE magiſtracy and council being thus new modelled in favour of the duke and the biſhop, two deputies, *Richardet* and *Goulex*, were ſent by the ſyndics to the cantons at *Zurich*, to clear the duke from having any hand in *Berthelier*'s death, and to vindicate the biſhop's proceedings in that matter; to throw the blame of the *Friburgers* demands upon the diſplaced ſyndics, and to exhort the deputies of the cantons to interpoſe with the *Friburgers* to renounce their alliance with *Geneva*. In anſwer to thoſe inſtructions, the *Fribourgers* juſtified themſelves with great ſpirit and firmneſs, and repreſented the death of *Berthelier* in the blackeſt light; but, notwithſtanding all they could do, the ſenſe of the cantons, who were for preſerving the public peace, was in favour of the *Savoyards*. The duke of *Savoy* at this time reſided at *Geneva*; and, upon his departure thence, he appointed the ſieur *Salaigne* to be his vidame there, in ſtead of *Conſigli*, who was extremely unpopular. In the year 1522 died *John* of *Savoy*, biſhop of *Geneva*, whoſe body is ſaid to have been ſo emaciated with venereal diſeaſes, that after his death it weighed no more than twenty-eight pounds. He had in his life-time made *Peter* of *Baume*, who was of the noble family of *Montrevel* in *Breſſe*, his coadjutor; and he died expreſſing great remorſe for the troubles he had brought upon the *Genevois*, at the inſtigation of the houſe of *Savoy*. Next year *Peter*, having been choſen biſhop of *Geneva*, entered upon his office, after taking the oaths to qualify himſelf, which were as uſual adminiſtered by the ſyndics upon the bridge of the *Arve*. The new biſhop prevailed with the ſyndics and the magiſtrates to poſtpone the entertainments and ſhews, deſigned for him, till the arrival of the duke and ducheſs of *Savoy*. This happened a few days after, and their entry was made at an expence, and with a pomp, to which the *Genevois* were entire ſtrangers. The young gentlemen of the city were dreſs'd in ſilks, velvets, and cloths of ſilver, and the ladies formed themſelves into a troop of *Amazons*, armed and diſciplined in the ancient manner. The ducheſs, however, having been diſappointed in her favourite ambition of lodging in the townhouſe, gave ſo little attention to the honours that were offered her, and beheld the *Genevois* with ſo diſguſting a coldneſs, that ſome of them ſhrewdly remarked, it had been more proper to have expended the money, in welcoming them to the city, upon fortifications to keep them out of it. The *Savoyard* party apologized for the behaviour of the ducheſs, as owing to her education, and the cuſtoms of her native itry, ſhe being an infanta of *Portugal.* At laſt the *Ge-* *s* were better reconciled to her manners, and the reſi- e of the duke's court at *Geneva* making money circulate, ing paſſed but mutual entertainments and feaſts; and the ieſs was brought to bed of a ſon at *Geneva,* who died after in *Spain,* before the father could perform his pro- of making him prince of *Geneva,* the ſovereignty of h was moſt paſſionately coveted by the ducheſs.

Danger of the Genevois *loſing their liberties.*

'HE duke of *Savoy* by thus enervating the minds of the *vois* made them forget the care of their liberties; and the dependency, which they had hitherto ſo jealouſly pre- ed, received daily violations. The inhabitants either ected, or through their expences were unable, to repair fortifications of their city; their biſhop, though well in- oned, was voluptuous and indolent, and poſſeſſed ſo ma- ivings under the duke of *Savoy,* that he durſt not diſo- him; but above all the *Genevois* were deprived of all s of protection, either from the emperor or the king of *ice,* who were at war with each other, while the duke himſelf neuter, with a view of becoming maſter of *Ge-* . In this ſtate of affairs the duke, notwithſtanding the accommodation, carried his claims upon the ſovereignty *eneva* higher than ever; and *Levrery,* the ſon of the er of that name already mentioned, having the courage ppoſe him, he was put to death, almoſt in the ſame ner as *Berthelier* had been, whom he imitated in his cou- , conſtancy, and behaviour, diſdaining to fly when it in his power to have made his eſcape. While this tra- was acting, the biſhop, who ought to have interpoſed uthority to prevent it, was in *Piedmont,* but had left the of the biſhopric to his brother *Sorlin,* who was of the character with himſelf, and withdrew to *Remilly,* to d being ſollicited to interpoſe in favour of *Levrery.*

The Eignot *party worſted.*

IS death brought the *Genevois* to a ſenſe of their danger. *ardet* was choſen one of the ſyndics, and called upon *let,* the treaſurer of the *Savoyard* party, to account for public money which he ſaid had been idly diſſipated. *let,* inſtead of complying, upbraided *Richardet* with being *ignot;* upon which the latter broke his ſyndical ſtaff upon reaſurer's head. *Boulet* complained to the duke's council at *nbery;* but the ſyndics refuſing to acknowledge its autho- their eſtates in *Savoy* were confiſcated, and they applied protection to the biſhop, whom they empowered to carry r complaints by way of appeal to *Rome,* he pleading ina- y to give them redreſs. But he was now intirely at the tion of the court of *Savoy;* and he not only put into his own pocket three hundred crowns, which had been given him to carry on the appeal, but prevailed with the general council to retract it, and to refer the matter to himſelf. This affair at firſt met with ſome approbation; but the duke's vidame proceeding to violence, forced the heads of the *Eignots* to fly from *Geneva*, ſome of whom were taken in their flight; but *Huges* the chief, and a few of his friends, eſcaped to *Fribourg*. There they applied to the magiſtrates for protection in terms of the alliance between them; but receiving only fair promiſes, they addreſſed themſelves to the ſtates of *Zurich*, who at their requeſt ſent deputies to the duke. Upon their application, he readily agreed to the releaſe of the priſoners, and the return of the exiles; but it was upon conditions ſo dangerous to the public liberty, that they rejected them, and once more applied for a general alliance with the confederate cantons.

Riſe of the reformation.

THE reader is here to obſerve, that by this time the doctrines of *Luther* had made a vaſt progreſs both in *Germany* and *Swiſſerland*; and the cantons were ſo much divided in matters of religion, that they gave leſs attention than they otherwiſe would have done to the affairs of *Geneva*. The duke of *Savoy* was ſenſible of this; and coming from *Chambery* to *Geneva*, he ordered a general council of the inhabitants to be ſummoned, where he appeared attended by his chancellor and guards in all the ſtate of a ſovereign prince. His chancellor, without much preamble, demanded that the aſſembly ſhould immediately recognize the duke's ſovereignty, renounce all alliance with the *Swiſſes*, and diſclaim all connections with the fugitives. But the people were leſs terrified than amazed at his proceedings, and refuſed to comply with any of his demands. He then changed his method of proceeding; and both he and his officers endeavoured to win them over by friendly proteſtations and fair promiſes, which made ſome impreſſion upon the counſellors; but the ſyndics perſevered firmly in their oppoſition. In about twelve days after, the *Swiſs* deputies, from the cantons of *Fribourg* and *Soleurre*, came to the *Genevois*, and promiſed the inhabitants their aſſiſtance againſt all attacks upon their liberties and independency. This meſſage was delivered, and debated upon in a general aſſembly of the *Genevois*, where the *Savoyard* party had ſuch an aſcendency, that the deputies were ordered to acquaint their principals, that the ſubjects of *Geneva*, who had applied to them for protection and aſſiſtance, had no legal authority for ſo doing, and that they were well ſatisfied with the duke of *Savoy*'s proceedings and intentions; and letters to the ſame purpoſe were ſent likewiſe to the cantons of *Bern* and *Lucerne*.

Ambition of the duke of Savoy.

On the 10th of *December*, the duke ordered another gene-il council to be convoked, where, amongſt other things for ie eſtabliſhment of his own authority, he demanded, that ie council ſhould renounce all foreign connections, which as accordingly agreed to and proclaimed. The chief *Eig-ots* diſowned the authority of this council, as being partial, regular, and under undue influence; and on the 22d of the me month, *John Bandieres*, and the ſecretary *Vandelli*, pre-nted themſelves before the council, at the head of the wives nd children of the fugitives, and above two hundred other itizens, who had ſigned a writing given in by *Vandelli*, ap-roving of all that had been done with regard to the foreign lliances by the fugitives. This bold ſtand gave a favourable urn to the *Eignot* party; and it was agreed, that the biſhop hould be invited to return from *Pignerol*, and reſume his nctions at *Geneva*.

The Eignots *prevail.*

He was, by this time, tired of the mortifications that had een impoſed upon him by the duke of *Savoy*, and complained eavily of them to the ſyndics, promiſing to maintain their rivileges to the utmoſt; but recommending to them ſecrecy n their proceedings, and their voting by ballot, as at *Venice*. This was a wiſe advice; and at the next election of ſyndics, *John Philippe*, who had great credit with the cantons of *Fri-ourg* and *Bern*, was choſen the chief. The *Eignots* now arried every thing before them. The fugitives returned to *Geneva*; and *Huges*, as then ſpokeſman, acquainted the coun-cil, that the cantons of *Bern* and *Fribourg* had agreed to enter nto a defenſive alliance for twenty-five years, or for ever, as ſhould be thought moſt proper. The citizens had three days granted them to deliberate upon this propoſal; and then an-other general council being held by the ringing of the great bell, not above five or ſix members gave their negatives to it; but the biſhop, who was preſent, proteſted againſt every thing that might prejudice his authority. Thus the alliance was completed, and the permanent foundations of the *Genevois* liberty were laid. Eight *Genevois* deputies ſwore to the agree-ment at *Bern* and *Fribourg*, and as many from thoſe cantons did the ſame at *Geneva*, where they were received under the diſcharge of the city cannon, and entertained at the public expence, amidſt the loud and general acclamations of the people.

Exile of the Mamalukes.

The clergy, who in general were devoted to the houſe of *Savoy*, were ſtartled at this revolution, but the ſyndics pro-miſed them protection, provided they behaved dutifully. The duke of *Savoy* repreſented the new alliance as being incon-ſiſtent with the engagements between him and the two cantons; but he received no other ſatisfaction than that thoſe engagements were ready to be diſſolved when he pleaſed. The chief *Mamalukes*, to the number of forty-two, were obliged to leave *Geneva*, and take ſhelter in *Savoy*; but it was intimated to them by the *Genevois* ſyndics, that they were at liberty to remain in *Geneva*, if they would behave like honeſt men. According to *Spon* [a], that was far from being their intention; for they entered into a conſpiracy with the vidame, who remained ſtill at *Geneva*, for ſeizing the chief *Eignots*, and cutting off their heads. This conſpiracy being diſcovered, the conſpirators were ſummoned by ſound of trumpet to appear, and upon their remaining contumacious, they were declared to be traitors, and their eſtates forfeited. *Gruet*, the biſhop's vicar, being ſuſpected of favouring the duke, was depoſed, and his place filled up by the abbot of *Beaumont*. The vidame himſelf at laſt fled, as did his deputy and jailor; and thus an end was put to all the authority of his court, which was the greateſt grievance the *Genevois* had ſuffered. In doing this, the ſyndics proceeded with great formality, and executed by their own authority a malefactor, who was confined in the vidame's priſon, their own common ſerjeant acting the part of his provoſt. After this the duke of *Savoy*, whoſe arms over the caſtle gate in the iſland were broken down, and his officers, never more exerciſed any juriſdiction in *Geneva*.

and expulſion of the Savoyard *power out of* Geneva

THIS great revolution was planned and completed, with a perſeverance, moderation, and regularity, which do not always reſide with the ſpirit of liberty; and it muſt be acknowledged, it was chiefly owing to the diſcernment, honeſty, and abhorrence of tyranny in the *Fribourgers*, who brought the *Bernois* into their confederacy. The *Genevois* did not, as was too often the caſe with the other republican ſtates of *Italy*, proceed with rancour againſt their antagoniſts. They agreed, at the biſhop's interceſſion, to readmit into the city ſuch of the *Mamalukes* as ſhould behave with moderation, upon their paying a fine; but this reconciliation was prevented by the duke of *Savoy*, who threatened, if the *Mamalukes* agreed to it, to treat them as enemies, and if they did not, to reſtore them upon honourable terms. His chief dependence was upon his intereſt with the confederate cantons; but the allies gave him to underſtand, that he had no grounds for hope from that quarter, and that they would hear no arguments he could urge in favour of his claims upon *Geneva*. Thoſe altercations continued till the 22d of *December*, 1526, and were renewed next year; when the duke refuſed to make ſatisfaction for ſome murders committed by his ſubjects upon the *Genevois*, or to ſuffer the fugitive *Mamalukes* to appear at *Geneva*, though they were offered letters of ſafe-conduct by the biſhop.

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[a] SPON. p. 32.

Danger of the biſhop.

A. D. 1527.

The latter was now ſo much in the intereſt of the confederates, that the duke's party formed an ambuſcade for carrying him off, as he was going to ſay maſs without the town, and this obliged him to retire to *Franche Comte*, having firſt cancelled all the evidences of his oppoſition to the confederacy. Fifteen days after his retreat, he ſent a letter, or the copy of one, written by the emperor to the duke of *Savoy*, enjoining him to deſiſt from all his claims of ſovereignty over *Geneva*, which was an imperial city. By this time the *Mamalukes* had removed their cauſe before the archbiſhop of *Vienne*, but the great council of the *Genevois*, encouraged by the imperial letter, refuſed to acknowledge that tribunal; and an act was paſſed, that no *Genevois* from thenceforward ſhould proſecute a ſuit before that court. In the mean while the duke of *Savoy* was ſo much exaſperated with the biſhop, that he confiſcated all his livings in *Savoy*, but offered to reſtore them if he would join with him in eſtabliſhing the vidamate in *Geneva*; which the biſhop was ſo far from doing, that he remitted all his own temporal power to the ſyndics, for the eaſe of the ſuitors in his court.

Hiſtory of the fraternity of the ſpoon.

A whimsical inſtitution which took place at this time, had almoſt overthrown the new eſtabliſhed liberty of *Geneva*. Certain *Vaudois* gentlemen eating broth with wooden ſpoons at the caſtle of *Vaud*, ſome of them propoſed in jeſt to join together, to oblige the *Genevois* to make uſe of the like ſpoons. The joke ſoon grew ſerious; a fraternity of the Spoons was inſtituted; each member hung his ſpoon about his neck by way of badge, and *Francis* of *Pontverre*, who had the reputation of a good ſoldier, was choſen to be their captain. The duke of *Savoy* ſeemed to diſlike this aſſociation at firſt, but was better reconciled to it, when he perceived that thoſe knights of the ſpoon made war in earneſt upon the *Genevois*; ſo that in a very ſhort time, he and they came to a good underſtanding with each other. The *Genevois* applied to their confederate ſtates for ſuccour; but unfortunately for them, the two cantons of *Bern* and *Fribourg* were at variance together, on account of religion. All they did at firſt was to ſend deputies to perſuade the knights to forbear hoſtilities; but that proving ineffectual, they ſent two companies of ſoldiers, of about eight hundred each, who pretending that they were obliged only to defend the city, and not to act offenſively againſt the duke's ſubjects, with whom they were in alliance, lay idle in and about *Geneva*, where they ate and drunk of the beſt at free coſt. The truth is, neither of the cantons at this time choſe to provoke the duke; and nothing, worth mentioning, was done to ſuppreſs the knights for above two years. During this time, the *Mamalukes* continuing contumacious, ſentence of death was pronounced againſt them by the ſyndics.

Perplexing ſituation of the Genevois.

In the year 1528, the *Genevois* found themſelves in a very perplexing ſituation. Their friends, the *Bernois*, had driven the *Roman* catholick religion out of their juriſdiction, while the *Fribourgers* zealouſly retained it: and the *Bernois* wanting to propagate their new faith amongſt certain peaſants, whom the *Fribourgers* pretended to be their ſubjects, each ſtate applied to *Geneva* for aſſiſtance. This was a caſe that had not been provided for by the articles of the alliance; and the *Genevois*, to pleaſe both parties, ſent each a company of one hundred and fifty men; that deſigned for the aſſiſtance of *Bern*, being commanded by *John Philippe*, and the other by *Richardet*. The reconciliation that ſoon after happened between the two cantons, prevented any bad conſequences from the abſurdity of this conduct; for both parties returned home without coming to action. All this while the knights of the ſpoon were inſulting the *Genevois* under their own walls; and a difference happening between *Huges* and *Bonivard*, no care was taken to repel them effectually. The *Genevois* laboured at this time under a more eſſential difficulty. Their city was filled with the reformed fugitives from *Fribourg*, and *Roman* catholics driven from *Bern*. The latter ſtate exhorted them earneſtly to forſake the errors of popery, and the *Fribourgers* to ſtick cloſe to the religion of their anceſtors, under the forfeiture of their friendſhip. Both parties agreed upon the neceſſity of reforming the clergy; and the *Genevois* conſulted *Bonnivard*, the abbot of *St. Victor*, on that head, as being a man of honeſty and underſtanding. His anſwer was, “ If you will be ruled by me, you ſhall do one of theſe “ two things: that is, if you continue debauched, as ye are “ at preſent, you muſt not wonder if others be ſo too: and, “ ſecondly, if you will reform the clergy, you muſt firſt “ ſhew them the way by your good examples.” An incident that happened ſoon after, more fully explained *Bonnivard's* ſentiments. The *Mamalukes* had obtained from the archbiſhop of *Vienne* a writ of excommunication againſt the *Genevois*, for their contempt of his authority, and it was fixed up in moſt public places. *Bonnivard* travelling along with the *Genevois* deputies, obſerved one of thoſe writs fixed up in the high road, and ſtopped to read it, which they were ſimple enough to diſſuade him from doing; "for (ſaid they) as ſoon as ever you ſhall have read it, you will ſtand excommunicated." He ſmiled at their ſimplicity, and replied, "You are much miſtaken; for if ye have condemned the *Mamalukes* unjuſtly, ye are excommunicated by God himſelf; but if juſtly, what power has the archbiſhop of *Vienne* over your conſciences?"

Riſe and progreſs of the reformation at Geneva.

THOSE are incidents material to the knowledge of the original of *Geneva's* reformation. The good ſenſe of *Bonnivard* created doubts, and a ſpirit of inquiry in the minds of the *Genevois*; and being already ſufficiently exaſperated by the ſpiritual claims of the *Romiſh* clergy, the more they inquired, the more they were diſpoſed to embrace the doctrine of the reformers. While this ſuſpence laſted, there was a ceſſation of hoſtilities between the *Genevois* and the knights of the ſpoon; but *Pontverre*, in marching through *Geneva*, openly expreſſed himſelf in terms ſo inſolent, and at the ſame time ſo threatening to the *Genevois*, that they were alarmed, but without daring to ſhew their reſentment. Next year, in paſſing through the city ſlenderly attended, ſome of the inhabitants who knew him put him to death, though in no very warrantable way; but the ſyndics, though they did not approve of the action, protected his followers, and ſent his body for interment to his friends, who complained to the duke of his murder, as it was called. Though the duke had no great regard for him, yet he ſent deputies into *Swiſſerland*, who complained bitterly of the *Genevois*; but they were ſo well vindicated by *Vandelli*, who eſcaped all the ambuſcades laid for him by land, by croſſing the lake in a boat, that the cantons would take no cognizance of the matter. This exaſperated the fraternity of the ſpoon ſtill more, who received freſh aſſiſtances from their allies; and the cantons of *Bern* and *Zurich* intereſted themſelves ſo far in their quarrel, that they ſent deputies to inquire into the grounds of it, and to report the ſame at a meeting of the cantons, which was to be held at *St. Julien*. Their report was ſo favourable for the *Genevois*, that after various negociations, the duke of *Savoy* was prevailed upon to pay the auxiliaries from *Bern* and *Fribourg*, and to admoniſh the knights of the ſpoon to forbear their hoſtilities againſt the city. His admonitions were diſregarded, and their inſults continued even to the plundering ſome houſes in the ſuburbs. The reſt of the year was ſpent in various altercations about diſſolving the fraternity of the ſpoon, which was generally looked upon to be an illegal and a predatory inſtitution; but nothing effectual was done, ſaving that the *Bernois* and *Friburgers* renewed their aſſurances of friendſhip

A. D. 1529.

for the *Genevois*, and cancelled their treaty of alliance with the duke of *Savoy*.

Encreaſe of the power of the ma-giſtrates.

By this time the biſhop of *Geneva* had laid aſide all buſineſs; ſo that the magiſtrates were obliged to re-eſtabliſh a kind of commiſſion for managing the affairs of the biſhopric, and *Richardet* was choſen his ſteward, with four aſſiſtants, who have ever ſince been called auditors. When this regulation was intimated to him in the *Franche-comté*, he approved of it; but was ſo immerſed in indolence, that he deſired to have no further concern in the matter, that he might do nothing farther to exaſperate the duke of *Savoy*, with whom he had renewed a correſpondence. Next year the plague raged in *Geneva* to ſuch a degree, that a ſet of miſcreants, who had recovered from it, and therefore thought themſelves proof againſt it, entered into a confederacy for propagating it; but being diſcovered, they were puniſhed with the moſt exquiſite tortures. Both the duke and the *Knights of the Spoon* continued their hoſtilities againſt *Geneva*; and the biſhop, who remained ſtill in *Franche-comté*, was prevailed on to give them his countenance. This encouraged them ſo much, that they formed a ſcheme for ſurpriſing the city itſelf, by ſcaling the walls in the night-time. Their courage failed them in this attempt; but they plundered the ſuburbs of *St. Leger*. Not only the allies, but the other cantons of *Swiſſerland*, conſidered the caſe of the *Genevois* as a common cauſe; and, ſays *Spon*[s], "There ſet out from *Bern* ſeven thouſand men, and twelve pieces of ordnance, under the conduct of the governor of *Erlach*; from *Fribourg* two thouſand, with four pieces of cannon; and ſome time after, five hundred from *Soleurre*, with two pieces of cannon. Two or three thouſand volunteers joined this army." All thoſe auxiliaries arrived at *Morges*, where they ſtaid four days, while the knights thought proper to break up their camp. This army, however, which was more formidable than any that had been ſeen for ſome hundreds of years in thoſe parts, ſtruck the duke of *Savoy* with very ſerious apprehenſions; and he ſent *de Vauru* to aſſure the *Genevois*, that he knew nothing of the late attempt upon their city, though *de Vauru* had appeared as one of the heads of the knights.

Danger of Geneva,

which is delivered by its allies.

The leaders of the confederates, while at *Morges*, propoſed terms of accommodation between the duke and the *Genevois*; but the latter earneſtly deſired to have a conference with him at *Geneva*. Upon the army of the cantons decamping from *Morges*, and looking upon the *Knights of the*

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[s] Ibid. p. 92.

A peace.

A. D. 1530.

Differences ariſe anew.

Spoon, as being no better than outlaws and ruffians, they burned down the caſtle of *Rolle*, and moſt of their houſes in the *Vaud*, and then marched to *Geneva*, where they arrived about the 8th of *October*. A peace was propoſed between the duke and the *Genevois*, and haſtily concluded at *St. Julian*. The terms were, "that the priſoners ſhould be releaſed on both ſides; and that no acts of hoſtility ſhould paſs from either party, under penalty, on the duke's part, of the forfeiture of the country of *Vaud*; and of the *Genevois*, of the revocation of the alliance." It is probable, that the *Genevois* agreed to this peace, chiefly with a deſire to get rid of their friends, who had conſumed all that was eatable in their territory, and left the inhabitants on the point of ſtarving. Nothing had been ſtipulated either as to the vidamate or the alliance; and the duke of *Savoy* continued to inſiſt upon the revival of the one, and the diſſolution of the other, in an aſſembly of the cantons held at *Payerne*, *December* the 3d. He likewiſe inſiſted upon the fugitive *Mamalukes* being reſtored to *Geneva*, and to all their honours and eſtates there; and upon his being paid two hundred thouſand crowns, to indemnify him for the expences of the war. The deputies of the cantons were for referring the matter to the emperor; but that expedient was rejected by the *Genevois*, who inſiſted upon referring it to a general aſſembly of the cantons. The affair came before the latter on the 31ſt of the ſame month; and their determination was, that the affair of the fugitives ſhould be poſtponed; that the alliance with *Geneva* ſhould be confirmed; that *Bonnivard*, who had been illegally impriſoned by the duke, ſhould be releaſed; and that the duke ſhould pay to the three cities twenty-one thouſand crowns, which he was to raiſe upon the biſhop of *Geneva*, and the *Knights of the Spoon*; and that the agreement at *St. Julien* ſhould ſtand good, but that the vidamate ſhould be reſtored to him.

Conduct of the duke of Savoy.

THE duke rejected all the terms of this arbitration that were in his own diſfavour; but appointed a perſon to act as his vidame. The *Genevois* would not admit him, becauſe the other articles were not complied with, and fortified their city, ſo as to ſecure it againſt all ſurprize; while the duke, on the other hand, threatened to raiſe an army of ten thouſand men to reduce them, and prohibited all manner of proviſions from being carried into the city out of his dominions. But the religious diſputes, which now began to be very warm at *Geneva*, promiſed him greater advantages than all he could hope for from his arms, as they threatened an utter diſſolution of the confederacy.

CERTAIN young *Genevois*, either from a ſpirit of controverſy, or the love of truth, fixed up in all public parts of the

Progreſs of the reformation in Geneva.

city, a number of propoſitions, which they undertook either to defend or confute; but the tendency of the diſputations was generally againſt the eſtabliſhed religion. The reader who reflects upon that invincible love of liberty that was inherent in the natives of *Geneva,* and the perpetual ſtruggles they had with their biſhops, whoſe lives were far from being exemplary, cannot be ſurpriſed that the *Genevois* imitated their neighbours the *Swiſſes*, in canvaſſing the abſurdities in religion. By what can be gathered from their hiſtory, the eccleſiaſtics amongſt them differed in little or nothing from the laity, excepting in their haſty performances of their modes of worſhip; for they ſerved in their armies, and wore ſwords when they appeared abroad. One *Veily*, a canon, drew his ſword upon one of thoſe young *Genevois* diſputants, who ſtood upon his own defence; and a fray enſued, in which ſeveral perſons were wounded. Upon this the ſyndics publiſhed an order againſt all ſuch public diſputations for the future, and againſt the broaching of new doctrines. Soon after this order was publiſhed, the *Bernois*, who were extremely zealous for the converſion of the *Genevois*, perſuaded *William Farel*, an eminent reformer, and *Anthony Saunier*, to repair to *Geneva*, where, though in defiance of the civil power, they preached the new doctrines as they were called, and gained many ſecret converts. The clergy took the alarm; and though two ſyndics were their friends, they were obliged to leave the city. Their place was ſupplied by *Anthony Froment*, one of *Farel*'s diſciples; a briſk lively young man, who introduced himſelf under the character of a reading and writing tutor into many families, where he inſtructed his pupils, their parents, and friends, in the principles of the reformed religion; but his ſucceſs chiefly lay amongſt the women. His miſſion was not long a ſecret; for his audiences ſoon grew ſo crouded, that the magiſtrates could no longer wink at ſuch aſſemblies; and an order was iſſued from the council, commanding him to deſiſt. This order was delivered to him by the common ſerjeant, while he was in the middle of his ſermon; but he returned the uſual anſwer on ſuch occaſions, that it was better to obey God than man. This anſwer being reported to the council, a warrant was iſſued to apprehend him; and this obliged him firſt to abſcond, and then to leave the city. Thoſe proceedings made great noiſe in the cantons of alliance. The *Friburgers* repeated their threatnings to break with the *Genevois*, if their magiſtrates did not effectually put a ſtop to the new doctrine. The anſwer of the magiſtrates was, that they had done all they could, and that they would ſtrengthen the eccleſiaſtical power for that purpoſe. It is likely that they were not very ſincere in thoſe confeſſions,

Diſputes about religion.

for the reformed daily encreaſed; and the *Roman* clergy, the more the *Genevois* read the ſcripture, became the more deteſted. At laſt, in one of their aſſemblies which they held in a garden, one *Guerin*, a cap-maker, took upon him to adminiſter the ſacrament, for which he was obliged to fly the city. It muſt be acknowledged, that thoſe firſt reformers amongſt the *Genevois*, were not remarkable for their meekneſs. Several tumults happened between them and the eſtabliſhed clergy; and blows were frequently dealt between the followers of both parties. The magiſtrates, however, continued to protect the Papiſts, and to baniſh ſuch of the Proteſtants, particularly *Olivetan*, as were moſt forward in preaching and diſturbing the public peace, by preſuming to accuſe the maſs of idolatry.

The Bernois *offended.*

THIS offended the *Bernois*; and they in their turn threatened to break with the *Genevois*, if their magiſtrates continued their ſeverities againſt the reformers. Thus the city was divided between the *Bern* and *Fribourg* intereſt. The *Romiſh* clergy had ſtill great credit; they complained that the threatening letters which had been ſent from *Bern*, had been procured from thence by the reformed faction at *Geneva*; and while the council was aſſembled, about two hundred of the *Roman* Catholics called out for juſtice againſt the reformed, whom they threatened to puniſh if the magiſtrates declined it. This tumult being appeaſed, with great difficulty, and by fair words, four days after another of a more threatening nature broke out. One *Baudichon* had aſſembled, at his houſe, about two hundred reformed, all of them men of ſpirit and courage, well armed, and determined not to be inſulted by the *Romaniſts*. The popiſh part, on the other hand, aſſembled in great numbers in the church of *St. Peter*; and great preparations were made on both ſides to come to bloodſhed. Two of the ſyndics repaired to *St. Peter*'s, and two to *Baudichon*'s, to endeavour to compromiſe matters. In the mean while the great bell was rung by the *Romaniſts*, which was a ſignal for all of them to put themſelves in arms. Some eminent citizens were wounded; the city gates were ſhut; the great artillery was drawn out againſt *Baudichon*'s houſe; and ſome of the council put themſelves at the head of the *Romaniſts*. It happened, as it generally does on thoſe occaſions, that father was divided againſt ſon, and huſband againſt wife, and all burned with irreſiſtable fury; ſo that nothing was now expected but an unnatural ſcene of blood. The prieſts blew the flame, as believing their party the moſt numerous; but the ſyndics, by their inceſſant labours for peace, brought the reformed in *Baudichon*'s houſe to conſent

An inſurrection, to a treaty. This propoſal was rejected by the *Romaniſts*, who advanced to the aſſault; but underſtanding that they would meet with a warm reception, they halted, and began to liſten to ſome *Fribourg* merchants, who happening to be in the place, interpoſed, and brought both parties to conſent to a parley. This interpoſition being ſeconded by the prudence of the ſyndics, three hoſtages on either ſide were interchanged for keeping the peace; and next day the articles of agreement were publiſhed by the ſyndics. The ſubſtance of them was,

and accommodation. THAT all enmity ſhould ceaſe on both ſides, in words as well as deeds: that none ſhould rail againſt the ſacraments of the church; but that all perſons might uſe their own liberty: that fleſh ſhould not be eaten on *Wedneſdays* and *Saturdays*: that none ſhould preach without licence from the ſyndics and ſuperiors; and that nothing ſhould be maintained in ſermons that could not be proved out of the holy ſcriptures. Thoſe articles were ſolemnly ſworn to, the ſyndics taking the oath of the laity, and the vicar, of the clergy, for their obſervance.

The Fribourgers *demand ſatiſfaction.* IT is eaſy to perceive, that, by this concordate, the reformed, or as they were then called, Goſpellers, carried their main points. The *Bernois*, ſenſible of the ſtrength of their party, ſent a herald to deſire that *Peſte* and *Baudichon*, two of the chief Goſpellers, ſhould not be moleſted; and after *Eaſter* they ſent *Farel* and another miniſter to *Geneva*, to diſpute with the popiſh preachers. This renewed the tumults. The *Romaniſts* met together in a quarter of the city called *Molard*. Swords were drawn; the great bell was rung, and the canon *Verley* appeared armed from head to foot, brandiſhing a naked ſword, as the champion of the *Romaniſts*. Above ſeven hundred appeared on each ſide, and *Verley* was killed in endeavouring to make his retreat; while *Coquet*, a ſyndic, was wounded in the head, in endeavouring to ſeparate the combatants, which was at laſt effected with great difficulty; and two of the ringleaders were impriſoned. *Verley* happening to be a *Fribourger*, that canton demanded ſatisfaction, not only on thoſe who actually killed him, but on *Coquet* and the magiſtrates, who had not ſuppreſſed the tumult. Some days after deputies came from *Bern*, who acted as mediators; and at laſt it was agreed, that every perſon might be at liberty to go either to maſs or ſermons, as he pleaſed; and this compromiſe was likewiſe ſworn to, the other ſtanding ſtill in force.

THE biſhop, all this while, was abſent; but was now in hopes that the diviſions of *Geneva* would render his preſence there ſo neceſſary, that he might re-eſtabliſh his authority. On the 1ſt of *June* he arrived at that city, having been met a league out of town by the ſyndics. His firſt care was to releaſe ſeveral eccleſiaſtics out of priſon, and then he aſſiſted with the *Fribourg* deputies, at a general council, which was held after maſs. In that council a preſident of *Franche-comté* harangued the members, in favour of the biſhop, and againſt the Goſpellers. It ſoon appeared, that the reformation had taken too deep root to be cruſhed by his authority amongſt the *Genevois*. *Verley*'s kindred having aſſembled one hundred and twenty men at *Fribourg*, paſſed the lake, and advanced to *Gaillard*, from whence they ſent to *Geneva*, and once more demanded juſtice for their kinſman's death. Here the old diſpute between the biſhop and the ſyndics, concerning juriſdiction in capital caſes, was revived; and he was given to underſtand, that he had no power to judge the priſoners; upon which, finding all his endeavours in vain to eſtabliſh his authority, he haſtily left *Geneva*, about the middle of *July*, and retired into the duke of *Savoy*'s dominions. In the mean while nine men and a woman were indicted for *Verley*'s murder, before the attorney-general; and being acquitted, the attorney offered to enter an appeal, which was rejected, the ſyndics acquainting him, that they owned no ſuperior on earth, and therefore would admit of no appeal. To prove, however, that they were in earneſt to puniſh the murder, one *Thoberet*, who was convicted of having ſtabbed *Verley*, was publicly executed. This example of juſtice did not quiet *Verley*'s relations, who fell upon the *Genevois* Goſpellers whereever they met them; and thoſe bickerings were often attended by bloodſhed.

The biſhop returns to Geneva.

FROMENT was now returned to *Geneva*, together with one *Alexander Camus*, another reformer; while one *Furbity*, a doctor of the *Sorbonne*, appeared at *St. Peter*'s church, as the champion for popery. The indiſcreet zeal of *Froment* and *Camus* led them to break the late pacifications, by publicly contradicting *Furbity* in the church; upon which *Camus* was baniſhed, and *Froment* put under arreſt. This proceeding diſobliged the *Bernois*, whoſe religion being *Lutheran*, was not implicitly embraced by the reformed of *Geneva*. It is probable, likewiſe, that the ſyndics neither approved of the indiſcretion of the reformed preachers, nor of the forwardneſs of the *Bernois*, in preſſing upon them their religion. The *Bernois*, on the other hand, were diſguſted with the ſlowneſs of the ſyndics; and to quicken them, they demanded the arrears owing them on account of the late war. They likewiſe inſiſted upon *Furbity* being puniſhed, for preaching

Demands of the Bernois

ing erroneous and blaſphemous doctrine, and complained of the treatment of *Froment* and his companions. The *Genevois*, upon the *Bernois* deputies entering the city, took them to be *Lutheran* miniſters; and the Papiſts, both laics and eccleſiaſtics, ran to arms; but underſtanding how matters went, they were quieted. Upon the application of the deputies to the council, the cuſtody of *Furbity* was offered to the grand vicar, who refuſed to receive him; and the council made the beſt apology they could to keep the *Bernois* in temper. Soon after a herald came from *Fribourg*, complaining that *Farel*, who was returned to *Geneva*, was ſuffered to preach, and again threatening to break off their alliance. The epiſcopal and *Savoyard* parties foreſaw that it would be impoſſible for the ſyndics to preſerve their alliance both with *Bern* and *Fribourg*; and this encouraged the grand vicar, on the 1ſt of *January*, 1534, to give notice to all the pariſhes, that none ſhould preſume to preach, either in public or private, without licence from the biſhop or himſelf; and that all the inhabitants ſhould, under pain of excommunication, burn their *French* and *Dutch* bibles.

inſiſted upon. THREE days after freſh deputations, on the former account, arrived from *Fribourg* and *Bern*; but the latter was by far the moſt importunate. They demanded the arrears that were owing to their ſtate, and inſiſted upon ſatisfaction for *Furbity* having railed againſt their religion. The *Genevois* promiſed the payment of all that was juſtly due to them; but pleaded that they had no power over *Furbity*, becauſe he was an eccleſiaſtic. Upon this the deputies, in a rage, threw upon the table the letters of aſſociation; but took them back upon *Furbity* being ordered to anſwer for himſelf in the town-houſe. This revived the diſpute between the ſpiritual and temporal courts. Though the magiſtrates had declared, that they did not mean to injure the biſhop's rights, by ordering *Furbity* to anſwer before them; yet the biſhop ſent expreſs orders, that his caſe ſhould be remitted to the eccleſiaſtical court; while the *Bernois* inſiſted, with equal perſeverance, upon his being tried by the ſyndics alone, and that one of their miniſters ſhould be permitted to preach in *Geneva*.

Conſpiracy diſcovered. IT muſt be acknowledged, that the *Genevois* magiſtrates had, at this time, a moſt difficult taſk to manage; but the diſcovery of a dangerous deſign formed againſt their liberties, ſoon determined the part they were to act. Amongſt other inſtances of bloodſhed between the profeſſors of the two religions, one *Pennet*, a Papiſt, killed *Porral*, a Proteſtant; and the murderer, accompanied by *Portery*, the biſhop's ſecretary, took refuge in the ſteeple of *St. Peter*'s church, with deſign to ring the great bell in the night-time, and alarm their party. The ſyndics, in being informed where they were concealed, entered the church, made both of them priſoners, and *Pennet* next day loſt his head. *Portery*'s houſe was then ſearched, and many blank commiſſions, and other papers, ſealed with the duke of *Savoy*'s coat of arms, were found in his cloſet, with an order for appointing a governor over *Geneva*, who was to act, in temporals, as the biſhop's lieutenant, and to puniſh the reformed with the utmoſt ſeverity. Papers of the ſame import were likewiſe found under the biſhop's hand; and, in ſhort, a diſcovery was made of a deſign to render *Geneva* ſubject to the houſe of *Savoy* and the biſhop.

Conſequences of it.

THE evidences of this conſpiracy were read on the 10th of *February*, in the general council, convoked for electing the ſyndics, and produced great effects. The *Bernois* deputies animated the *Genevois* againſt the *Savoyard* party, and promiſed, in the names of their principals, to ſtand to their alliance. *Portery*'s indictment was drawn up, and his relations pleaded the biſhop's pardon in bar to his trial; but the ſyndics refuſed to admit it; and being convicted of man-ſlaughter, treaſon, and ſedition, he was executed according to his ſentence. This ſerved to encreaſe the inteſtine diviſions of the city, where, after the diſcovery of the late conſpiracy, the magiſtrates evidently leaned to the reformers. The ridiculous expedient of a public diſputation between *Furbity* and the miniſters was tried before the council of two hundred, who condemned *Furbity* to make a public recantation in the church of *St. Peter*, of the expreſſions which had given offence to the *Bernois*. He was accordingly led to the pulpit, and the form of the recantation put into his hands; but inſtead of pronouncing it, he began to harangue the auditory in favour of popery; upon which he was pulled from the pulpit, and kept cloſe priſoner. He was not the only preacher whom the *Bernois* complained of; they accuſed the preacher of *Rive*, one of the pariſhes of the city, of maintaining doctrines that were not to be found in the ſcripture, extracts of which they produced in writing. The ſyndics anſwered, that the preacher ſhould be warned not to propogate ſuch doctrines for the future. The *Bernois* then complained of one of their miniſters having been baniſhed the city; but the ſyndics and council replied, that they could not repeal his ſentence of baniſhment. Laſtly, the deputies deſired that they might be allowed a chapel and chaplain for themſelves; both which were accordingly granted them.

BY this time, the reformed had ſecretly taken a reſolution to try their ſtrength with the *Roman* Catholics, and endea-

Progreſs of the reformation, voured to get poſſeſſion of the church of *Rive*. For this purpoſe a reformed miniſter openly contradicted a preacher, who had delivered a ſermon there on the firſt *Sunday* in *Lent*; and on the 1ſt of *March*, *Baudichon* and *Amy Perron*, with other vigorous reformers, obliged *Farel* to get up into the pulpit, after the preacher had finiſhed his diſcourſe, and to confute him. This was the firſt time that the reformed had preached in a regular place of worſhip within *Geneva*; nor does it appear after that, that they ever quitted poſſeſſion of the church of *Rive*, where they not only preached, but baptized, married, and adminiſtered the ſacrameut. Some of the counſellors and new deputies from *Fribourg* complained of thoſe proceedings, as encroachments and breaches of the late pacifications. The magiſtrates laid the fault upon their allies of *Bern*, whom they ſaid they could not diſoblige at a juncture ſo critical to their liberties; and they exhorted the *Fribourgers* to join them in defending them againſt the biſhop; which they were ſo far from doing, that they utterly renounced their alliance with them, by tearing the ſeals from the treaty. Thus an alliance, which was formed upon the noble principles of liberty, was cancelled through fantaſtic differences in religion.

which gains ground. ON *Whitſun-eve* the heads of the images over the church gates were ſtruck off, by ſome unknown offenders; and *Bernard*, a prieſt of *St. Peter*'s church, renounced popery, and was married by *Peter Vieret* to *Amy Perron*'s ſiſter. In ſhort, the party of the reformers every day gained ground. This was the more extraordinary, as the epiſcopal and eccleſiaſtical power and property in *Geneva*, was at leaſt equal to thoſe of the temporal, and indeed can only be accounted for by the ignorance, heat, imprudence, and pride of the eccleſiaſtics themſelves. Lamentable, however, were the diviſions that reigned both in public and private, when the two parties came near to an equality, and which encouraged the biſhop to attempt once more to re-aſſume his authority. He was ſupported by the duke and nobility of *Savoy*, who raiſed a conſiderable body of ſoldiers to aſſiſt him to enter *Geneva*, the gates of which were to be opened by his party within the city, while the charges of the cannon that defended the walls were to be privately drawn. The vigilant ſyndics, three of whom were now Proteſtants, diſcovered this conſpiracy; and at nine of the night preceding the morning of the intended execution, they ſhut their gates, and put the inhabitants under arms; but continued the ſignals that were to be given to the biſhop by his accomplices within the city. His ſcouts finding all the gates ſhut, and that all was quiet within, concluded that the deſign was diſcovered, returned to *Lebuyſet*, within two miles of *Geneva*, where the biſhop was; and thus the deſign came to nothing, the *Savoyards* only plundering a few open houſes, and making *Peter Vandel* priſoner; but he was ſoon after exchanged. As to the biſhop, he retired again to *Franche-comté*; and thinking that he was ill ſerved in *Geneva*, he turned out his officers there, and ſettled at *Gex*; but the magiſtrates of *Geneva* refuſed to ſend him the ſeal of the biſhopric when he demanded it.

An aſſembly at Baden.

A GENERAL aſſembly of the cantons was then held at *Baden*, and the *Genevois* laid their grievances before it. The *Bernois*, at the ſame time, ſent deputies to deſire the duke of *Savoy*, who affected to be in good underſtanding with them, not to abet the enemies of *Geneva*; but they received little ſatisfaction. The duke complained of the *Genevois*, for the indignities they had formerly done him, and of their lately demoliſhing his altar in the church of *Rive*; and not only demanded that the biſhop ſhould be re-admitted, but that his vidame ſhould be reſtored in the city. In anſwer to this, the *Genevois* referred themſelves to the treaties of *St. Julien* and *Payerne*; but refuſed to re-admit the biſhop. Several other conferences were held on the ſame ſubject, at *Tonon* and *Lucerne*; but all was to no purpoſe. About this time the magiſtrates of *Geneva* had the honour of receiving a letter, written to them by the *French* king, informing them, that he had ſet at liberty two of their countrymen, *Baudichon* and *Cologny*, who had been impriſoned at *Lyons* for their religion, and requeſting the *Genevois* to ſet *Furbity*, who was his ſubject, at liberty. Even that powerful interceſſion did not prevent the *Genevois* from aſking leave of the *Bernois* before they would grant the requeſt; and then *Furbity* was exchanged for *Saunier*, a miniſter.

A. D. 1535.

THE impolitic proceeding of the *French* king, who perſecuted the Proteſtants within his own dominions, while he favoured them in the empire, was of vaſt ſervice to the reformation in *Geneva*, as it filled that city with *French* refugees, and furniſhed them with men and preachers of far greater abilities than any the Papiſts had to oppoſe to them. New converts were likewiſe every day renouncing the errors of popery, even among their own clergy. During all thoſe proceedings, the ſyndics took care to be attended with a captain and a herald belonging to the *Bernois*, to give countenance to their party. On the 4th of *April*, a woman, an inhabitant of *Breſſe*, under pretence of being a proſelyte to the reformation, came to *Geneva*, where ſhe was diſcovered, and executed for attempting to poiſon three miniſters. *Viret*

A female poiſoner diſcovered.

was the only one who taſted the poiſon, and it almoſt killed him. The woman accuſed a canon as being her confederate; and he was impriſoned by order of the ſyndics.

Unſucceſsful attempt of the Genevois.

ON the 5th of *May* the *Genevois* attempted to ſurpriſe the town of *Peney*, which they conſidered as belonging to their juriſdiction, though in poſſeſſion of the biſhop. Their attempt proved unſucceſsful, though five hundred men and ſeven pieces of cannon were employed in it; and after loſing two or three of their number, they returned to *Geneva*. This attempt, the juſtice of which does not clearly appear, occaſioned hoſtilities to break out between the people of *Peney* and *Geneva*; and the latter, for that and many other reaſons, proceeded in ſtrengthening and augmenting their fortifications. The biſhop and his court continued ſtill at *Gex*, where he had the mortification to ſee an end of all his authority in *Geneva*. The ſyndics, on the other hand, affected to do nothing but upon the cleareſt evidences of ſcripture and reaſon. *James Bernard*, guardian of the convent of Grey Friars of *Rive*, and brother to the *Bernard* of the ſame convent, who had abjured popery the year before, held public diſputations at the convent of *Rive*, againſt *Caroli*, a doctor of the *Sorbonne*, and *Chapuiſy*, a *Dominican* friar, who were champions for popery. The biſhop prohibited all his clergy, as the duke of *Savoy* did his ſubjects, from being preſent at thoſe diſputations; but they were mightily encouraged by the ſyndics, who ordered four ſecretaries to attend, and to take down all that paſſed at them, with a view of publiſhing it. On the 22d of *July*, *Farel*, at the head of many of his hearers, drove the *Romiſh* clergy and auditory out of *St. Magdelen*'s pariſh church, of which he took poſſeſſion; and ſix days after he preached at *St. Gervais*, attended by a guard of fifty men, aſſigned him by the ſyndics, for preventing diſturbances. On the 5th of *Auguſt*, he preached at *St. Dominick*'s; and at laſt, on the 8th of the ſame mouth, at *St. Peter*'s itſelf, under the ſound of the great bell.

IT was a misfortune, not peculiar to *Geneva*, that the ſpirit of her reformers carried them ſometimes into unwarrantable, nay barbarous exceſſes. Being in poſſeſſion of their churches, they not only deſtroyed the relics and images there, but demoliſhed the ſtatue of *Charlemagne*, which ſtood over the great gate of the church, which was erected by himſelf, as is moſt probable; an outrage that gave great concern to the lovers of antiquity and learning. Next day *Baudichon*, *Vandel*, and *Amy Perrin*, who had been appointed captains of the city-guard, went at the head of their men to the churches of *St. Gervais* and *Dominick*, where their zeal againſt popery led them to deſtroy a noble picture which had coſt ſix hundred ducats; and they would have pulled down the fine chapel of *Rene* of *Savoy*, had not the ſyndics interpoſed with their ſtaves, and prevented them. Next day *Farel* preached before the council of two hundred; and the 22d of *Auguſt* gave the fatal blow to the *Romiſh* religion in *Geneva*, by the ſyndics paſſing an order for utterly abrogating the ſame, and for eſtabliſhing the Proteſtant doctrine. We know of no tumults that this great revolution of religion was attended with. The nuns of *St. Clare* had leave, if they pleaſed, to continue in their convent; but perceiving they could not be indulged with having the maſs celebrated there, they begged to be carried to the duke of *Savoy*'s dominions, to which they were eſcorted by the ſyndics, and where the duke built them another convent at *Anny* (B).

The Roman Catholic religion expelled out of Geneva.

AT this time, all the regular military force of *Geneva* amounted only to four hundred volunteers, who were commanded by *Baudichon*, inſtead of the ſyndic *Philip*. *Claude* of *Savoy*, a *Genevois*, was ſent to *Bern*, to prevail with that canton to ſend them ſome aſſiſtance. The *Bernois* were then in good terms with the duke of *Savoy*, and offered to be mediators between him and their allies; but declined to ſpare the troops that were required; upon which *Claude* went to raiſe ſupplies in *Neufchatel*. Having raiſed ſome, the deputies of *Bern*, as they were marching through their country, procured them to be diſbanded, while the *Savoyards* intercepted three of the *Genevois* deputies, and confined them in the caſtle of *Chilon*.

(B) Thoſe nuns were but nine in number, one having turned Proteſtant; and ſome of them had not, for thirty years, been out of the walls of the convent. They were a whole day in travelling to *St. Julien*, which is but a league; but were vaſtly aſtoniſhed when they found themſelves in the open fields, where they took the ſheep and oxen for lions and bears. Before their departure, *Farel*, with great zeal, preached a ſermon, in which he exhorted them to marry; but without any effect. Their journey is recorded by one of themſelves, called ſiſter *Juſſie*, in a little tract, entitled, *The Beginning of the Hereſy in* Geneva; which is written with inimitable ſimplicity.

SECT. III.

Containing the Progreſs of the Reformation amongſt the Genevois, *and their Wars with the Duke of* Savoy; *Arrival of* Calvin *at* Geneva; *his Hiſtory there, with that of* Servetus, *whom he procured to be burned;* Calvin's *Troubles and Death; Succeſſes of the* Genevois *againſt their Enemies;* Beza *appears among them; and their Hiſtory continued to the Year* 1603.

A. D. 1536. *Difficulties of the* Genevois,

NO people perhaps, under the denomination of a republic or a ſovereign ſtate, ever were at a lower paſs than the *Genevois* were, when they had the ſpirit to reform themſelves from the errors of popery; and what is ſtill more, to ſhake off the yoke of their biſhop and the duke of *Savoy.* They had amongſt them neither trade nor manufactures, and ſo little money of their own, after the expulſion of the *Savoyards*, that it was with the utmoſt difficulty two pieces of coarſe money of the *Geneva* coin were diſcovered, to be patterns for a new coinage. They were on all hands ſurrounded by enemies, who had every motive for hating them that revenge, ambition, and popery could inſpire. They were even deſtitute of proviſion for their daily ſupport; and now that their friends the *Bernois* had failed them, they ſeemed to be abandoned by all human aid, as the people of *Gex* had intercepted and cut off the few auxiliaries, who ſtill appeared willing to follow *Claude.* The *Savoyards* had ſeized upon *Peney*, where they committed the moſt inhuman outrages, and carried away the inhabitants, whom they accuſed of treaſon, priſoners to *Gex*; but the *Genevois*, though thus ſurrounded with difficulties, and though they ſcarce poſſeſſed a foot of ground they could call their own, without their gates, never ſeemed to have entertained the leaſt thoughts of ſubmitting to their former tyrants, either temporal or ſpiritual.

who are oppreſſed by the Savoyards.

WHILE they were in this diſtreſs, they were relieved, by an accidental effect, of their poverty. Having no manufactures, and little agriculture of their own, the poorer ſort generally ſought their livelihood in *France*, where they were employed as printers and compoſitors, and in other ingenious arts, particularly about *Lyons.* Thoſe poor journeymen could not withſtand the call of their country's diſtreſs, and about ſix hundred of them took arms for her relief, being com-

nded by one *Roboan*, a printer, and one *Francis* of *Mont-*
ſieur of *Veray*. Beginning their march with that inten-
ı, they found the *Savoyards* in poſſeſſion of all the paſſes as
as *Salleneuve*. Notwithſtanding this they forced their way
St. Claude; and *Montbel* undertook to acquaint the *Gen-*
of their approach, and to deſire them to favour their en-
ng the town, by making a ſally. *Montbel* diſcharged his
nmiſſion with great danger to himſelf; for being alone he
taken for a ſpy; and as he was approaching the gates of
neva, he was fired upon by the inhabitants. He found
ıns, however, to acquaint them with his inſtructions;
the *Genevois* made the ſally accordingly with all their
e and artillery. Both parties, however, were ſo igno-
t in military diſcipline, that they miſſed each other upon
road, ſo that part of the auxiliaries fell into the hands of
Savoyards, and part threw themſelves into *Geneva*.

Favourable turn of their affairs.

HIS reinforcement, inconſiderable as it was, gave a fa-
rable turn to the affairs of the *Genevois*; it enabled them
make ſallies, and to procure proviſions. Though they
e rather ſtraitened than beſieged in their city, yet they
e threatened with all the miſeries of a ſiege; but the for-
of the war was now changed, and they enlarged their
rters. Their enemies had taken the convent of *Our Lady*
race; but being obliged to quit it, the *Genevois* razed it
the ground; and on the 16th of *January*, they defeat-
their enemies, in an attempt they made to ſurpriſe
city by a ſcalade, on the ſide of *Gervais* and *St. Victor*.
oſe ſmall ſucceſſes, joined to the apprehenſions of famine,
e them courage and an additional degree of weight with
r allies of *Bern*, who, reſenting the attempt of the *Savoy-*
to ſurpriſe their city, declared war againſt the duke of
y, and ſent him back the articles of agreement they had
red into with him, promiſing, at the ſame time, to ſend
Genevois a ſpeedy reinforcement. This induced the duke
ill the neighbourhood of *Geneva* with an additional num-
of ſoldiers, in order to cut off all reſources from the in-
itants. This was ſo far from diſcouraging the *Genevois*,
they reſolved, under *de Veray*, to beat up the enemy's
rters; and accordingly, in a ſally, they ſurpriſed a body
ix hundred horſe and foot, whom they cut into pieces, or
le priſoners, with the loſs of not above three or four of
r own men. Some days after this action, being diſap-
ited of the ſuccours promiſed them by the *Bernois*, they
t out a bark, and as many boats as carried eight hun-
l men acroſs the lake, where they alarmed the country of
y, and plundered *Gentoux* and *Verſoy*, even to the bells

of their churches. This expedition was commanded by *de Veray*, who next day took poſſeſſion of *Sacconex*, which had been abandoned by the enemy on the approach of the *Bernois* auxiliaries that were now in motion; and in thoſe two caſtles they found a vaſt quantity of proviſion, which they ſent to *Geneva*, where it proved a moſt ſeaſonable relief to the inhabitants: they then blew up the fortifications of *Peney*, which had long been a thorn in their ſides, and which they had not men to garriſon.

They are aſſiſted by the Bernois.

About the 31ſt of *January*, the *Bernois* auxiliaries were advanced in their march to *Geneva* as far as *Nyons*, having deſtroyed all that part of the *Vaud* through which they paſſed. *Charles* III. was then duke of *Savoy*; but he was ſo ill ſerved by his ſubjects, that he was obliged to take mercenaries into pay, who plundered his dominions equally as his enemies did, ſo that his ſubjects of the *Vaud*, as well as the *Chablais*, conſidered the *Bernois* rather as their protectors than their foes. The city and caſtle of *Gex* ſurrendered to the *Bernois*; as did *Tonon*, though lying on the other ſide of the lake; and the caſtles of *Juſſy* and *Gaillard* were, upon ſummons, delivered up to the *Genevois*. At laſt the *Bernois* auxiliaries, who, with thoſe of *Neufchatel*, did not amount to above ſeven hundred men, arrived at *Geneva*. In a council of war it was reſolved to attack fort *la Cluſe*, which they took, and ſent the garriſon, conſiſting of five hundred men, priſoners to *Gex*. But the joy of the *Genevois*, who returned from this expedition loaded with booty and proviſions, was greatly damped by the avarice and inſolence of their *Bernois* auxiliaries, who demanded, for their expence of the war, all the revenues of the vidamate and the biſhopric. The ſenate, on the other hand, repreſented to the *Bernois* the diſhonour of ſtaining the generous aſſiſtance they had given them, by a demand which would ſubject them to the ſame oppreſſion from which they had been relieved; and the demand ſeems, at that time, to have been dropt. The truth is, the *Bernois* were no inconſiderable gainers by breaking with the duke of *Savoy*. It gave them an opportunity of making themſelves maſters of *Lauſanne* and *Yverdon*; and at laſt, by the help of the *Genevois* frigate, they took the caſtle of *Chilon*, where they delivered *Bonnivard*, who had been many years confined priſoner in a dungeon. The *French* king, *Francis* I. was maſter of the greateſt part of *Savoy*, *La Breſſe*, and *Piedmont*, and deſired the *Bernois* to confine their conqueſts within the *Vaud* and the *Chablais*. The *Fribourgers*, at the ſame time, though at peace with the duke, took poſſeſſion of the county of *de Romant*, leſt, as they pretended, it ſhould fall into the hands of the *Bernois*. Thus the duke was ſtripped on all hands; and in the beginning of *May* this year, the *Genevois* poſſeſſed and garriſoned *Juſſy*, *Thy*, *Peney*, *Bellerive*, and *Seligny*; but demoliſhed the caſtle of *Gaillard*.

A new alliance.

THE *Bernois* had never loſt ſight of their claim upon the *Genevois*, whom they now thought to be in a condition to ſatisfy it; and a meeting was held at *Bern* for that purpoſe, where matters were ſettled on the following terms. The alliance between the two ſtates was continued for twenty-five years; the *Genevois* obliged themſelves to pay to the *Bernois* ten thouſand crowns in ſix months time; the *Bernois* were to be admitted into *Geneva* as often as they thought proper, and to be put into poſſeſſion of the lordſhip of *Gaillard*, the abbey of *Bellerive*, and the caſtle of *Cholex*. Thus the *Genevois* preſerved the revenues of the vidamate, the biſhopric, and the valuable abbey of *St. Victor*.

Religious affairs.

FAREL, who ſeems to have had in his compoſition a ſtrong tincture of enthuſiaſm, ſtill continued at the head of the *Genevois* reformation; and it is more than probable, that the ſyndics thought he had too much ſway with the common people. The perſecution of the Proteſtants ſtill raging in *France*, the famous *John Calvin*, with his brother *Anthony*, came to *Geneva*, in his way to *Baſil* and *Straſbourg*. He was a man of parts and zeal for the reformation; and his learning was far ſuperior to that of *Farel*, who, with great difficulty, engaged him to remain at *Geneva*. By their joint labours the Proteſtant religion acquired great ſtrength; but the diviſions and imprudence of its profeſſors had almoſt ruined it. The *Bernois* were ſmitten with the itch of diſputation, upon the moſt ridiculous trifling matters of religion; and aſſuming a ſuperiority over the *Genevois*, preſſed the latter to comply with them in every whimſical article as a matter of ſalvation. In the year 1537, an Anabaptiſt endeavouring to introduce his doctrine into *Geneva*, was diſputed with by *Farel*, who prevailed with the magiſtrates to baniſh him and his followers out of the city. They retired to *Swiſſerland*, where the *Bernois* put ſome of them to death. In *March*, *Caroline*, a famous champion for popery, came likewiſe to *Geneva*; and *Farel*, after diſputing with him, prevailed with the magiſtrates to drive him out of their city likewiſe. *Farel* then preſumed to differ with the *Bernois*, upon the articles of making uſe of unleavened bread in the ſacrament; and of women being married with their hair diſhevelled. This created a breach in the friendſhip between the two ſtates; and *Calvin* joining with him in rejecting the doctrine of conſubſtantiation, it was widened.

The Proteſtant miniſters expelled;

It was no wonder that the *Genevois* magiſtrates were prejudiced againſt men who could thus endanger the peace and liberty of a ſtate for ſuch whimſical trifles. The *Romiſh* party was indefatigable in repreſenting and exaggerating thoſe abſurdities; and at laſt the magiſtrates, who are ſaid to have been *Roman* Catholics in their hearts, cited the three principal Proteſtant preachers, *Calvin*, *Farel*, and *Courant*, who was blind, to appear before them, which they accordingly did, and offered to defend their Confeſſion of Faith. They had againſt them, not only the *Romiſh*, but the *Bernois* intereſt; and upon their refuſing to conform with the canton of *Bern*, in celebrating the ſacrament, the ſyndics ordered them to depart the city in three days time, which they were obliged to do. *Calvin* retired to *Baſil*, and from thence to *Straſbourg*; as *Farel* did to *Neufchatel*; but both of them held a frequent correſpondence with their friends in *Geneva*, and it was eaſy to foreſee, that their exile would be of no long duration. Their baniſhment was followed by the perſecution of the other Proteſtant clergy, ſome of whom were prudent enough to comply with the *Bernois* diſcipline in indifferent matters; while others, particularly *Saunier* and *Matturin Cordier*, were baniſhed for not complying with the *Romaniſts*, by adminiſtering the communion in a wafer.

During the year 1539, the liberty as well as the religion of the *Genevois* was in ſuſpence. The baniſhed miniſters and their followers had the merit of maintaining the independency of the ſtate in both. The *Bernois* pretended to dictate; the *Roman* Catholics improved the differences to their own purpoſes; and the magiſtrates, without troubling themſelves about the affairs of religion, paſſed a decree in the general council, that whoſoever ſhould ſo much as adviſe a change of government, ſhould loſe his head. This was a neceſſary precaution; for a faction now ſprung up, who called themſelves Artichauds, or Artichokes, from their wearing leaves of that plant as badges, who favoured the ſuperiority of the *Bernois* over *Geneva*. Thoſe Artichauds had been enemies to the baniſhed paſtors. Three of them reſided as deputies at *Bern*, and had agreed to give up to the *Bernois* the lordſhip and abbey of *St. Victor*, with other articles extremely prejudicial to the public liberty. This agreement being reported in the general council, the deputies were ſent for home, impriſoned, and condemned to loſe their heads as traitors. Being men of great intereſt, their condemnation produced conſiderable diſturbances. *John Philippe*, who was then captain-general of the troops, and had borne the higheſt poſts in the ſtate, befriended them, and killed a partizan of the other faction.

A. D. 1540.

but reſtored.

tion. This in an inſtant loſt *Philippe* all his intereſt and popularity. He endeavoured to make his eſcape, but was taken; and though the *Bernois* earneſtly interpoſed in his favour, he loſt his head. *Richardet*, another leader of the ſame party, was killed by a fall, in trying to make his eſcape over the city walls. Two of the three deputies who were under ſentence of death, had been joint ſyndics with *Philippe* and *Richardet*, when the reformed miniſters were baniſhed out of *Geneva*; and nothing was now more talked of than the repeal of that baniſhment. In the mean while the emperor *Charles* V. ſent a letter to the citizens of *Geneva*, encouraging them to maintain their independency againſt the *Bernois*, to whom he had wrote to deſiſt from their claims; and threatening the *Genevois* with his higheſt diſpleaſure, if they did not maintain themſelves in the poſſeſſion of thoſe privileges that had been granted them by his anceſtors. Thoſe letters being read in the general council, an order was made for repealing the baniſhment of the miniſters; and *Calvin* was accordingly invited to return to *Geneva*. He was at that time ſettled at *Straſburg*, where he had vaſt ſucceſs in making converts; and it was with great difficulty he was prevailed upon to return to *Geneva*, where a conſiſtory was now eſtabliſhed. Being returned, his exile ſeemed to have given him new luſtre. He applied himſelf indefatigably to the duties of his function: he kept up a cloſe correſpondence with the moſt eminent Proteſtants all over *Europe*; and at laſt he became in a manner the dictator of the ſtate, where he eſtabliſhed that eccleſiaſtical policy which ſtill prevails there. The high credit he was in was of ſervice to *Geneva*, where many uſeful manufacturers and artiſts took refuge on account of their religion.

Death of the biſhop of Geneva.

In the year 1542, the plague being at *Geneva*, the great palace there was fitted up for an hoſpital; but the magiſtrates held *Calvin* in ſo great eſteem, that they would not ſuffer him to attend the infected, and he went to *Straſbourg*, where he renewed his diſputations with *Caroline*. Next year *Peter* of *Baume*, biſhop of *Geneva*, died, and that dignity was conferred by the pope upon *Auberive*, who reſided at *Arnig*. Some pretend that *Calvin* was jealous of the ſuperior parts of the excellent *Caſtalio*, who was his fellow labourer in the miniſtry, and that he employed underhand means to procure his expulſion from *Geneva*. It is certain that *Caſtalio* was accuſed before the council of maintaining ſome heterodox opinions, particularly with regard to the ſong of *Solomon*, which he conſidered as an amorous poem, and the deſcent of Chriſt into hell; which being diſapproved of by the council, he was depoſed from his miniſtry, and obliged to withdraw to *Baſil*.

A ſcene of wickedneſs diſcovered. In the year 1545, a moſt incredible ſcene of wickedneſs was diſcovered in *Geneva*. That city had been often ſubject to the plague, which a ſet of miſcreants, who were employed as cleanſers, and who being recovered had nothing to fear from the infection, endeavoured to ſpread. Thoſe wretches, conſiſting of men and women, erected themſelves into a kind of fraternity, and made uſe of cant words to expreſs their deteſtable practices. One *Lentilles* was at their head; and it was common for them to collect the morbid matter in rags, which they dropped or diſtributed in places which were not infected. One *Tallent*, an accomplice of *Lentilles*, had been diſcovered in this deteſtable crime at *Tonon*, and being apprehended he confeſſed his guilt, and impeached *Lentilles* and his confederates. *Lentilles* being apprehended, was confronted with *Tallent*; but would confeſs nothing, tho' racked to the moſt exquiſite degree till he expired. All they could extort from him, was his deſiring them to ſeize upon all who attended the hoſpital. This being done, ſeven men and twenty-four women were tried, convicted, and upon their own confeſſion burnt alive; and a ſurgeon, and two others, had their ſkins pulled off them by red-hot pincers. All of them acknowledged that *Lentilles* had engaged them, under the moſt horrible oaths, to the perpetration of their crimes. Thoſe executions, in a few weeks, reſtored the city and ſtate to ſalubrity, after loſing twenty thouſand people.

Diſſentions in Geneva NOTHING memorable happened for ſome years after in *Geneva* but religious diſputes. *Calvin*'s rigorous diſcipline ſhut up the taverns, put a ſtop to all ſports, and prohibited all profane dancing and ſinging, which gave great offence to the young *Genevois*; but it was in vain they repined. *Calvin* got the magiſtrates on his ſide, and the contumacious were threatened with excommunication if they did not ſubmit. A member of the council, however, had the courage to impeach *Calvin*'s doctrine as being unſound; but the magiſtrates, without farther inquiry or application, committed him to priſon, and condemned him to do penance for his accuſation, by walking through the city with a torch in his hand. A letter about this time was intercepted from *Calvin* to *Viret*, and read before the council, accuſing the *Genevois* of impiety and hypocriſy. *Calvin* being queſtioned upon this letter, boldly juſtified it; but applied his reflections to particular perſons; upon which he was acquitted, and he continued his diſputations and publications upon religion with vaſt ſucceſs. He met with a keen opponent in the perſon of *Belſec*, who had been a *Carmelite*, but pretended to embrace proteſtantiſm, and at the ſame time charged *Calvin* with making

God the author of ſin, and with other abſurd tenets. *Calvin* defended himſelf, as is ſaid, with great learning, and was ſeconded by *Farel*; and *Bolſec* was firſt impriſoned, and then baniſhed the city. One *Troillet* was another of *Calvin*'s opponents, but was ſilenced by the ſecular power, though that did not prevent many diſturbances on the head of religion from ariſing.

Condemnation of Servetus.

BUT the moſt impious abuſe of the ſecular power in matters of religion, happened in the caſe of the famous *Michael Servetus*, a *Spaniard*, and one of the moſt learned phyſicians of his age. It is far from being our intention to enter upon the ſpeculative points of this unhappy gentleman's doctrine in which he differed from *Calvin*; we ſhall relate facts. *Servetus* had been impriſoned for his opinions at *Vienna*; from whence making his eſcape, he took refuge at *Geneva*. It was natural for him to hope for an aſylum amongſt a people who had founded their liberties upon their right of thinking for themſelves in matters of religion, and diſclaiming authority in points of conſcience. He was deceived; and being arrived at *Geneva*, he was thrown into priſon, and accuſed by *Calvin* of ſome heterodox opinions with regard to the Trinity, and other articles of faith. He was at the ſame time robbed by the magiſtrates of a gold chain, and a conſiderable ſum of money, which never were returned him; ſo that he was in danger of periſhing for want in the priſon. Being called upon to make his defence, he did it with ſo much freedom and learning, that *Calvin* could oppoſe him with nothing but the ſecular power, which condemned him to be burnt alive. *Servetus* ſuffered this ſentence without retracting his opinion, to the indelible infamy of thoſe concerned in it. This cruelty gave many advantages to *Calvin*'s enemies. He was repreſented as a favourer of perſecution in matters of religion, which was the ſtrongeſt charge that he himſelf had brought againſt the *Romiſh* church; and the defence he made for himſelf was vague and illiberal; for it contained nothing more than recriminations upon *Servetus*, and a pretended confutation of his hereſies, as if thoſe bare allegations, had they been proved, could have juſtified murder.

Jealouſy of the Genevois.

THE fiery ſpirit of *Calvin* ſeemed to communicate itſelf to the laity of *Geneva*. The *French* had retired to that city in ſuch numbers, that the *Bernois* ſent the magiſtrates ſome intimations of their having formed a deſign againſt their liberties; upon which the people of *Merindol* and *Cabrieres*, who had fled for refuge to *Geneva*, were employed in farther fortifying the city. This did not ſatisfy the hot-headed citizens, and under *Amy Perrin*, their captain general, they entered into a deſign to maſſacre all the *French* within *Geneva* in one night. This deteſtable conſpiracy was diſcovered by the council, who put to death as many of the heads of it as fell into their hands; but thirty of them fled, and were condemned in their abſence. They, however, procured the *Bernois* to intercede for them, but to no purpoſe, which produced many tumults in and about the city.

Valentine Gentil *condemned.*

GENEVA was now the chief ſanctuary of all the reformed, whom religion had driven from their own countries. The *Engliſh*, the *French*, the *Italians*, and other nations, had their ſeveral churches there, or in the ſuburbs, and their tranſactions make a conſiderable figure in the eccleſiaſtical hiſtory of that time. In the year 1556, the confederacy between *Geneva* and *Bern* was renewed; and next year it was rendered perpetual. In the year 1558, ſome *Italians* profeſſing *Arian* principles, which they neither underſtood nor could explain, came to *Geneva*; amongſt them was *Valentine Gentil*. The ſecular power continued to be the great teſt of truth amongſt the *Genevois*; and thoſe heretics, as an anſwer to their doubts and doctrines, were required to ſign the confeſſion of faith drawn up by *Calvin*. Some complied through conveniency, amongſt others was *Gentil*; but others, becauſe they would not comply, were forced to leave the city. *Gentil*, notwithſtanding his ſubſcription, continued to dogmatize upon *Arian* principles, and to oppoſe the doctrine of *Calvin*; upon which he was committed to priſon, and great doubts aroſe, whether he did not deſerve the fate of *Servetus*. *Gentil* was, however, more pliable at this time than *Servetus* had been. He exhibited a writing, by which he retracted his opinions; and by a ſeeming repentance prevailed with the magiſtrates to inflict upon him no other puniſhment than burning his books; and obliging him not to depart the city without their leave. Notwithſtanding the mildneſs of this cenſure he joined with *Matthew Gribalde*, a diſciple of *Servetus*, and withdrawing from *Geneva*, he propagated his doctrines in the county of *Gex*, where the bailiff obliged him to a ſecond recantation; but being irreclaimable, he was afterwards burnt at *Bern*.

A college inſtituted at Geneva.

THE great apology for *Calvin* purſuing thoſe ſanguinary perſecuting meaſures is his ſincerity, and his being ſatisfied as to the truth of what he taught. He had now acquired a reputation all over *Europe*, which occaſioned a reſort of Proteſtants to *Geneva*, to the vaſt benefit of that city. About the year 1558, thoſe emigrants encreaſed ſo greatly, that it was judged neceſſary to found a college at *Geneva* for their reception and education. This college was divided into ſeven claſſes, in which *Greek*, *Hebrew*, and philoſophy, were taught by ſeparate profeſſors, while *Calvin*, and the famous *Theodore Beza*, read the divinity lectures. The ſtatutes of this college were afterwards printed. About this time *Emanuel Philibert*, duke of *Savoy*, ſucceeding to his father, who had been ſtripped of almoſt all his eſtates, obtained the reſtitution of part of them from the cantons; but complained bitterly that the *Genevois* encouraged his ſubjects of *Lucerne* and other places in their contumacy. A like complaint was brought againſt the *Genevois* by *Charles* IX. the *French* king, who taxed their ſtate with being the ſource from which all the diviſions and diſtractions of his kingdom proceeded. In anſwer to thoſe charges, the *Genevois* did not deny their having encouraged foreigners to ſtudy there, and to qualify themſelves for the proteſtant miniſtry; but they proteſted that they never entertained the leaſt thoughts of fomenting diſobedience in ſubjects againſt their ſovereign; and as to the *Savoyards*, they declared, that they had no farther connection with them, than by praying God to deliver them from military cruelty.

Death of Calvin.

GENEVA was at this time conſidered on the continent of *Europe*, as being the great ſeat of the reformed religion. Their magiſtrates were ſo ſevere in their diſcipline, that they put a banker to death for being guilty of adultery; and another perſon condemned to be whipped for the ſame crime, having appealed for a mitigation of his puniſhment to the council of two hundred, was ſo far from receiving it, that he was put to death likewiſe by their ſentence. In all religious diſputes, the *Genevois* divines were the umpires, and they furniſhed preachers and miniſters to all the reformed ſtates in *Europe*. In the year 1564 *Calvin* died, and his corpſe was attended to the grave by almoſt all the inhabitants of *Geneva*. Nothing remarkable happened in that ſtate till the year 1566, when *James Paul Spiſſame* was put to death at *Geneva*. He had been biſhop of *Nevers*, and had retired to that city on account of his embracing the reformed religion. He had, at his own requeſt, been admitted a citizen; and he was ſo much eſteemed for his learning, that he was ſent as a miſſionary into *France*, for the propagation of proteſtantiſm. During his abſence a ſuſpicion aroſe of his wanting again to reconcile himſelf to the church of *Rome*; and it was diſcovered that, being married, he had antedated his nuptial contract, that he might enable his ſon, whom he had by his wife before marriage, to inherit his large eſtate. Being impriſoned upon this charge, he was examined, convicted, and put to death, upon his own confeſſion. It was, however, believed by many, that his chief crime conſiſted of his having diſobliged *Ca-*

tharine de Medici, whoſe influence with the ſyndics procured his execution.

Geneva in danger.

THE duke of *Savoy*, in the year 1567, procured from the *Bernois* the reſtitution of *Gex*, *Gaillard*, *Terny*, and *Chablais*, on condition of the inhabitants being indulged in the profeſſion of the proteſtant religion. That ſame year the duke *d'Alva* being to paſs through *Savoy*, the duke of *Savoy* endeavoured to engage him in an attempt to make himſelf maſter of *Geneva*, and for that purpoſe raiſed a conſiderable army. His deſign taking air, many of the *French* proteſtants repaired to *Geneva*, and offering their ſervices for the defence of the city, they were formed into companies, under proper commanders; and ſuch other precautions were taken, that the duke, without making any attempt upon the city, proceeded to *Flanders*. He was no ſooner gone, than the foreigners at *Geneva*, who had been formed into ſeven companies, marched to the relief of their brethern in *Gex* and *Verſoy*, and took poſſeſſion of both places, which were abandoned by their garriſons. Soon after this *Geneva* was again viſited by the plague, and other natural calamities; but nothing remarkable happened in its government till the year 1578, when *Henry* III. of *France* made an alliance with the *Swiſs*; in which *Geneva* was included, as being the key and bulwark of *Swiſſerland*. It was ſtipulated by this alliance, that in caſe that city was beſieged, the cantons ſhould ſend a ſufficient number of men to its aſſiſtance at the king's charge; and, on the other hand, that the city ſhould ſuffer his troops to paſs through it, marching orderly in rank and file, granting no retreat or paſſage to his majeſty's enemies. This treaty was concluded at *Soleurre*, betwixt the king and the cities of *Bern*, *Soleurre*, and *Geneva*; *Zurich* was afterwards comprehended, at the ſuit of the ſieur *de Cocumartin*, ambaſſador from the king to the *Swiſſes* [a].

Duke of Savoy *renews his attempts againſt it.*

IN the year 1582, the duke of *Savoy* renewed his attempt to make himſelf maſter of *Geneva*, being encouraged thereto by a *Dauphineis*, who lived at *Tonon*, and pretended that he had confederates, who would open the gates of the city as ſoon as the *Savoyards* ſhould appear before it. The duke upon this raiſed a number of men; and one *Lance*, who commanded in the quarter of *St. Gervais*, undertook to give his troops admittance into the city; but gave information of what he had done to the council, after he had got all the money he could from the duke. The *Savoyards* were to be commanded by the count *de Raconis*, who advanced to *Gex*, where the

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[a] SPON. pag. 123.

Dauphinois, who had ſome reaſon to be ſuſpicious of the event, left him. This defection made the count believe that he was betrayed; and though he found the gates of *St. Gervais* open, he durſt not enter, but retired to *Terny* and *St. Julien.* The truth was, that *Geneva* at that time was plentifully furniſhed with Proteſtant ſoldiers both from *France* and *Swiſſerland*, beſides natives, who were well prepared to receive the count, had his army entered the city. He, on the other hand, being at the head of a conſiderable army, of which fifteen hundred were raiſed out of the popiſh cantons, reſolved to attempt ſomething againſt the city by open force; but he was defeated in all the attempts he made, and obliged to retire after plundering the neighbouring villages. Upon his retreat an inquiry was made after his accomplices, and a vintner, with three others, were beheaded on that account.

Caſe of the Jews.

ABOUT this time the *Jews* ſuffered a violent perſecution both in *France* and *Germany*, and fixed their eye upon *Geneva*, as the moſt commodious ſituation in which they could ſettle. They offered to repair thither to the number of eight or ten thouſand; to build houſes in a quarter that ſhould be allotted them, which they were to fortify and garriſon at their own charges; to ſerve with the other citizens as ſoldiers; to pay a yearly tribute, and to raiſe their proportion of all other taxes. A conſiderable number of the *Genevois* were ſtrongly diſpoſed to accept of this offer; but prejudice and prepoſſeſſion prevailing, it was rejected, and the *Jews* were obliged to purchaſe their peace with the *Germans.*

Natural calamities in Geneva.

THE year 1584 was diſtinguiſhed by a moſt dreadful hurricane, earthquakes, and tempeſt, that happened in *Geneva*, and all over its neighbourhood, which buried a great number of men, caſtles, and houſes. In *October*, the ſame year, the city of *Zurich*, conſidering *Geneva* as the key of the *Swiſs* cantons, entered with it into a perpetual alliance; the memory of which is preſerved by a *Latin* inſcription in the town-houſe, and the ſame was celebrated by great rejoicings at *Geneva.* Next year an extraordinary famine ſucceeded, which carried off a vaſt number of the *Genevois*, and the fields were filled with numbers of villagers, expiring with hunger. The effects of this calamity were long felt, and encouraged the duke of *Savoy*, in the year 1588, to apply to the pope for aſſiſtance, to make himſelf maſter of *Geneva*. His holineſs received the *Savoyard* ambaſſador with great reſpect, but conſulted the biſhop of *la Cave*, who was a *Genevois* by birth, as to the practicability of the propoſal. The biſhop giving his opinion againſt it, his holineſs anſwered the ambaſſador, that he would not expend the church's treaſure in advancing the duke of *Savoy's* temporal concerns; but that he was ready to aſſiſt him in reducing *Geneva* to the power of the church. The duke communicated this anſwer, with which he was highly exaſperated, to the *Spaniſh* miniſtry, who diſſuaded him from having any connection with his holineſs; upon which he reſolved to attempt the thing by force; but the *Genevois*, at this time, found a powerful ally in *Henry* III. of *France*.

Duke of Savoy *ſeizes* Saluces.

THE duke of *Savoy*, taking advantage of the diſtracted diviſions of that kingdom, had ſeized upon the marquiſate of *Saluces*; and *Henry* ſent *Harlay* ſieur *de Sancy*, one of his miniſters of ſtate, to perſuade the *Genevois* to break with the duke. *Sancy* offered, in his maſter's name, not only to furniſh them with troops, but to bear all the charges of the war, and that they ſhould keep all the conqueſts they ſhould make. This matter being laid before the council, ſome of the members thought the propoſal too hazardous to be embraced; but the advantages attending it were ſo evident, that it was agreed to by a great majority. The inducement was, that the duke had ſhewn himſelf an open enemy to their ſtate; that by complying with the king's requeſt, they would obtain advantages for the Proteſtants in *France*; and that they would be ſure of the friendſhip of the prince palatine, and the *Swiſſers*, during the war.

The war continued.

FROM *Geneva*, *Sancy* proceeded to *Swiſſerland*, where he induced the *Bernois* to declare war againſt the duke; and the *Genevois* being furniſhed with ſome able officers from *France*, took the field with ſix companies of foot, and three troops of horſe, commanded by two *Frenchmen*, *Quitry* and *Baujeu*. In the night time they ſurpriſed and took *Monthaux*, and in the morning they took the caſtle of *Bonne*, which is ſituated at the entrance into *Focigny*, from the *Genevois* country. They then broke down ſome bridges in the *Chablais*, to prevent the enemy's approach, and at laſt laid ſiege to the important caſtle of *St. Joire*, which belonged to the baron of *Hermance*. This nobleman had been the capital enemy of the *Genevois*, and the contriver or manager of the chief enterprizes againſt them. The duke of *Savoy*, little expecting that the *Genevois* would have acted offenſively, had made no diſpoſitions for ſaving the caſtle, which fell into the hands of the *Genevois*, and with it all the material papers relating to the operations of their enemies againſt their city. On the 7th of *April* they purſued their good fortune, by beſieging and taking *Gex* itſelf, the governor and garriſon of which they ſent priſoners to *Geneva*. By this time, the duke of *Savoy* being alarmed at the progreſs of the *Genevois*, diſpatched *Sanas*;

his governor of *Remilly*, with eight troops of horſe, and nine companies of foot, to recover the places they had taken. He preſented himſelf before *Bonne*, which was defended by one *Bols* for the *Genevois*; and though its garriſon did not exceed ninety men, he durſt not attack it. In the mean time the *Genevois*, under *Quitry*, beſieged *La Cluſe*, ſituated at the foot of mount *Jura*; but *Quitry* found the place ſo ſtrong, that the garriſon held out till it was relieved by *Sonas*. In this ſiege, which was very deſperately carried on by the *Genevois* and *Bernois*, they loſt the baron *St. Lagier*, and ſome of their beſt officers.

Succeſs of the Genevois.

AFTER this, the head quarters of the *Genevois* were at *Cologny*, in the neigbourhood of *La Cluſe*, where they were joined by colonel *Erlach*, with ſome auxiliaries from *Bern*; and laying aſide all farther thoughts of beſieging *La Cluſe*, the whole army marched back to *Geneva*, where they were joined by ſome reinforcements from *Soleurre* and the *Griſons*. They then, about the middle of *April*, beſieged and took the caſtle of *Tonon*, having tranſported their artillery thither by water, with ſeveral other ſtrong places in the *Chablaïs*. After that they laid ſiege to the fort of *Ripaille*; but the duke of *Savoy* came to its relief with three thouſand men. Though the *Genevois* appeared as principals in this war, yet the numbers they brought into the field were very inconſiderable, compared to those of the *French*, the *Swiſs*, and the *Griſons*, for their army amounted in the whole to ten thouſand men. They were, however, far from being united, and the *French* behaved but very poorly; but the *Genevois* and the *Swiſs* acted ſo bravely, that *Ripaille*, though the garriſon conſiſted of five hundred men, was obliged to capitulate. After this the *French* army withdrew to *Franche Comte*, and the *Bernois* ordered three thouſand men to protect the conqueſts that had been made in the bailliages of *Vaud* and *Chablais*. The withdrawing of the *French*, had almoſt ruined the affairs of the *Genevois*. They ſaw themſelves burdened with the charge of a war, while their treaſury was empty, and their magazines exhauſted. The duke of *Savoy*, on the other hand, had great reſources, and by this time had raiſed an army of about eight thouſand men, the command of which he gave to the baron of *Hermance*, who immediately retook the caſtle of *St. Joire*, and ſome other places in the *Chablais*, and beſieged *Marcouſſy*, which made a vigorous defence, and was relieved by a party of three hundred *Genevois*. The latter, however, upon the main, found themſelves unable to maintain the places they had taken, and therefore abandoned them all, excepting *Bonne* and *Monthoux*, or *Monthon*. They at the ſame time began to raiſe a fort near the bridge over the *Arve*, in the neighbourhood of their city, in which they were interrupted by the duke of *Savoy*, at the head of two thouſand horſe and foot, but he was repulſed with loſs; as he was in two vigorous attacks which he made upon the *Genevois* caſtle of *Terny*, belonging to the abbey of *St. Victor*. The duke, to be revenged, ravaged the adjacent country; and bringing up his heavy artillery, he began a furious cannonade againſt the caſtle, which being old and defenceleſs, the garriſon was obliged to ſurrender, on promiſe of having their lives ſpared; but this capitulation was infamouſly broken by the duke, who ordered them all to be hanged.

who are exaſperated with the duke of Savoy.

THIS breach of faith exaſperated the *Genevois*, who were now much better ſoldiers than the *Savoyards*; and, notwithſtanding the inequality of their numbers, they had the better in all encounters. The duke was again repulſed at the fort near the *Arve*, and five hundred *Genevois* muſqueteers beat four thouſand *Savoyards*, upon the plain of *Ougtiet*, half a league diſtant from the ſame fort, killing two hundred, amongſt whom were ſeveral general officers, with the loſs of no more than two men, and four or five wounded of their own. This deſperate engagement obliged the *Savoyards* to keep for ſome time within their intrenchments. The duke hearing that the van of the *Bernois*, under colonel *Erlach*, was advancing to *Geneva*, attacked them in the village of *Eſcoran*, near *La Cluſe*, but was ſo warmly received, that he was obliged to retreat with loſs. About the ſame time he was forced to raiſe the blockade of *Bonne*, and to abandon the village of *Feling* in *Focigny*, where part of his army was quartered. Notwithſtanding thoſe partial advantages, the duke continued greatly ſuperior to the *Genevois*, even though they had been joined by forty companies of *Bernois* auxiliaries, commanded by the advoyer of *Vatteville*: but the duke's army lying between that reinforcement and the *Genevois*, he redoubled his efforts againſt the latter, before they could be joined by their auxiliaries, and made repeated efforts againſt the fort on the *Arve* and *Bonne*, but all without ſucceſs. In the mean while, ſome of his counſellors propoſed a peace between him and the canton of *Bern*; but his demands being very high, only a three weeks truce was concluded, to the infinite prejudice of the *Genevois*. The truce being expired, the *Genevois* at laſt were joined by their auxiliaries, and both fell into the country of *Focigny*, where they took ſeveral forts; the *Savoyards*, in the mean while, making repriſals in the lordſhip of *St. Victor*, where *Bois*, one of the beſt officers of the *Genevois* was killed.

Death of Henry III. *of* France.

THE aſſaſſination and death of *Henry* III. of *France*, which happened about this time, put the duke of *Savoy* upon invading *Provence*. He had been diſappointed in his deſign of ſubduing the *Genevois*; but thinking it dangerous to leave *Bonne* in the hands of his enemies, he beſieged it, and battered it ſo furiouſly, that the garriſon was obliged to ſurrender, on promiſe of having their lives ſaved; but the duke as uſual broke the capitulation, and put them all to death, excepting *Mercier* the miniſter, who was reſerved, and afterwards flayed alive. It is hard to ſay what the conſequence might have been, had the duke purſued this advantage; but he was intent upon his expedition to *Provence*. Finding the *Genevois* reſolved not to ſubmit to him, he built a fort at *Verſoy*, which commanded their navigation upon the lake; and leaving it under the government of the baron of *Serra*, he withdrew his army beyond the mountains, as the *Bernois* did to their own country. Upon their retreat, the *Genevois* found themſelves in a moſt deplorable ſituation, by having loſt the navigation of the lake. The governor of *Verſoy* threatened to oblige them by famine to come with halters about their necks, and make their ſubmiſſion to the duke his maſter, which they were ſenſible muſt be the caſe if they could not take *Verſoy*.

Progreſs of a new war.

Their force in *Geneva* was at that time eight hundred foot, two troops of horſe, two troops of light horſe, and one hundred and fifty volunteers, all of them commanded by the ſieur *Lubigny*, a *Frenchman*. They had for ſome days harraſſed the garriſon of the fort by falſe alarms, and on the night of the 7th of *November* they reſolved to attack it, as they imagined that the garriſon of the caſtle would be then fatigued. They divided their little army into four parts; and after performing public prayer, they marched out upon the expedition with petards and ſcaling ladders. Their greateſt dependence, however, was upon ſeventeen reſolute ſoldiers, who with iron crows in their hands, conducted by a peaſant, forced their way by a narrow paſſage into the body of the place, where they overthrew all before them, while the diviſion without, had leiſure to break open the gate, and ſcale the walls; and entering the place, the governor, with the loſs of two hundred men, was driven into the caſtle, which he was in a day's time obliged to ſurrender, to the great joy of the *Genevois*, who immediately ſet fire to the place, and deſtroyed all its fortifications, and carried the proviſions and ammunition, which they found in it in great abundance, to *Geneva*. The reſt of the winter was ſpent in ſkirmiſhes of no great importance, farther than as they ſerved to render the *Genevois* excellent ſoldiers.

In which the Genevois are ſucceſsful.

In the beginning of *January*, 1590, the *Genevois*, who ſtill kept the field, after beating a party of the *Savoyards*, were repulſed in an attack they made upon the caſtle of *Baſtie*, near *Verſoy*; but bringing up their heavy artillery twelve days after, they took it, and demoliſhed it. Soon after they reduced the caſtle of *Monthoux*, and by way of repriſal, they put the garriſon, who were the inveterate enemies of *Geneva*, to the ſword. About the ſame time they took the city and caſtle of *Gex*, and repulſed the *Savoyards* in two freſh attempts which they made upon their fort on the *Arve*. In *April*, *Lubigny*, the *Genevois* general, took the caſtle of *Pierre*, near *Farges*, which had been a great thorn in the ſide of *Geneva*; and then he once more formed the ſiege of *La Cluſe*. The place was exceedingly ſtrong, and a great body of *Savoyards* under Don *Amadeo*, a natural ſon of that duke, was advancing to relieve it. *Lubigny*, however, took his meaſures ſo well, and puſhed his attacks ſo warmly, that the governor of the place, a *Piedmonteſe*, having only twenty-eight ſoldiers left, ſurrendered the fort, which *Lubigny* entered on the twenty-firſt of *April*. Soon after *Amadeo* arrived with his army before the fort, and perceiving, by a diſcharge of artillery from the walls, that it was in the hands of the *Genevois*, he retired; but through the cowardice of one captain *Eſgaillon*, a poſt in a neighbouring mountain, a poſt which commanded the fort, and rendered it untenable by *Lubigny*, who was forced to abandon the ſame, after blowing up part of the fortifications. He carried his army back to *Geneva*, where *Eſgaillon*, by the ſentence of the council of two hundred, was, notwithſtanding the great intereſt made for him, beheaded for cowardice. Upon *Lubigny*'s retreat, *Amadeo* repaired the fort of *La Cluſe*, and ravaged the bailiwick of *Gex*; but the *Genevois*, by the friendſhip of the bailiff and people of *Nyons*, got ſafe home three barks laden with merchandiſes, and ten thouſand crowns in ready money, which the *Savoyards* endeavoured to intercept. After this many inconſiderable actions happened on both ſides, in which the *Genevois* generally had the better; but they were repelled in an attempt they made upon the caſtle of *Brant*, in the bailiwick of *Tonon*. Some days after, the *Savoyards* endeavoured to carry off three hundred head of cattle from the bailiwick of *Gex*; but *Lubigny* obliged them to abandon their prey, with the loſs of one hundred and twenty of their beſt men, their cavalry taking refuge in *La Cluſe*; while the *Genevois* loſt only a ſingle man. Two days after, Don *Amadeo* ſent a meſſage to *Geneva*, to know what number of *Savoyard* priſoners were in that city, and complaining, that the *Genevois* carried away even his drummers. The *Genevois*, who had

A coward beheaded.

about four hundred *Savoyard* priſoners, in their turn reproached *Amadeo*, for the barbarous manner in which he made war upon them, not ſparing even their women and children. At this time the *Genevois* were at a great loſs in being deprived of *Lubigny*, who had been bruiſed in an encounter, and was obliged to keep his bed. Being the only officer amongſt them who underſtood diſcipline and military affairs, the *Genevois* ſoldiers grew licentious, and were defeated in ſeveral encounters; in one of which they loſt two hundred of their beſt men by ambuſcades, which *Amadeo* had laid for them, within a league of their city. The *Genevois* hiſtorian [a] ſays, that ſuch of their troops as were wounded and carried to the hoſpital, inſtead of being cured, had their wounds poiſoned by a villainous ſurgeon, who was afterwards executed. The *Savoyards*, however, loſt more men in proportion than the *Genevois*. This defeat threw the city into ſuch a conſternation, that it was expected every moment the *Savoyards* would enter it ſword in hand; but *Lubigny*, notwithſtanding his illneſs, went round the fortifications in his night gown, and made ſuch diſpoſitions as prevented farther ill conſequences.

The Genevois worſted.

On the 23d of *Auguſt*, the ſieur *Clugny*, baron of *Conſorgien*, arrived at *Geneva*, and took upon him the command of the troops of the republic. To keep up in the minds of the *Genevois*, the high opinion they had conceived of his activity and courage, the very night of his arrival he put on board ſome barks three companies of foot, with which he intended to ſurprize the city of *Evian*; but the citizens being provided to receive them, the barks were obliged to return, after taking ſome booty. The *Genevois*, by this time, had conceived a contempt for their enemy, which had almoſt proved fatal to them. *Hermance* obſerving the little caution with which they proceeded, concealed his force, and lay upon the defenſive in *Focigny*, where the *Genevois* were informed by the peaſants of the country, that he had not with him above four hundred troops. The *Genevois* were ſo much convinced of this, that one hundred and fifty foot, and one hundred and thirty horſe, iſſued out of *Geneva* to carry in their enemies vintage harveſt; and notwithſtanding all the admonitions of *Canſorgien*, proceeded ſo inadvertently, that they were completely ſurrounded by the *Savoyards*, and muſt have been intirely cut to pieces, had they not been diſengaged by *Canſorgien*, who foreſeeing what had happened, had his troops in readineſs, and not only brought off the foragers, but obtained the moſt complete victory the *Genevois* had ever

The war renewed.

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[a] Spon, p. 138.

The Genevois victorious.

gained over the *Savoyards*, after a diſpute of three hours, in which the *Savoyards* loſt in killed, wounded, and priſoners, five hundred men; while the loſs of the *Genevois* amounted to about ten foot ſoldiers, one trooper, and fifteen wounded, but not dangerouſly. This victory was of the greater importance to the *Genevois*, as their enemies were reſolved to have given them no quarter, and were ſo ſure of conqueſt, that their officers had dreſſed themſelves in their richeſt cloaths and armour; ſo that the ſpoils which the *Genevois* carried from the field, were very conſiderable. It was obſerved, that *Conforgien* began and finiſhed all his actions with public ſupplications and thankſgivings to heaven, performed on the field.

TOWARDS the end of *October*, the war between the *Genevois* and their enemies became ſo deſperate, that both ſides came to a reſolution to give no quarter. The *Savoyards* had been reinforced by *Neapolitan*, *Spaniſh*, and *Italian* auxiliaries, who, if poſſible, hated the *Genevois* worſe than the *Savoyards* did, and three companies of them lying at *Cruſille*, a town about three leagues from *Geneva*, they filled all the neighbouring country with devaſtations and cruelties. On the 29th of *October*, *Conforgien* marched out of *Geneva*, at the head of his troops to ſurprize this neſt of barbarity; but his march being diſcovered by the *Savoyard* peaſants, part of the garriſon ſtood upon its guard, whilſt others had ſuch a contempt for the *Genevois*, that they loitered in the town, which was ſacked by the *Genevois*, who put them all to the ſword, and made a vaſt booty. The caſtle, however, ſtill held out, and all the neighbouring country being alarmed, *Conforgien*, after killing about one hundred of the enemy, retreated with the loſs of three ſoldiers and a lieutenant. The reſt of the year was ſpent in actions of ſmall importance, in which the *Genevois* burnt ſome *Savoyard* villages.

Farther operations of the war.

ON the 1ſt of *January*, 1591, the *Genevois* being reinforced with ſome *French* troops under *Sancy*, their army amounted to two thouſand men, with which they laid ſiege to the caſtle of *Buringe*; but were attacked in their camp by three hundred *Savoyard* horſe, of whom they killed ſixty, and repulſed the reſt. The ſiege was then carried on with ſuch vigour, that the garriſon deſired to capitulate, but could obtain no other terms but their ſurrendering at diſcretion; upon which they made their eſcape out of the place, which was immediately taken poſſeſſion of, and demoliſhed by the *Genevois*. They next beſieged *Tonon*, which they took on compoſition, and found in it the value of ſix or ſeven thouſand crowns of gold; and they afterwards took *Evian*, and plundered the neighbouring country. Thoſe ſucceſſes inſpired the

French with intolerable licentiouſneſs; and while they were lying diſperſed about the country, news came that their enemies, conſiſting of *Savoyards*, *Spaniards*, and *Italians*, to the number of ſix thouſand foot, and about one thouſand horſe, were advanced as far as *Roche* to attack them. The *French* and *Genevois* generals, *Sancy*, *Quitry*, and *Conforgien*, were then encamped at *Buringe*; and hearing of the enemies approach, they called in their parties, and ſtrengthened their army by drawing the garriſons out of the neighbouring places. The duke's army was commanded by Don *Amadeo*, *Olivarez*, an experienced *Spaniſh* captain, *Sonas*, the marquis of *Treffort*, and the count of *Chateau Neuf*. The opinion of *Olivarez* was againſt attacking the *French* immediately, for he ſaid their own diſorders, and want of proviſion, would oblige them to retire, and he was joined by Don *Amadeo*; the other two generals, however, were for cutting the *French* off without ſuffering them to retreat, and alledged, that their own army would mutiny for want of pay, if they were not led to action; upon which the attack was reſolved on, on the 12th of *March*. By this time the *French* and the *Genevois* had gained a poſition which ſecured their communication with *Geneva*, and were very advantageouſly encamped. The *Spaniards*, however, made ſo furious an attack, that they entirely defeated five hundred *French*; and their whole army muſt have been defeated, had not this firſt advantage encouraged *Sonas*, and the count of *Chateau Neuf*, to advance ſo far into the plain with thirteen hundred muſqueteers, that *Conforgien* charged and routed them before they could fall back upon their main body, which at laſt they did with great difficulty, with the loſs of their leader *Sonas*, and three hundred men, of whom one hundred were gentlemen. When night drew on, the army of *Savoy* paſſed the river at *Buringe*, but broke down the bridge, for fear of being purſued; while the *French*, who had ſuffered a good deal in the encounter, retired to *Franche Comte*. The reſt of the campaign was ſpent in mutual inroads, in one of which the baron of *Hermance* was made priſoner by the *Genevois*, and carried to *Geneva*, where he was confined till the *February* following, when he paid eight thouſand crowns for his ranſom.

A peace propoſed.

In *October*, 1592, the baron of *Conforgien* returned to *Geneva*, and reſumed his command. After ſeveral military operations, in which he was generally ſuceeſsful, he had ſome conferences about a peace with the baron of *Hermance*, and being diſguſted with the ſevere ſour manners of the *Genevois* towards his men, he returned to *France*. Upon his departure, the marquis of *Treffort* encamped with eight hundred men at *Lancy*, near the new fort upon the *Arve*; and being forced from thence, the *Genevois* demoliſhed that village. In the mean while *Conforgien*, upon the invitation of the *Genevois*, returned to that city; but a truce for three months had taken place between the *French* king and the duke of *Savoy*, to which the *Genevois* were invited to accede, which they accordingly did, on the 16th of *September*, 1593. In a few days after, ſix of the *Swiſs* cantons ſent their deputies to *Geneva*, to perſuade the magiſtracy there to a peace with the duke of *Savoy*. This propoſition was rejected; but the truce was continued for two years, during which time, the *French* king being in no condition to aſſiſt them, the *Genevois* demoliſhed the fort upon the *Arve*. This compliance had the effect to open a kind of a communication between the *Savoyards* and the *Genevois*; and they appeared leſs intractable towards one another than they had been for many years. In the year 1597, a report ſpread that *Theodore Beza*, the great paſtor of *Geneva*, had turned *Roman* Catholic, and that the *Genevois* had ſent deputies to *Rome* to be reconciled to that ſee. This idle report aroſe from the effect of the truce, which had been concluded two years before. That being expired, hoſtilities recommenced between the *Savoyards* and the *Genevois*, who were now deprived of the aſſiſtance of *France*; but the duke being as unable as the *Genevois* were to continue a war, thoſe hoſtilities ſoon ceaſed, and new conferences for a peace were ſet on foot.

and concluded.

AT laſt a treaty was concluded between the *French* king, the king of *Spain*, and the duke of *Savoy*, in which the *Swiſſes* and their allies were comprehended on the part of *France*. The duke of *Savoy* denied that thoſe general terms comprehended the *Genevois*, who were not name in the treaty; and the *French* king inſiſted as ſtrenuouſly that they were. This difference was likely to be attended with ſerious conſequences; for *Villeroy*, the *French* miniſter, by his maſter's order, ſignified, under his own hand, that his maſter never would depart from the commprehenſion of the *Genevois*, under the title of allies to the *Swiſſes*; and he diſpatched *Chapeaurouge*, the *Genevois* deputy, with letters to the republic, intimating that he never would forſake them; and that if they were attacked by the duke of *Savoy*, he would defray all the expences of the war. Thoſe diſpatches were ſo agreeable to the council, that upon reading them their great guns were diſcharged, and a public thankſgiving was celebrated in the city.

A plague.

THIS year the plague broke out again in *Geneva*, but not ſo fiercely as before; and the *Genevois* had the mortification to perceive, that the greateſt part of their brethern of *Tonn* had reverted to popery, partly through the perſuaſions of one *Cherubin*, a prieſt; and partly through the power of their ſovereign the duke of *Savoy*. That prince perceiving the crown of *France* to be in earneſt to maintain *Geneva* in its independency, at laſt perſuaded the *Genevois* magiſtrates to agree to a meeting, for diſcuſſing that affair at *Hermance*. His deputies were the ſieur *Jacob*, one of his lieutenants; the preſident *Rochette*; the preſident *Berliet*, baron of *Bourget*; *Lambert* baron of *Terny*; and *Marin* earl of *Viry*. The deputies of *Geneva* were, the counſellors, *Maillet*, *Dauſin*, *Lect*, and *Roſet*; together with the ſecretary *John Sarraſin*. The conference was long, ſolemn, intricate, and learned; the matter was debated verbally, and in writing; and the papers interchanged on this occaſion, exhauſt all that can be ſaid on this ſubject. Nothing ſatisfactory, however, reſulted from this conference, only the *French* king, by a letter to the duke of *Savoy*, dated *November* 11, 1599, again inſiſted upon the *Genevois* being comprehended as his allies in the late treaty; and acquainted the duke, that he had taken them into his peculiar protection.

THE duke perceiving the *French* king to be ſteady in his reſolution with regard to the *Genevois*, endeavoured to ſhake him in point of intereſt. The *French* king urged him to reſtore the marquiſate of *Saluces*; and the duke took a journey to *Paris*, to treat on that affair. He applied to the pope's nuncio, to whom he gave a commiſſion to offer to give up the marquiſate, provided the king would abandon the defence of the *Genevois*. The nuncio attacked *Henry* on this head, with all the ſubtlety of his profeſſion; but in all his arguments he ſtill went upon the preſumption, that the dukes of *Savoy* had an original and uncontrovertible right to the ſovereignty of *Geneva*; and from that he inferred, that the duke had as lawful a claim upon that as *Henry* had upon the marquiſate. His arguments made no impreſſion upon the king; for he diſputed the duke's right, and told the nuncio, that in protecting the *Genevois* he only followed the example of his anceſtors, and the dictates of gratitude; concluding, that he could not, without ſtaining his honour and that of his crown, abandon them or ſuffer them to be oppreſſed by the duke. This reſolute anſwer put an end to all farther conferences on that head; and the king and duke diſagreeing in other reſpects, both parties took the field. The king had the advantage of the campaign; and having ſtripped the duke of almoſt all *Savoy*, he laid ſiege to *St. Catherine*'s fort, that had been but lately erected within two leagues of *Geneva*, near *Sonzy*, and was of infinite detriment to the *Genevois*. This

The French *king favours the* Genevois.

caſtle was a regular fortification, and of ſo much importance to the *Genevois*, that they appointed a ſolemn deputation to the king, with *Beza* at its head, to beg that he would give them leave to demoliſh it. The duke *de Sully*, a Proteſtant, and one of the beſt ſervants ever any king had, was then both the firſt miniſter and the friend of *Henry*, whom he convinced that all the maxims of policy, as well as honour, led him to protect the *Genevois*. The duke in perſon introduced the deputies to his maſter; and *Beza*, that aged venerable reformer, in a ſpeech he made on the occaſion, ſhewed how well he had ſtudied the moſt fulſome adulation of heathen and popiſh orators to their ſovereigns, but without directly mentioning the main point of the deputation. *Henry* in his anſwer ſpoke like a friend and a gentleman: he aſſured them, that they might depend on the good offices of the duke *de Sully*, whom he took by the hand; and added, it muſt be a very unreaſonable requeſt which they could make, and he not grant it. To cut off any farther unneceſſary formalities, he whiſpered in the ears of the deputies, that he was no ſtranger to the purport of their commiſſion; and he aſſured them, that fort *St. Catherine* ſhould be demoliſhed as ſoon as taken.

As does the duke de Sully.

THIS noble open behaviour of the king, had it not been for the conſiderate generoſity of the duke *de Sully*, muſt have been inconveniently expenſive to the *Genevois*. It tranſported them ſo, that they threw open their gates to the *French* army, and kept open table for their officers, ſo that no fewer than four thouſand *French* were reckoned in one night to be in the city. The duke of *Sully*, both by his example and authority, diſcountenanced this reſort, by returning to the camp himſelf, and ordering all the officers and others to follow him. In the mean while, the trenches being opened before fort *St. Catherine*, the garriſon capitulated; and having marched out with the honours of war, *Sully* blew up the baſtions; and the *Genevois* ſerving as pioneers, ſo effectually demoliſhed the fort, that, in two day's time, not a veſtige of it remained. *Henry* gave ſix pieces of cannon, which were found in the fort, in a preſent to the *Genevois*.

Peace of Lyons.

NEXT year, by the interpoſition of the pope's legate *Aldobrandini*, an accommodation was made between *Henry* and the duke of *Savoy* at *Lyons*, by which *Henry* agreed to hold the county of *Breſſe*, which he had conquered, with *Gex* and other acquiſitions he had made, and to leave to the duke the marquiſate of *Saluces*. *Gex* was then held by the *Genevois*, who earneſtly begged of *Henry* to remain in poſſeſſion of it; but all was to no purpoſe, for they were obliged to reſign it; but *Henry*, by way of compenſation, again declared them to be his allies, and that they were under his protection. This accommodation between *Henry* and the duke, was far from reconciling the *Savoyards* and the *Genevois*. The former found means to get poſſeſſion of ſome villages belonging to the *Genevois*; but were diſappointed in their attempts upon others; and the *Genevois* thought them of ſo little importance, not to mention that their right to them was doubtful, that rather than break the peace, they ſuffered them to remain with the *Savoyards*; but an event was now at hand, the moſt important of any in the *Genevois* hiſtory.

Hiſtory of the famous ſcalade of Geneva.

In the year 1602, a kind of jubilee was celebrated at *Tonon*, belonging to the duke of *Savoy*, and finely ſituated on a river by the lake, about eighteen miles diſtant from *Geneva*. The reſort to this feſtivity was very numerous; and amongſt others were ſome *Frenchmen*, who, mingling with the *Savoyards*, underſtood that a ſcheme was in agitation for ſurpriſing *Geneva*. They communicated their diſcovery to the *Genevois* magiſtrates; but they diſregarded it at firſt, as being improbable. At laſt they complained to the ſieur *Albigny*, who was governor on that ſide of the mountains for the duke of *Savoy*, who gave them the ſtrongeſt aſſurances that his maſter was determined, at all events, to obſerve the late treaties of *Vervins* and *Lyons*, made with the king of *France*, in which the *Genevois* were included, but not mentioned. The *Genevois* ſeemed to be ſatisfied with thoſe aſſurances; and their credulity had almoſt coſt them their liberties.

The plot for ſurpriſing *Geneva* had been formed originally by the Jeſuits and violent *Romaniſts*, who conſidered that city as the ſeat and ſhelter of hereſy; and during the *Tonon* jubilee, they had bound the undertakers of it to execute it, by ſolemn oaths and ſacraments. The duke himſelf omitted no means to render it ſucceſsful. He cauſed troops to defile towards *Focigny*, without being diſcerned, and particularly the regiment of the baron of *Laval d'Iſere*, which was made up of *French* fugitives, baniſhed their country for their crimes, and ripe for any deſperate enterprize.. *Brunaulieu*, who was lieutenant-colonel, undertook to reconnoitre the place; and after taking the height of the walls, and the dimenſions of the ditches, he aſſured *Albigny*, that the undertaking was not only practicable, but eaſy to be accompliſhed. To render the *Genevois* perfectly ſecure, and likewiſe to form a party amongſt them, the duke ſent the preſident *Rochette*, his counſellor of ſtate, with a commiſſion to *Geneva*, where he propoſed to the magiſtrates, the heads of a new and a laſting treaty between them and his maſter, which had ſuch an effect, that the *Genevois* even neglected to place the uſual guards at their gates, *Diſpoſitions for ſurpriſing the city.*

and upon their walls. Notwithſtanding the duke's ſecrecy, the affair was intruſted into ſo many hands, that the *Genevois* had repeated informations of a blow that was to be ſpeedily ſtruck againſt them; but they diſregarded all advice of that kind, and treated a man as a viſionary for aſſuring them that their enemies were actually upon their march to attack them. The night between the 11th and 12th of *December*, was pitched upon for the execution; and *Albigny*, about ſix in the evening, put his troops in motion at *La Roche*, *Bonne* and *Bonneville*. In their march they endeavoured to ſecure all the peaſants, leſt any of them ſhould carry intelligence to *Geneva*; but ſome of them eſcaping, endeavoured to alarm the guards, who continued to deſpiſe the information. Every thing was provided with the utmoſt preciſion, for the ſucceſs of the undertaking, which was propoſed to be performed by ſcalade. *Brunaulieu*, and ſome of the chief officers, had bound themſelves in the moſt ſolemn manner, not to return alive if they were not ſucceſsful. Petards were provided; the ladders on which the ſcalade was to be performed were blackened, to prevent their being perceived, jointed, and fortified with iron, and accommodated with pullies, for their more eaſy management, and three hundred reſolute troops, who were to mount firſt, were armed at all points with breaſtplates, helmets, piſtols, and cutlaces; ſome of them were furniſhed with great ſteel hammers, which ſerved as hatchets at the ſame time, and pincers for pulling nails and bolts. They were to be ſupported by another party, armed with half-pikes and muſquets. The duke himſelf came incognito poſt over the mountains to *Tremblieres*, within a mile of *Geneva*, that he might animate his men, who approached to the city without meeting with any conſiderable obſtruction, though they were ſometimes alarmed by their own fears and ſuperſtition. The main body was left at *Plein Palais*, a delightful walk in the ſuburbs of *Geneva*, while *Brunaulieu*, with the three hundred we have mentioned, advanced to the eſcalade. At firſt they were ſtartled by ſpringing a flock of wild ducks; but being provided with hurdles, they paſſed the ditch of the quarter called *Corraterie*, and raiſed three ladders againſt the wall, near the watch tower of the *Monoye-gate*. The reader is to obſerve, that within the wall was a large void ſpace, which was left unguarded, and which terminated in a gate towards the city, called *Tartas*, which generally ſtood open. *Sonas*, the ſon of him who was killed at *Monthoux*, was amongſt the firſt to mount the wall; but a ſtone happening to fall from it, knocked him down and ſtunned him. *Albigny* and one *Alexander*, a *Scotch* Jeſuit, ſtood at each ſide of the ladder, the firſt encouraging the aſſailants by the promiſe of booty, and the latter by the hope of heaven, and giving them, by way of taliſmans, ſlips of paper, inſcribed with texts of ſcripture, for their preſervation. Their exhortations were ſo effectual, that about one in the morning *Sonas*, *Attignac*, and ſix others, had mounted the wall, and in an inſtant were followed by two hundred more. The firſt eight who mounted entered the gate of *Tartas*, walked through the ſtreets unperceived, and ſound that every thing was quiet; while the reſt concealed themſelves in the void of the *Corraterie*, it having been agreed upon not to proceed to farther action till day-break, that they might the better know what they were about, and give the *Spaniſh* and *Neapolitan* auxiliaries, who were at ſome diſtance, time to come to their aſſiſtance. This precaution ſeems to have ruined their enterprize; while the duke was ſo confident of ſucceſs, that he diſpatched meſſengers through *Savoy*, *Piedmont*, and *Dauphiny*, with an account that he was maſter of *Geneva*, which was for ſome days believed.

Confidence of the duke of Savoy,

NOTWITHSTANDING all the precaution of the aſſailants, a centinel in the tower near the *Monoye-gate*, informed his corporal that he heard a noiſe; upon which the latter ſent out a ſoldier with a lanthorn to reconnoitre, and he ſeeing ſome men approach, fired his piece, but was immediately knocked down; upon which the centinel on the tower fired his piece likewiſe, to alarm the main-guard, which conſiſted of no more than ſix men. This diſcovery did not diſconcert *Brunaulieu*, who, by this time, had paſſed the walls likewiſe. He divided thoſe who had got in into four parties; one was to ſeize the New Gate, one that of *Tartas*, another that of *Monoye*, and the fourth, the entrance to the town-houſe, till petards could be brought for blowing up the New Gate, ſo that the main army might enter in a body from *Plein Palais*. Thirteen men had been placed to guard the New Gate, which was then the chief one of the city; but they were no ſooner attacked by the *Savoyards*, than ten of them diſcharged their pieces, and ran to alarm the guards at the town-houſe, *La Four*, and the gate of *Rive*. They were ſo cloſely purſued, that it was with difficulty they could ſhut the gate of *La Trielle* behind them. The *Savoyards* upon this returned to the New Gate, where one of the three guards, who had hid himſelf upon the top of the tower, let down the port cullice, which prevented the petard from taking effect. In the mean while, all the quarter about the gate of *Tartas*, which was the only one now in poſſeſſion of the *Savoyards*, was alarmed by a vigilant citizen. Part of the citizens were employed in barricadoing the ſtreets, and part in endeavouring

whoſe troops are beat by the Genevois.

to retake the gate, where a ſharp conflict began; and ſeveral were killed on both ſides; but the aſſailants, at laſt, were obliged to return to the New Gate. It was ſtill pitch dark; and both parties in general uſing the ſame language, the confuſion was prodigious, the *Savoyards* purpoſely calling out, as if they had been citizens, to march to the *Rive*, for the enemy was there. By this time they had forced open the gate of *Menoye*; but they found a barricade behind it, defended by citizens, who killed ſome of them, and obliged others to retire to the *Corraterie*, where they began to plunder the houſes. The ſcaling-ladders all this time remained at the wall that joins the tower of *Menoye*, with a baſtion called *Oye*, which laſt the *Savoyards* had not attempted; and one of its embraſures flanking the ladders, a *Genevois* gunner diſcharged a ſhot ſo happily, as to deſtroy or carry moſt part of them off. The troops that were waiting at *Plein Palais* miſtook the noiſe of this ſhot for that of the petard, which was to have been their ſignal for advancing; and thinking that all was their own, ordered their drums to beat, and rather ran than marched towards the New Gate. Finding it ſhut, they haſtened to the ditch of the *Corraterie*, where they thought their ſcaling-ladders were ſtill ſtanding. While they were in the ditch, the *Genevois* gunner made a ſecond diſcharge upon their flank, from a cannon loaded with ſmall ſhot, while a reſolute party of the citizens, attacking the *Savoyards*, who were ſtill endeavouring to force open the New Gate, drove them into the open part of the *Corraterie*. Here every *Genevois* became a hero. A taylor performed wonders with a two-handed ſword; and a woman ſplit the ſkull of one of the enemy's officers. In ſhort, while they were thus ſhut up in *La Trielle*, fifty-two of them were killed. *Brunaulieu* obſtinately refuſed at firſt to retreat, and was killed. At laſt his party, imagining themſelves ſtill poſſeſſed of the ſure means of eſcaping, retired to the wall where they had left their ladders; but finding none there, they were forced to throw themſelves down, by which many were wounded, and ſome killed. By this time the citizens had found means to mount a battery of cannon upon the platform of *La Treille*, which bore directly upon *Plein Palais*, and routed all the *Savoyard* army there. *Albigny* having no hopes of ſucceſs, ordered a retreat, which his troops performed in great diſorder to *Bonne*. When the duke of *Savoy* was informed by *Albigny* of the ill ſucceſs of this enterprize, all he ſaid was, "That he had made a fair flouriſh."

Their loſs.

The Savoyards executed.

In this attempt the *Genevois* made thirteen priſoners, amongſt whom were three of quality, *Sonas*, *Chaffardon*, and *Attignac*; and being conſidered as no better than common robbers, all them were hanged, and their heads, as well as thoſe who ad been killed in the enterprize, were placed on the walls f the city, by order of the council of ſixty, the whole amount- ig to ſixty-ſeven. This attempt coſt the duke of *Savoy* two undred of his beſt troops; but the *Genevois* had no more than irteen killed and thirty wounded. *Beza* was now grown o old, that he had heard nothing of the tumult; but next ay, after viewing the ſlain along the *Corraterie*, he mounted e pulpit, and preached a thankſgiving ſermon, ordering the 24th pſalm to be ſung; a practice that has been kept up ver ſince in *Geneva* on that anniverſary, which they ſtill ob- rve. The tranquility of the city being ſomewhat reſtored, here was the ſtrongeſt reaſon for believing that the *Savoyards* ad a correſpondence with ſome men of note within the walls; nd two ſyndics, who had diſregarded the advices of the ene- ny's approaches, narrowly eſcaped being torn into pieces by he people, who were greatly divided about the choice of the ucceeding ſyndics; but they at laſt fixed upon four who were inexceptionable.

Apology of the duke for his attempt.

The *Genevois* having returned public thankſgivings for heir deliverance, which they commemorated by inſcriptions nd other inſtitutions, applied themſelves to guard againſt the ike ſurprizals for the future. They wrote letters to *Bern* and he other Proteſtant cantons of *Swiſſerland*, informing them f all that had happened; and they immediately ſent twelve undred men to their aſſiſtance. They wrote likewiſe, in the ame ſtrain, to the ſieur *de Guiché*, governor of *Lyons*, imploring the *French* king's aſſiſtance, in caſe *Albigny* ſhould renew is attempt upon their city, as they were apprehenſive he would. This letter was laid before the *French* king, who, ill he read it, had believed that *Geneva* was actually in the ower of the *Savoyards*. Being undeceived, he wrote them a etter full of friendſhip and affection, promiſing them that if the luke of *Savoy* ſhould again moleſt them, that he would not nly ſend them aſſiſtance, but if it was neceſſary, that he would march in perſon to their relief. As to the duke of *Savoy*, all *Europe* reproached him for his inſincerity and treachery towards the *Genevois*; but he made uſe of two kinds of apologies to juſtify his conduct. He excuſed it, at the *Roman* Catholic courts, from his zeal to introduce the true religion into *Geneva*; and he ordered the count *de Tournon*, his reſident with the *Swiſs* cantons, to apologize for it to the government of *Bern*, by pretending that the *Genevois* had refuſed to pay him his lawful tolls and cuſtoms, and had maltreated his officers. The *Bernois* magiſtrates diſregarded this apology ſo much, that they returned no anſwer to it; and had not the count and his ſecretary left *Bern*, they would have been inſulted by the populace. It is ſaid, that the pope himſelf diſapproved of the duke's attempt; and the *Genevois*, in the manifeſtos they publiſhed upon the occaſion, ſhrewdly obſerved, that a prince, who, like the duke of *Savoy*, had been guilty of perjury, gave but an indifferent ſpecimen of his regard for religion. The duke, however, omitted no means to preſerve the friendſhip of the *Bernois*, and the other Proteſtant cantons.

He found this the more neceſſary, as he was ſo far from laying aſide his deſigns againſt *Geneva*, that he ſtraitened it by his garriſons on all quarters. But the *Genevois* being reinforced, not only by their *Bernois* auxiliaries, but by ſome troops from *France*, manned their walls ſo, as to prevent all future ſurprizes, cut down their trees about their city to take away all ſhelter from their enemies, and in their turn invaded the dominions of *Savoy*, where they took *St. Genis d'Aoſte*, and made incurſions to the gates of *Chambery* itſelf, which they were very near taking.

S E C T. IV.

Friendſhip of the French *King to the* Genevois; *their Accommodation with the Duke of* Savoy; Terrail's *Conſpiracy diſcovered, and he himſelf executed; other Conſpiracies and Executions; Execution of* Nicholas Antoine; *Death of the Duke* de Rohan *at* Geneva; Cromwell's *Letter to the* Genevois; *they fortify their City, which is again in Danger of being ſurpriſed; but is protected by the* French.

The French *king propoſes a peace.* A. D. 1603.

THE *French* king *Henry* IV. was the real friend of the *Genevois*. Being ſenſible that they were unable to ſupport themſelves, he ordered *de Vic*, one of his miniſters, to endeavour to bring them over to the thoughts of a peace; but in ſo gentle a manner, that they could not perceive that he aſſumed the ſmalleſt ſuperiority over their government. *De Vic* was received in *Geneva* with great marks of diſtinction; but he found many of the leading men ſtrongly diſpoſed to continue the war with the duke of *Savoy*. *De Vic*, however, by a little management at firſt, brought them to conclude a truce, which was a kind of prelude of a negociation for a peace. This met with great difficulties; for though the duke of *Savoy* wanted peace as much as the *Genevois* did, yet the pride of the court of *Spain*, which declared itſelf to be the duke's protector, would not ſuffer him to ſtoop to the terms of the *Genevois*. The negociation therefore was ſeveral times broken off and reſumed; but at laſt the count *de Fuentes*, the *Spaniſh* governor of *Milan*, ſent one *Sebaſtian Culebro* to *Geneva*, where, obtaining admittance, he produced his credentials, by which it appeared, that his Catholic majeſty was determined to declare war againſt the *Genevois*, unleſs they made peace with the duke of *Savoy*. The *Genevois*, elated by their late ſucceſſes, were ready to have bid defiance to this menace; but the *French* king interpoſed, and treated ſo effectually with the *Genevois* allies amongſt the cantons, that a peace at laſt was concluded at *St. Julien*; but more to the joy and ſatisfaction of the *Savoyards*, than of the *Genevois*. Both parties thus laying down their arms, they reſumed their pens. The *Savoyards* were the aggreſſors, by publiſhing treatiſes tending to revive that duke's claim to the ſovereignty of *Geneva*; but they were anſwered by *Sarrazin*, by order of the *Genevois* magiſtrates.

Hiſtory of Blondel,

In the year 1604, a proſecution was commenced againſt *Philibert Blondel*, who had been one of the ſyndics when the *Savoyards* attempted to ſcale the walls of *Geneva*. Having amaſſed a fortune of forty thouſand crowns, by means, for which no body could account, the people ſuſpected him to be a traitor, and in the pay of the duke of *Savoy*. At firſt he was tried upon a charge of miſdemeanors; and it was proved, that in the night of the ſcalade he had been remiſs in his duty, for which he was fined two thouſand crowns. He refuſed to ſubmit to the ſentence, and his effects were ſeized to make good the fine. He ſtill ſtood on his juſtification, and freſh evidence coming out againſt him, he was fined three thouſand crowns more. This additional cenſure was worſe than death to *Blondel*, who was equally haughty, vindictive, and avaritious; and he was reſolved to die in priſon rather than pay the money.

A fresh proſecution was commenced againſt him, and it was proved, that he held a correſpondence with the duke of *Savoy*; that he poſſeſſed an eſtate under him, for which he paid neither rent nor taxes; that a lanthorn, with his mark on it, was found in the city ditch the day of the ſcalade, beſides ſeveral other ſtrong circumſtances of treaſon. This drew upon him another fine of two thouſand crowns, and he was ſentenced to lie ſeven years in priſon. All this ſeverity was far from daunting *Blondel*; and the principal evidence againſt him being a peaſant, who uſed to manage his correſpondence, he attempted to win him over by money; but that failing, he found means to have him impriſoned; and the fellow continuing to ſtand by his former evidence, *Blondel* ſuborned one of his jailors, who ſtrangled him in priſon; but being apprehended and put to the rack, he laid all the blame upon *Blondel.* The latter, according to the deteſtable cuſtom in *Geneva*, was put to the rack likewiſe. Though torments upon torments were multiplied upon him, nothing could be extorted from him, but that he was guilty of the murder, and of having offered his ſervice to the duke of *Savoy*; upon which he was hanged and quartered, and died as impenitent as he was unpitied. After his execution the magiſtrates fortified their city, ſo as to render it leſs liable to ſudden attacks for the future.

who is executed.

Death of **Beza.**

IN the year 1605, died *Theodore Beza*, the ſucceſſor of *Calvin*, in his functions as a miniſter of the reformation. His credit with the reformed was ſo great, that he was commonly called the pope of the *Hugonots*; and his diſpoſition was more amiable than that of *Calvin.* Soon after his death, an incident happened which threw the *Genevois* into vaſt perplexities. *Henry* IV. the *French* king, who had been their father and protector, ſent the ſieur *de Nereſtan*, to deſire the *Genevois* to grant him a place for building a fort, or an arſenal, to ſecure their city againſt future ſurprizes. Such of the *Genevois* as had been accuſtomed to look upon the *French* as their friends and protectors, eſpouſed this requeſt; but the more conſiderate looked on it, if complied with, as a prelude to the loſs of their liberties; and they very truly obſerved, that the future kings of *France* might not all of them poſſeſs the diſintereſted, virtuous, and noble ſentiments of *Henry* IV. Not being willing, however, to ſhock their auguſt benefactor with a flat refuſal of his requeſt, it was referred to the council of two hundred, and by them to the general council. *Henry* was generous enough to interpret thoſe delays at once as a mark of reſpect for his perſon, and of their backwardneſs to comply with his requeſt; and he ordered his miniſters to preſs it no farther. He even, that very year, in *June* 1606, granted to the *Genevois* letters of naturalization, to free them from the *Aubeine*, and other taxes.

Requeſts of the French *king.*

THE independency of *Geneva* became now ſo much the object of attention amongſt the Proteſtant powers, that this year the landgrave of *Heſſe* made the citizens a preſent of twelve thouſand crowns, as the prince palatine did of three thouſand, for building a bulwark near the lake; to defend and fortify the gate of *Rive*, which was accordingly compleated; and the munificence of the two princes was commemorated by an inſcription upon the work. The reſt of this year, and the two next, were ſpent at *Geneva* in domeſtic and religious regulations. In the year 1609, one *Carral*, the common ſerjeant of the city, was broken alive upon the wheel, for carrying on a correſpondence with the court of *Savoy*, which he informed of all that paſſed at *Geneva*, and for other deteſtable crimes.

French Conſpiracy of Terrail *and* Baſtide

A MORE dangerous conſpiracy now broke out. A *French* gentleman, called *Terrail*, a man of courage and quality, having been guilty of murder, was obliged to fly *France*; and having ſpent ſome years in different armies, particularly in *Flanders*, he, together with one *Baſtide*, another *Frenchman*, and an excellent engineer, in travelling through *Italy* came to the court of *Savoy*, where they were well received by that duke, who was no ſtranger to their characters and qualifications. After ſome converſation he acquainted them, that he was far from having dropt his deſigns againſt *Geneva*, and that he was willing to engage their aſſiſtance in making them ſucceſsful; which they willingly agreeing to, his highneſs made both of them very generous preſents; and *Baſtide* was ſent to *Geneva*, where he viewed all the new fortifications, and then returned to the duke. Both he and *Terrail* agreed, that it was practicable to ſurpriſe the city; and at laſt, *Terrail*'s propoſal was to make themſelves maſters of the gate leading to the lake, and that of *La Rive*, which could not be done without great difficulty, and their being thoroughly informed of the nature and ſituation of the place. For this purpoſe both of them paſſed over to *Evian*, where they had an opportunity of informing themſelves by the boatmen, and other perſons trading to *Geneva*, of the nature of the watch that was kept at the gates, and other particulars which they wanted to know. In a few days they returned to the duke; and it was agreed to prepare five large flat-bottomed boats, which ſhould be laden with wood, piled up in ſuch a manner as to conceal two hundred men in each boat; and it was propoſed to defer the execution till the following *May*, during which time *Terrail* and *Baſtide* were to repair to *Flanders*, to provide men on whom they could depend; for they propoſed to have in readineſs ſeveral bodies, both of horſe and foot, in the neighbourhood of *Geneva*, to ſecond their main enterprize.

diſcovered.

THE indiſcretion of the conſpirators, before they left the duke of *Savoy*'s court at *Chambery*, occaſioned the diſcovery of their deſign. *Terrail*'s valet overheard ſome ſuſpicious expreſſions that paſſed between him and *Baſtide*; and at the ſame time he diſcovered they were often conſulting a draught of *Geneva*. He imparted his obſervations to his brother in that city; and by his means the magiſtrates, who had ſome dark intimations of it before, were put upon their guard. They informed themſelves all they could concerning *Terrail*'s perſon and intentions, and even privately procured his picture, which they ſent copies of to ſuch bailiffs and magiſtrates as they could truſt, of thoſe places through which they were informed he and *Baſtide* were to paſs. With ſome difficulty they were known, and arreſted at *Yverdun*, a little town belonging to the *Bernois*; and though *Terrail* offered the ſoldier who knew him one thouſand crowns to favour his eſcape, yet they were firſt impriſoned, and then put into the hands of one of the ſyndics, who carried them to *Geneva*. *Baſtide* being put to the rack, confeſſed the whole, as did *Terrail* likewiſe; upon which the former was hanged, and the latter beheaded. Some doubts were held concerning the legality of thoſe executions; but they were juſtified by the magiſtrates, who affirmed, that the ſufferers had no right to any protection from the laws of nations, which they had forfeited, by entering into ſuch a conſpiracy in time of peace. Notwithſtanding this apology, it would perhaps be hard to aſcertain what degree of credit is due to a diſcovery that is extorted from the rack.

and the conſpirators executed.

Giovanni *wrongfully executed.*

It is certain, that the jealouſy which the *Genevois* entertained of their public liberty, hurried them ſometimes into precipitate meaſures. An *Italian*, one *Giovanni*, accuſed one of the chief counſellors of correſponding with the duke of *Savoy*, who had his picture in his cloſet. The counſellor being brought to *Giovanni*, the latter candidly owned that he was not the perſon he expected to have ſeen. This acknowledgment, however, did not ſave him from being hanged for calumny and impoſture. After his execution his information was diſcovered to be right, there being another perſon of the ſame name with the counſellor he had cleared, and who kept up a cloſe correſpondence with the duke. Upon this diſcovery the attorney-general wanted that a new proceſs ſhould commence againſt the real perſon; but the evidence being executed, the affair was dropt.

Death of Henry IV.

The *Genevois* ſuſtained a great loſs by the death of *Henry* IV. of *France*, who was no ſooner aſſaſſinated than the duke of *Savoy* renewed his preparations againſt *Geneva*. But the preſervation of that city became now the common cauſe of Proteſtantiſm itſelf. The reformed churches of *France* made large collections, which they remitted to the *Genevois*, to aſſiſt them in fortifying and defending their city. The queen-mother of *France*, who bore them no good-will, complained of thoſe remittances made by *French* ſubjects; but *Anjorrand*, the *Genevois* deputy at the court of *France*, proved to her majeſty, that the late king, by the treaty of *Saleurre*, had permitted his Proteſtant ſubjects to aſſiſt the *Genevois* with their perſons and eſtates. His reaſons being accepted of, Monſ.

de Soubize, of the houſe of *Rohan*, and Monſ. *de Bethune*, nephew to the duke of *Sully*, with other leaders of the *French Hugonots*, repaired to *Geneva*, which they fortified as completely as the nature of its ſituation could admit of, particularly the gate of *Rive*, the weakneſs of which had often endangered the city. It was about this time that a new conſpiracy was formed by one of the *Genevois* officers, for putting *St. Anthony*'s bulwark into the hands of the *Savoyards*; but the treaſon being overheard by a *French* Proteſtant, the traitor was ſeized and executed. Thoſe precautions, however, had ſo much effect, that they diſcouraged all the attempts of the *Savoyards*; and the *French* auxiliaries of the *Genevois* were permitted to return home, *Geneva* being then thought to be out of the reach of danger. For ſome years after this, nothing remarkable occurs in the hiſtory of *Geneva*, but natural or accidental events; ſuch as fires, famine, plagues, and peſtilence. The moſt ſevere plague happened in the year 1615, when about four thouſand *Genevois* died of it, moſt of them of the meaner kind of people.

The Genevois *favour the duke of* Savoy.

DURING this public calamity, the duke of *Savoy* was remarkably attentive in aſſiſting and relieving the *Genevois*; and his conduct was ſuch as gave them no kind of room for believing that he had any deſign upon their ſtate. In the difference that happened between him and the duke *de Nemours*, who was ſupported by the *Spaniards*, the *Genevois* took part with the duke of *Savoy*, and ſent him conſiderable ſupplies of troops, as well as arms and ammunition. Not contented with this, the magiſtrates (though by the treaty of *St. Julien* they might have refuſed it) gave him leave to quarter his troops along the banks of the *Rhone*, in the neighbourhood of their city; and the *Genevois* were ſo fond of ſerving under him, that many of them offered to act as volunteers in his army, till the government began to grow apprehenſive that their city would be too much weakened. The truth is, the duke of *Savoy*, at this time, had more reaſon to dread the *Spaniards* than the Proteſtants, and therefore he made an alliance with the *Bernois*, who ſent three thouſand men to his aſſiſtance, while he in return renounced all his claim upon the county of *Vaud*.

Treaſon of Chenalat.

THE *Genevois*, by the perpetual reſort of *French* Proteſtants to their city, had now acquired ſeveral uſeful manufactures; but their hiſtorian hints, as if they had not been greatly diſcouraged by their magiſtrates, which obliged ſome of the chief manufacturers to remove to *Yverdun*, where they carried on their trades, to the great prejudice of *Geneva*. The marquis of *Lans* was then governor of *Savoy*, and he endeavoured to debauch one *Chenalat*, a *Genevois* of great figure, who undertook to undermine a houſe near *St. Leger*'s gate, ſo as to give admittance to the marquis's troops. This plot was diſcovered by the relations of *Chenalat*, who received five hundred piſtoles in hand, with a promiſe of twelve thouſand crowns more; upon which he was arreſted, tried, and executed, though he denied to the laſt his having any other deſign than that of extorting money from the marquis. Next year the *Genevois* ſent two of their profeſſors of divinity, *John Diodati* and *Theodore Trochin*, to aſſiſt as their deputies at the ſynod of *Dort*; and upon their return to *Geneva*, each was preſented by the ſtates with a medal. In the year 1621, the *Genevois* were alarmed by the vaſt warlike preparations made by the duke of *Savoy*. *D'Alincourt*, the *French* governor of *Lyons*, ſent an account of them to his court, who ordered him to give the moſt early intelligence, if any attempt ſhould be made againſt *Geneva*; and in the mean while that city received additional fortifications from *Motet*, an engineer ſent them by the prince of *Orange*, and a *French* gentleman of the name of *Ferrault*. Next year a national ſynod of the Proteſtant churches being held at *Paris*, and the *Genevois* being extremely willing to conform in all reſpects to the *French* reformed, their paſtors wrote a letter to the aſſembly, to acquaint them that they were willing to aboliſh all the unimportant points of practice that ſtill ſubſiſted between them and their *French* brethren; and *Trochin* their miniſter, by order of the council and conſiſtory, informed the people from the pulpit of the reaſons for this compliance, with which they appeared to be ſatisfied.

Synod of Dort.

Difference with Savoy.

In the year 1624, the duke of *Savoy* pretending there was a ſcarcity of corn in his own dominions, prohibited his ſubjects to tranſport any grain to *Geneva*. The *Genevois* conſidered this prohibition as an infringement of the treaty of *St. Julien*, and on their part prohibited the carrying out of iron, ſalt, and other commodities into *Savoy*. *Wake*, the *Engliſh* ambaſſador to the duke of *Savoy*, happening at that time to paſs through *Geneva*, made up this difference, when it was likely to proceed to an open breach, by perſuading the duke to take off his prohibition.

Jealouſy of the Calviniſts.

NOTWITHSTANDING the late conformity between the *Genevois* and the *French* Proteſtants in matters of religion, it is certain that the former ſtill retained a ſtrong averſion to the *Lutherans*. The marquis of *Bade*, a *German Lutheran* prince, being obliged, on account of his religion, to leave his own country, retired to *Geneva*, where he lived with a *Lutheran* miniſter in his family, who was, by the council, indulged in the exerciſe of his religion within his houſe. The other *Lutheran Germans* in *Geneva* hearing of this, reſorted in ſuch numbers to the marquis's houſe, that the *Genevois* taking the alarm, complained to their magiſtrates, and ſaid they made no doubt of ſoon ſeeing the maſs read in their city, after ſuch indulgence being extended to the *Lutherans*. This ridiculous affair became at laſt ſo ſerious, that it was laid before the council of twenty-five, who ordered a ſyndic and the lieutenant to repair to the marquis, and entreat him not to ſuffer his houſe to be open to the citizens in time of worſhip. The marquis, more mindful of his paſt, than his preſent, ſituation, and proud of his high quality, far from taking this meſſage in good part, lifted his hand to ſtrike the ſyndic, and inſiſted that, being a prince, and *Geneva* a city of the empire, he had as much authority as their magiſtrates had in that city. This boiſterous behaviour being reported to the council, the permiſſion that had been granted him was withdrawn, and the marquis in a rage left *Geneva*, and retired to *Tonon*, belonging to the duke of *Savoy*, where he met with that indulgence under a bigotted *Roman* Catholic prince, which had been denied him in a Proteſtant city.

Refugees in Geneva.

NEXT year another illuſtrious exile took refuge in *Geneva*; his name was *George Eraſmus* of *Tzernembel*, an hereditary baron of the marches of *Sclavonia* and *Carmiola*, who had been formerly counſellor to the emperors *Rodolph* II. and *Matthias* I. and one of the directors of *Bohemia*. This nobleman having embraced the party of the unfortunate elector palatine, in his attempt upon the crown of *Bohemia*, was, upon that prince's defeat, obliged to fly with his wife and daughter to *Geneva*, oppreſſed with age, infirmities, and indigence. He had left his ſon to collect together the ſhattered remains of his fortune; but ſoon after his arrival, he heard of his being drowned, and that all he had in the world had periſhed in the wreck. Upon this, the magiſtrates and church of *Geneva* gave him a monthly ſupport, which, upon his death, they continued to his family, and buried him ſuitable to his quality in *St. Peter*'s cloiſter.

ABOUT the ſame time, the *Spaniards* having made themſelves maſters of *Portugal*, *Emilia* of *Naſſau*, princeſs of *Orange*, ſiſter to prince *Maurice*, and widow to Don *Emanuel*, ſon of *Anthony* king of *Portugal*, came to *Geneva* with her ſix daughters, who were married to private gentlemen in the county of *Vaud*. While ſhe dwelt there, ſhe made a figure no way correſponding with her birth and quality; and at laſt ſhe retired to an eſtate which ſhe purchaſed near *Nyons*. When ſhe died ſhe was buried in *St. Peter*'s church at *Geneva*.

About the ſame time the ſieur *d'Aubigné*, who is famous for the hiſtory he publiſhed, his courage, his military talents, and above all for his zeal in the cauſe of the reformation, fell into the diſpleaſure of the *French* king. His ſon had been perverted by the Jeſuits, and was no friend to his father, who, hearing that a warrant was out to apprehend him, concealed all his ready money, amounting to about thirty thouſand ducats, in the ſaddles of his horſes, and fled to *Geneva*, where he was, on many accounts, a welcome gueſt. Being eminently ſkilled in military architecture, he ſuperintended all the fortifications which were raiſed for the defence of the city while he lived in it; and being eighty years of age at the time of his death, he was buried in *St. Peter*'s cloiſter, where his tomb is to be ſeen, with an excellent *Latin* inſcription on it compoſed by himſelf.

NOTHING material happened at *Geneva* till the invaſion of *Germany* by *Guſtavus-Adolphus* king of *Sweden*, who diſpatched *Rache*, one of his miniſters, to engage the Proteſtant cantons of *Swiſſerland* in his intereſt, and to aſſure the *Genevois* of the great regard he had for their ſtate and city. The progreſs and fate of that great prince have been mentioned in other parts of this work. His ambaſſador reſided for ſome time at *Geneva*, where he was received with all the honours that were due to the greatneſs of his maſter, and his own merit. But though *Geneva*, at this time, was crouded with ſufferers for the cauſe of religion; and though the principles of the reformation ought to have led its magiſtrates to deteſt all perſecutions for the ſake of religion, eſpecially capital ones, yet a caſe of that kind happened in the year 1632 that made a great noiſe.

Hiſtory and condemnation of Antoine.

NICHOLAS ANTOINE, or *Anthony*, a native of *Berry* in *Lorraine*, had, for about ſeven or eight years, inclined to Judaiſm; and had not only endeavoured to perſuade his family, who ſeem to have been originally Jews, to return to that religion; but had applied himſelf to the Jews of the city of *Metz*, to be received into their number; and they referred him to thoſe of *Venice*. In his journey thither, he had found means to make a convert of a young ſtudent of *Sedan*, whom he carried with him to *Italy*. Being arrived at *Venice*, the Jews of that city, either from prudential reaſons, or, which is ſtill more probable, becauſe they ſaw *Antoine*'s brain a little touched, gave him very little encouragement, and referred him to the Jews of *Padua*; and both of them were of opinion that he ought not to inſiſt, as he did, upon being circumciſed, as it might bring them under the laſh of the civil government, and that the beſt thing he could do was to diſſemble, becauſe he might live amongſt the Chriſtians, and yet be a Jew in his heart. *Antoine* appeared ſatisfied with this advice, and returned to *Geneva*, where he applied to the ſtudy of divinity and philoſophy, in which he diſtinguiſhed himſelf to great advantage in the public diſputations. In a ſhort time he came to be chief regent of the college, and afterwards to be the miniſter of a church near the city. Thus far goes the narrative part of his proceſs.

THE criminal part of it charged him with having taken an oath to live and teach according to the profeſſion of the reformed churches, and yet to have lived and prayed after the Jewiſh manner, not daring to make an open profeſſion of his belief. "That inſtead of preaching *Jeſus Chriſt*, according to the oath he had taken, he had only inſiſted in his pulpit on the explication of the Old Teſtament, and falſly wreſted and applied paſſages thereof pointing to our Saviour, and appropriated them to other perſons, and above all in his laſt ſermon; from whence it followed, by the juſt judgment of God, that he the ſaid *Anthony* became deprived of his ſenſes, and ran about the field like a diſtracted perſon, and came bare-legged into the city, uttering horrid blaſphemies againſt our bleſſed Lord and Saviour *Jeſus Chriſt*: that, after he had been under the hands of phyſicians, and carefully looked after in the hoſpital of this city, coming again to his ſenſes, and being out of his mad fits, he had perſiſted in his blaſphemies againſt the Holy Trinity, and the perſon of our bleſſed God and Saviour, maintaining, as well by word of mouth as writing, that *Jeſus Chriſt* was an idol, and that the New Teſtament was but a meer fable. He hath confeſſed, that in adminiſtring the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, in the exhortation to the people, he ſaid only, Remember your Saviour: and that, in reciting the words of the Apoſtle's Creed, where our Saviour is mentioned, he pronounced not thoſe words, but muttered them betwixt his teeth[a]." He laſtly was charged with obſtinately perſevering in his opinions and blaſphemies, with having renounced his baptiſm, writing a treatiſe againſt the Holy Trinity, and the like crimes.

WE ſhall not preſume to form any conjectures on the nature of the evidence which proved thoſe allegations; but admitting it to be ever ſo ſtrong, the record of the proceſs itſelf ſeems to leave no room to doubt that the criminal was inſane. The ſentence, of the ſyndics and council of the city, againſt him, ſays, "That he, forgetting the fear of God, hath been guilty of the crime of apoſtacy and high-treaſon againſt God his creator and ſaviour, having fought againſt the Holy Trinity, denied our Lord and Saviour *Jeſus Chriſt*, blaſphemed his holy name, renounced his baptiſm, to embrace the Jewiſh religion; and hath been perjured in dogmatiſing and teaching his damnable doctrine; a caſe and a crime deſerving the greateſt puniſhment. For theſe and other cauſes moving the ſaid lords, ſitting in the tribunal of their anceſtors, according to ancient cuſtom, having the fear of God and the Holy Scriptures before their eyes, and having invoked his holy name, that they might thereby be able to make a right judgment, beginning, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, do, by this final ſentence, which they have committed now to writing, condemn the ſaid *Anthony* to be bound and led to the place of *Plein-Palais*, to be there faſtened to a ſtake on a pile of wood, and ſtrangled, according to the uſual manner, and afterwards to have his body burnt and conſumed to aſhes, and thus to end his days for an example to others; declaring, moreover, his goods coſiſcated to the city, and charging the lord-lieutenant to put the ſaid ſentence into due and intire execution[b]." This ſentence was accordingly executed.

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[a] SPON. p. 176.

Danger of Geneva.

CARDINAL *Richelieu* was then firſt miniſter of *France*; and he ſo far abandoned the politics of *Henry* IV. that he entered into a treaty with the duke of *Savoy*, to whom he offered to relinquiſh the protection of *Geneva*, and to put him in poſſeſſion of it at the expence of *France*, if the other would give up *Nice* by way of exchange; but many reaſons diſſuaded the duke from an exchange, which muſt have given to the *French* the only ſea-port he had, and a ready admittance, at any time, into his dominions. Thus the *Genevois* once more eſcaped being ſlaves under the houſe of *Savoy*.

Duke of Rohan's *death.*

ONE of the greateſt honours that *Geneva* has to boaſt of is, that the great duke of *Rohan*, before his death, choſe it for the place of his retreat. This gave ſo much umbrage to the cardinal, that he perſuaded his maſter to deſire the duke to reſide at *Venice*[c]. The duke excuſed himſelf from obeying this order, becauſe the paſſes were all ſhut up; but to prove that he had no ſuch intention as the cardinal ſuſpected, he took the command of the duke *de Weimar*'s army, and fought the battle of *Rhinfeld* againſt the imperialiſts; and there, though he got the victory, he loſt his life, for he died ſoon after of the wounds he received, in the fifty-ninth year of his age. This great man, before his death, ordered his body to be interred at *Geneva*, where a magnificent marble tomb, with an elegant *Latin* inſcription, was erected for him by his ducheſs, daughter to the duke of *Savoy.* The duke, during his reſidence at *Geneva*, had been a great benefactor to the city, and adorned *Plein-Palais* with a magnificent walk. His ſon *Tancred* was, a few years after, buried in the ſame tomb; but the duke's daughter having obtained a decree of the parliament of *Paris*, declaring him illegitimate, the inſcription relating to him was erazed.

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[b] SPON. ibid.

[c] Vie du Pere JOSEF. p. 405.

Genevois *renew their alliance.*

All this while the *Genevois*, and the cantons of *Zurich* and *Bern* lived in the utmoſt harmony together; and in the year 1638 they agreed, that they ſhould, from time to time, formally renew their alliance. In the year 1642, it was the turn of the *Genevois* to entertain the *Swiſs* deputies, who arrived in their city on that occaſion, where they were received by all the citizens, under arms, and a profuſion of public honours. The next remarkable incident in the hiſtory of *Geneva*, happened on the 19th of *January*, 1645, when a prodigious wind drove back the waters of the *Rhone* and the lake in ſuch a manner, that people could paſs on foot from the gate *Monoye* to the iſle. This wind was ſo violent, that it did prodigious damage to the inhabitants, by carrying away houſe tops, blowing down chimnies, and plucking trees up by the roots. This year the ſuburbs of *St. Gervais* were fortified by a bulwark, and adorned with an inſcription, compoſed by *Jacobus Gotofredus*, which ſome have admired, notwithſtanding its puerile antitheſes. This *Gotefred* was, however, a man of learning; and having been ſyndic five times, he made great collections of materials relating to *Geneva*, from which *Spon* compoſed great part of his hiſtory. He died in the year 1652. *Diodate*, who had been ſent to the ſynod of *Dort*, died before him. He was famous for tranſlating father *Paul*'s hiſtory of the council of *Trent*, and for having been choſen profeſſor of *Hebrew* in *Geneva*, when he was but nineteen years of age: he was likewiſe profeſſor of divinity there; and was ſo much eſteemed in the ſynod of *Dort*, that he was one of the ſix who drew up its canons: he was ſeventy-three years of age at the time of his death. In the year 1651, the overflowing of the *Arve* was ſo great, that it ſwept away moſt of the bridges; and in *December* there was an earthquake, but without any fatal conſequences. In the year 1653, ſome of the ſubjects of *Bern*, in its *German* territory, rebelled againſt the magiſtrates of that city, under one *Leuberg*, and made ſuch a progreſs, that they actually blocked it up, and reduced it to great danger. In this extremity the *Bernois* applied for aſſiſtance to the *Genevois*, who ſent them three companies of one hundred men each, under the captains *Debons*, *Carre*, and *Dumont*. This aſſiſtance came ſo ſeaſonably, that the inſurgents were defeated, *Leuberg* was quartered, and many of the ringleaders were hanged. The ſame year one *Gautier* was, at the ſuit of the republic of *Venice*, arreſted and executed at *Geneva*, for having murdered a *Spaniſh* family, and pillaged the veſſel that was carrying them to their own country.

Cromwell *writes to the* Genevois.

All this while the *Genevois* ſeem to have enjoyed a happy tranquility, notwithſtanding the inhuman proſecutions of the duke of *Savoy*'s Proteſtant ſubjects in the vallies of *Piedmont*. While thoſe perſecutions were raging, *Cromwell*, who was then protector of *England*, to raiſe his character with his own party, wrote a *Latin* letter to the magiſtrates of *Geneva*, dated *June* 7, 1655, from his palace at *Weſtminſter*, in which he told them, "That the extreme miſeries to which the duke of *Savoy* had reduced the Proteſtants, in the vallies of *Piedmont*, had ſo far moved him with compaſſion, that he had ordered collections to be made throughout all *England*, that he might give proofs of the great charity of that nation towards the afflicted brethren. And foraſmuch as theſe collections required ſome time, and the neceſſities of theſe poor people admitted no delay, he hath therefore judged it meet to ſend, in the mean while, the ſum of two thouſand pounds ſterling out of his own treaſury, which ſum he ordered to be paid into the hands of the officers of *Geneva*, to diſtribute it to them who had moſt need, according to their prudence, ſuppoſing they would readily accept this trouble in their neighbours behalf, as in whoſe miſeries he believed they had a fellow-feeling, beſeeching God to ſtrengthen all thoſe who profeſs the orthodox religion, that they may maintain their common cauſe, and aſſiſt one another againſt their enemies, in which ſervice he ſhall be glad to be employed." *Cromwell* afterwards ſent *Morland*, one of his miniſters, to do all the ſervice he could to thoſe poor Proteſtants; and on that occaſion he paſſed ſeveral months at *Geneva*, where the inhabitants conceived a high opinion of *Cromwell*'s power and zeal for the Proteſtant religion.

Geneva *fortified.*

Next year the cantons, who profeſſed the *Roman* Catholic religion, had a war with thoſe of *Zurich* and *Bern*, who inſiſted upon the inhabitants of certain independent, or as they are called, individual bailiwicks, enjoying the exerciſe of the Proteſtant religion. *Geneva* ſent their allies another body of three hundred men, under the command of the captains *Debons*, *Girard*, and *Fabry*, who aſſiſted at the ſiege of *Rapperſwil*; and a peace being concluded, the *Genevois* auxiliaries returned home. Next year the *Genevois* began to fortify the mount of *St. Victor*, before the baſtions of *Pin* and *St. Anthony*; but though at firſt the inhabitants of all ranks, females as well as males, worked inceſſantly upon the fortifications, yet it was found that they were either too extenſive to be completed, or, if completed to be manned, upon which account the work was diſcontinued. It was about this time that the *French* king came to *Lyons*, and the *Genevois* laid hold of that opportunity to congratulate him upon his recovery from a late ſickneſs, and to entreat him for the continuance of his favour and protection to their city. The ſieurs *Voyſine* and *Pictet*, were choſen to execute this commiſſion. They had a moſt obliging anſwer, and aſſurance of farther protection from his moſt Chriſtian majeſty, who had preſented each of them, at the ſame time, with a gold chain and a medal, and they in return made him the uſual preſents of their city, which conſiſted of trouts taken in their lake, weighing forty or fifty pounds each. Next year the *Genevois*, who daily ſaw cogent reaſons for being on their guard, again applied themſelves to the fortifications of their city. They firſt carried on a work in the form of a half moon, in the ſame place where they had left off before; and, in digging, many urns and medals were found, which proved the antiquity of the city of *Geneva*. Perceiving there was a neceſſity for farther fortifications, that their city might gradually receive all the ſtrength its ſituation could admit of, and being ſenſible, at the ſame time, that their own finances were very unequal to the expence of ſuch works, they ſent the famous ſieur *Turretin*, their profeſſor of divinity, into *Holland*, that he might procure money from their friends there; and the ſtates were ſo generous, that public collections were made all over their dominions, by which one hundred thouſand franks were raiſed, and *Turretin* carried them to *Geneva*. This ſum enabled the *Genevois* to reſume their works, and the *Dutch* money ſerved to build the firſt baſtion near the *Rhone*, which is called the *Dutch baſtion*; and an inſcription, engraved on a marble pillar, is erected, to commemorate the gratitude of the city, for the aſſiſtance it received from the ſtates general. *Ivoy*, an engineer, who afterwards was in the ſervice of the prince of *Orange*, had attended *Turretin* from *Holland*, and had drawn the plan of four great baſtions royal, with courtines, on the ſide of *Plein Palais*, incloſing them from the *Rhone* to the bulwark of *St. Leger*; this plan takes up no leſs than ſeventeen hundred paces in compaſs, and was incloſed and finiſhed in ten years.

THE biſhop of *Geneva*, though deprived of all juriſdiction, ſpiritual as well as temporal, within that city, ſtill reſided at *Anecy*, and exerciſed his authority over all thoſe places which formerly A. D. 1661.

Biſhop of Geneva *diſappointed.*

formerly belonged to his biſhopric, and were not immediately poſſeſſed by the *Genevois*, who conſidered all the lands that had belonged to the canons of *St. Peter* and the abbey of *St. Victor*, as their own property. By the treaty of *Lyons*, in the year 1601, when *Henry* IV. exchanged the marquiſate of *Saluces* for the country of *Gex*, he reſerved to himſelf all the ports of the *Rhone*, from *Geneva* as far as *Lyons*. By this reſervation, the ſovereignty of *Chanſy* and *Avoully*, ſituated on the *Rhone*, and belonging formerly to the abbey of *St. Victor*, became his, as did the village of *Moin*, which had belonged to the chapter of *St. Peter*; while the property of all the three remained with the *Genevois*.

The *Genevois* had foreſeen that this reſervation might ſome day or other bring them into a good deal of trouble, and laying their apprehenſions before *Henry* IV. he ſhewed himſelf, as he did on all occaſions, ſo much their friend, that he ordered matters to be expedited; by which he remitted this ſovereignty, which was indeed but an empty title, to the *Genevois*, as he had no title to the property. It happened, either by deſign or accident, that thoſe letters never had been regiſtered in parliament; and, in the year 1661, the biſhop of *Geneva*, taking advantage of the omiſſion, applied to the *French* court for leave to ſettle curates in thoſe villages, which he ſaid lay within his dioceſe, though ſubject to the crown of *France*. His plea was ſo plauſible, that before *John Lullin*, who had been appointed agent for *Geneva* to oppoſe him, could reach the *French* court, the biſhop had obtained a decree in his favour; and *Bouchu*, the intendant of *Burgundy*, came to *Gex* in *February* 1662, to ſee the ſame carried into execution. When *Bouchu* arrived at *Gex*, he underſtood that the *Genevois* were then actually ſolliciting the court of *France* to have the decree ſuſpended; upon which he deferred the execution of his commiſſion. In the mean, while *Lullin* was ſo active with the *French* miniſtry, that, after an attendance of two years, he carried his point. The biſhop was diſappointed, and the villages remained on their former footing.

Danger of Geneva *from the duke of* Savoy.

This favour done the *Genevois* in ſo important a matter, made them take all opportunities of doing honour to the *French*; and when the duke of *Crequi*, in the year 1664, paſſed through *Geneva*, on his return from his embaſſy at *Rome*, they omitted no mark of reſpect or magnificence, that could teſtify their regard for his moſt Chriſtian majeſty; and indeed it muſt be admitted, that *Geneva*, more than once, owed her freedom and independency to the protection of *France*. Every day produced new diſputes and quarrels, between the *Genevois* and the officers of the duke of *Savoy*,

who

were inſtructed for that purpoſe; and thoſe differences him a pretence for ſaying, that as the treaty of *St. Julien* een ſo often violated, it was not binding to either party. tood, however, too much in fear of *France*, directly to e that treaty, till ſuch time as he could be in a condi- to make himſelf maſter of *Geneva*. With this view, in ring of 1667, the militia of *Savoy*, and a body of horſe, l the *Savoy* regiment, conſiſting of five hundred gentle- had orders to be in readineſs to take the field at an hour's ing; and a body of regulars, under the command of the uis of *Pianezze*, were quartered at *Anecy*, *Remilly*, *Sa- r*, *Cluſe*, *Tonon*, *Evian*, and other places about *Geneva*. l thoſe towns were above four leagues (the diſtance pre- d by the treaty of *St. Julien*) diſtant from *Geneva*, the itants had no right to complain, though they ſaw plainly e diſpoſitions that were making, that the duke was me- ng a blow againſt their city. They were confirmed in when they underſtood that the duke had furniſhed all nilitia, who were before a naked defenceleſs people, arms, ammunition, and military ſtores of all kinds, and rdered them to be exerciſed every week. To preſerve a nunication between thoſe forces and *Geneva*, a ſtone e was erected over the *Arve* at *Tremblieres*, not above an s ſail diſtant from that city. But the moſt formidable of his preparations conſiſted in thoſe he was making on ake, where, by the aſſiſtance of ſeamen and workmen rom *Nice*, he built three flat-bottomed boats, in a kind lock which he had made at *Bellerive*, a delightful village, upon the lake, in the neighbourhood of *Geneva*, and n he gave orders for ſecuring with a chain and paliſades, s a fort that was flanked with two baſtions. The *Ge- r* complained, that the erecting this fort was an infrac- of the treaty of *St. Julien*, becauſe it was within four es of their city. The *Savoyards*, who had on this oc- n brought over ſome of the *Swiſs* cantons to their ſide, ed that the building at *Bellerive* was not a fort, becauſe l no ditches round it, and that it was intended only as a ouſe for their ſalt; as to the bridge at *Tremblieres*, they nded, that it was built to avoid the water carriage of commodity through *Geneva*, which they found danger- and inconvenient, and that they intended to tranſport ſalt in waggons by land to *Bellerive*, from whence the ottomed boats they had built there, were to convey it e *Chablais*, *Valais*, *Fribourg*, and other cantons, which to be furniſhed by the *Savoyards* with ſalt.

A. D. 1667.

Precautions of the Genevois *in guarding their city.*

Those plauſible pretexts did not amuſe the *Genevois*; they had undouhted intelligence that the duke had an intention to make another atempt upon their city, both by land and water, and that he muſt ſucceed, if they did not prepare againſt the worſt; they likewiſe more than ſuſpected, that his royal highneſs (for ſo the dukes of *Savoy* were now called) had correſpondents in the city, and that he would attempt to ſurpriſe, rather than beſiege, them. The meaſures they took to diſappoint him, ſhewed wonderful precaution and ſagacity. Their garriſon was ſtrengthened by an addition of ten men to each company, and thirty draughted from the uſual guard of citizens, who were relieved once in twenty-four hours by a like number. The grand rounds ſet forth every quarter of an hour, beſides the uſual watch, four beadles and two fort majors; ſo that the centinels could not ſleep upon their poſts; the out-watches at the ſame time were reinforced, and ſome were placed in boats upon the lake. The gates were furniſhed with new portculliſes, bars, and palliſades, and other engines, both of offence and defence. All the hedges and trees within muſquet ſhot of the city were cut down, eſpecially thoſe towards the gates of *Rivi*, that none might approach it unperceived. A private watch was inſtituted at the ſame time, by the council of two hundred, who had it in charge to ſearch all ſtrangers. The centinels were every where doubled, and they who ſtood at the draw-bridge were furniſhed with coats of mail to prevent their being ſtabbed. Chains were drawn acroſs the lake, which were guarded by citizens, and no boat was ſuffered to paſs without a ſignal from thoſe appointed to ſearch it, that there was no danger. Other guards were appointed, to pierce and examine all the hay carts and heavy carriages that came into the city.

The *Genevois*, on this alarming occaſion, excuſed no citizen reſiding there, who was able to bear arms, from acting as a ſoldier. The arms of every houſe-keeper were diligently examined, and they were obliged to furniſh themſelves according to their abilities with muſquets, ſwords, powder, bullets, and all kinds of proviſions. No inhabitant was to appear without a ſword by his ſide; and all merchants and tradeſmen were to have their arms lying on their counters in their ſhops, that they might be ready at a moment's warning. All the ordinary horſes of the city were muſtered, and two hundred of the richeſt citizens were obliged to keep each of them an able horſe extraordinary. Thoſe horſe were commanded by *Node Balthazar*; and a great number of *French*, whom the inhabitants could depend on, offered their ſervice in defence of the city. To procure intelligence of the enemies deſigns, a ſecret committee of ſeven perſons was inſtituted; their buſineſs was to ſend ſpies into the enemies country, that they might learn their motions, and to take cognizance of all affairs, but thoſe that were of ſo great importance as to require being laid before the general council.

THE precautions of the *Genevois* did not even end there; they ſent for aid to their allies of *Bern* and *Zurich*, who raiſed a conſiderable body of troops for their aſſiſtance; and to render them as little burdenſome as poſſible to the *Genevois*, they were quartered in the cities and boroughs upon the lake, ſo as to be ready at an appointed ſignal. For the greater diſpatch, the *Genevois* built a large galley, and the *Bernois* built two others, one of them carrying fourteen, and the other ten guns, and each capable of carrying two hundred men. All this while, the fortifications of the city were receiving new works. The heads of the corporations of merchants, artiſts, and other profeſſions, ſpared no expence for that purpoſe; and the profeſſors of divinity, with their ſcholars, went 'round with four drums before them, and not only worked in their own perſons, but hired workmen according to their abilities, ſome ten, and ſome twenty; nay, a rich *Dutch* merchant, who happened to be then at *Geneva*, brought along with him two hundred workmen, whom he paid.

Their danger vaniſhes.

THE ardour of the *Genevois* at this time to come to action with the *Savoyards*, was wonderful, and many ſeemed to be ſenſibly mortified that they had no opportunity of ſhewing their courage by the duke declaring war. This was the more to be expected, as he had kept on foot upon the confines of *Savoy* a large body of troops ready for action, at an expence that was but ill ſuited with the ſtate of his finances, for above nine months. But his royal highneſs was no ſtranger to the preparations that were making to receive him, and therefore choſe to loſe all his preparations rather than make an attempt, which he thought could end only in increaſing and exaſperating his enemies.

Farther differences with Savoy.

WHILE thoſe warlike preparations were carrying on, the communication between *Geneva* and the duke of *Savoy*'s dominions was ſtill kept open; and a difference fell out, which was proſecuted in another manner than by arms. In *March*, this year, the curates of *Megry* and *Choulex*, two places belonging to the duke of *Savoy*, adminiſtered the ſacrament to a ſick perſon at *Courſinge*, a village belonging to that duke, all but the houſe where the ſick man lay, which was under the juriſdiction of the *Genevois* lordſhip of *Juſſy*. The matter in itſelf was inconſiderable; but it happened at ſo critical a time, that both parties had their reaſons for rendering it important. The *Genevois* government ordered *Colladon*, their firſt ſyndic, to inquire into the matter; and taking ſome examinations on the ſpot, he ordered the two curates to appear before him by a certain day. This was at beſt but a captious kind of proceeding; and the ſenate, as it is called, of *Chambery*, not only cited *Colladon* to appear before them, but publiſhed a declaration againſt him by beat of drum, and even ordered him to be apprehended and brought to trial. This extraordinary proceeding induced the *Genevois* council to ſend *Liffort*, another ſyndic, to make their complaints to the preſident *La Perouſe*, who then commanded in *Savoy*, and to lay before him their evidences of that particular houſe being within their dominions; but the preſident would neither give them admittance, nor hear their reaſons. The *Genevois* then carried the matter before the *Swiſs* cantons, not ſo much becauſe the latter had any juriſdiction in it, but that they might clear their own conduct; which the *Savoyard* ambaſſador to the ſame cantons, endeavoured to impeach and blacken. As the *Genevois* perhaps did not find that their conduct had been very defenſible they deputed, towards the end of the year, *Andrew Pictet* and *John Dupan*, to attend his royal highneſs in perſon at *Turin*, and to make an end of the difference. The duke received the deputies very obligingly, but remitted the matter to the preſident and other commiſſioners, who uſed ſo many trifling delays, that the deputies ſpent three months at *Turin* to no purpoſe. At laſt the *French* king ſent a letter by *Lionne*, one of his miniſters, to the magiſtrates of *Geneva*, deſiring the *Genevois*, for the ſake of peace, to drop their pretenſions upon the houſe; and this requeſt being ſeconded by *Servient*, the *French* ambaſſador at *Turin*, they complied.

Diſſenſions in Geneva.

WHILE this affair was in dependence, and even before the *Savoyard* forces had retired from the neighbourhood of *Geneva*, an affair happened, which was ſo little to the credit of the moderation of the parties concerned, that they expunged the tranſaction out of their records, as an atonement for their imprudence. All we know of it from *Spon* is, that during the abſence of the ſyndics, the auditor, *John Sarrazin*, preſided, *December* 7th, in their place, over both the council of two hundred, and that of twenty-five. The latter council reſented this; and thus the government was ſplit into two factions: that of the council of two hundred, which was backed by the citizens, as that of the council of twenty-five was by the garriſon and ſoldiers, by whoſe aſſiſtance *Sarrazin* was arreſted and thrown into priſon. The council of two hundred complained, that he ſuffered for no other crime, but becauſe he had preſided in their aſſembly; and they convened the people in *St. Mary*'s church, that they might reſcue him by force; the leſſer, on the other hand, drew out the garriſon; and both parties were ready to come to blows, when the matter was compromiſed, though we know not how; the priſoner was diſcharged, and the city reſtored to quiet.

THE next remarkable incident that occurs in the hiſtory of *Geneva*, was a moſt dreadful fire, that happened in the night time of the 27th of *January*, 1670, amongſt the houſes on and near the bridge over the *Rhone*, and which threatened the deſtruction of the whole city. The houſes being built of timber were conſumed in two hours time, and one hundred and twehty perſons periſhed in the flames. Many threw themſelves into the *Rhone*; but at laſt the conflagration was ſtopped from ſpreading by the towers of *Monoye* and the iſle, but not till it had done ſo much damage, that the channel of the *Rhone* between the iſle and the city, though two hundred and ſixty feet broad, was filled, and dried up by the ruins of the houſes. Liberal collections were made by the people of *Geneva*, who raiſed ſix thouſand crowns; and likewiſe by their allies of *Bern*.

NEXT year the prince elector palatine paid a viſit to *Geneva*, where he reſided four months; during which time nothing was wanting that could contribute to his entertainment. Amongſt other diverſions, one ought not to be forgot. Their largeſt galley was fitted out and manned by the young *Genevois*; and the prince, with part of the council, received on board of it. After the company had diverted themſelves with fiſhing upon that delightful lake, they landed at the caſtle of *Koſette*, where a ſplendid feaſt was ſerved up; during which the prince was waited on by the young *Genevois* of the greateſt diſtinction, as the lords of the council were by the prince's attendants. After dinner the prince and his company landed, and walked on the ſide of the lake under a general diſcharge of artillery, anſwered by drums and trumpets from thirty boats that attended the galley. During this exceſs of joy, the *Genevois* magiſtrates had, for the diverſion of the prince, contrived the matter ſo, that when the ſmoke of the cannon blew away, all of a ſudden a frigate appeared with an *Algerine* flag on her main top, and manned with fifty pretended *Moors*, and attacked the great galley. Upon this a ſea-fight enſued, in which the *Algerines* were defeated, and were led priſoners in triumph to *Geneva* by the prince, who at night entered that city under another general diſcharge of all the cannons on its ramparts. Soon after he fell ſick, and public prayers were put up for his recovery, through all the churches of *Geneva*. His health being re-eſtabliſhed, he ſet out for *Grenoble*, the citizens and garriſon being in arms, and lining the way for him as he proceeded, the council attending him in a body till he left their territory.

A new plot againſt Geneva.

IN *September* 1673, the chief ſyndic found at his houſe (on his return from church) a letter, which a perſon unknown had left in his abſence; the contents whereof were, "That upon a proviſo of a proportionable reward, he would make ſuch a conſiderable diſcovery, that the public ſafety depended on it; and if they deſired to ſpeak with this perſon next morning about it, the ſuperior of the convent of the capuchins of *Gex* would inform them where he was; but if they neglected this advertiſement, they might be certain of finding the city, in a ſhort time, reduced to the greateſt extremity [a]." This letter being laid before the council, the preſident *Dunant* was ſent by them next morning to *Gex*, where he had an interview with the writer, who, after ſome converſation had paſſed between them, appeared to be the contriver, as well as the diſcoverer of the deſign; which *Dunant* underſtood was for a new attempt on the city, and had been communicated to the duke of *Savoy*, who had affronted the diſcoverer, which was the reaſon why he was willing to reveal it to the *Genevois* government; but he inſiſted upon being rewarded for his diſcovery with a ſum equal to one thouſand pounds ſterling, and to have a place aſſigned him where he could live in ſafety. *Dunant* acquainted him, that he had no power to treat with him upon ſuch conditions, and that his beſt courſe would be to repair to *Geneva*, where he could treat with the magiſtrates themſelves. The other then deſired a letter of ſafe-conduct; but *Dunant* told him, that no ſuch was ever granted by the magiſtrates of *Geneva*; but that he was authorized to engage the public faith, that he might come into the city on the ſame ſecurity that others had done before him. The man was contented with this very ambiguous ſecurity, and next day preſented himſelf before the magiſtrates of *Geneva*, informing them, that his name was *John Baptiſte Noroy*, of *Nozeray*, in *Burgundy*; that he had found out an eaſy way by which he could ſurpriſe *Geneva*; that he had gone to *Piedmont*, where he had communicated the ſame to the duke of *Savoy* ſome months before; and that, after having a private conference with him at *Rivoles*, the duke told him, that he thought the undertaking was too hazardous; that he had a ſcore of penſioners in

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[a] SPON. p. 187.

Geneva; that ſome of them even ſate in the council, and that the juncture was very improper for entering into a war. He thanked him, him, however, for his diſcovery, and gave him ten pieces of gold by way of reward. To confirm all he ſaid, he produced letters under the hand of the duke of *Savoy*'s ſecretary, and other noblemen of that court.

Upon farther examination it appeared, that *Noroy*'s ſcheme was to have introduced, without ſuſpicion, four or five hundred men, all of them unarmed, into *Geneva*, where they were to be lodged in private houſes, and have arms delivered them, and lie hid till the day of the execution of their enterprize, which was to be in ſermon-time, about eight of the clock. All thoſe people, who were hid, coming out with their arms, were to divide themſelves into ſeveral parties, three of which, conſiſting of about eighty men a-piece, ſhould ſpeedily ſeize on all the doors of the three churches, and not only hinder the people from coming out, but in the fright would conſtrain them to get up upon the top of the churches, and by this means there would be no place needing a guard, but only the ſteeple ſtairs; another company ſhould ſcour the ſtreets, and kill the citizens, who being not at church would come out of their houſes to rally themſelves; the reſt were to ſet upon a certain gate of the city, which being not ſuccoured by any citizens, might be eaſily won; which being done, there ſhould be let in forces who were to march all night, that they might be at the gates at the hour of this execution. Upon farther examination, he gave two reaſons for making the diſcovery; the firſt was the ſlight put upon him by the ſmall reward he had from the duke; and the ſecond was, his having been refuſed the government of *Geneva* when it ſhould be taken, and his being ſcoffed at for making the demand.

The plotter diſcovered.

All thoſe diſcoveries were made only to the council of twenty-five. *Noroy* was preſſed by them to name the duke of *Savoy*'s penſioners in *Geneva*. He declared, that he was totally ignorant both of their names and perſons, and very ſenſibly added, that conſidering the manner in which the duke treated him, it could not be ſuppoſed that he would be let into a ſecret of ſuch importance. His anſwers and diſcoveries perplexed the council ſo greatly, that they ſent him to priſon, and laid the whole affair before the council of two hundred. Their opinions were greatly divided; ſome imagined, that *Noroy* was no better than a firebrand, to ſow diviſions amongſt the citizens; ſome voted, that he ſhould be put to the rack to force him to diſcover the traitors, and ſome that he ſhould be put to death; while a few where of opinion, that the public faith being engaged for his ſafety, he ought to be ſet at liberty. This opinion, though the moſt agreeable to juſtice, was oppoſed by others, who obſerved, that *Noroy* had made his diſcoveries through pique and diſappointment, and that he deſerved no favour; adding, that an incendiary like him ought to be confined, for fear of farther miſchief; and that the promiſe which had been made to him, being general and ambiguous, he might be put to death, without any imputation lying upon the public faith. After long debates, it was carried to avoid both extremes; and *Noroy* was, by the mercy of the council, ſhut up in perpetual impriſonment.

Freſh differences with Savoy.

In the year 1674, the princes *Philip* and *George*, brothers to *Charles*, landgrave of *Heſſe Caſſel*, came to *Geneva*, where *George*, who was but eighteen years of age, died of the ſmall pox. As the inhabitants of *Geneva* had always expreſſed the greateſt regard for the houſe of *Heſſe*, they teſtified their concern by the magiſtrates ordering an intermiſſion of all public buſineſs for eight days. The body of the deceaſed was depoſited with great funeral pomp in *St. Peter*'s chapel, the magiſtrates and miniſters attending in mourning, where it lay for eight months, and it was then carried to *Heſſe Caſſel*. Next year, the leaſe granted to the farmers of the ſalt, who paid twenty thouſand francs a year to the public, being expired, they were required to pay more money. The farmers refuſed to comply, and joined with the *Savoyards*, who pretended a right to impoſe a capitation duty upon every ſubject of *Geneva*, for the quantity of ſalt he was ſuppoſed to make uſe of. The *Genevois* reſented this impoſition, and ſent a quantity of ſalt under a guard to *Juſſy*, which the *Savoyards* complained of both to the court of *France*, and the cantons of *Swiſſerland*, as an invaſion of their privileges; and at the ſame time they muſtered their militia, and laid up magazines of arms, ammunition, and proviſions, for invading *Geneva*. The *Genevois*, on the other hand, ſtood upon their guard, and were juſtified in what they had done both by the court of *France* and the *Swiſs* cantons; the *French* king particularly ſent them a moſt obliging letter, promiſing their republic the continuance of his friendſhip and protection. The *Savoyards*, however, had ſo great intereſt at the court of *France*, that the *Genevois* were obliged to ſend *John Dupan* and *Amy de Chapeaurouge*, to ſollicit for them both in *Swiſſerland* and the *French* court, where they were oppoſed by *Leonardi*, the dircheſs regent of *Savoy*'s reſident. His allegations were anſwered by the *Genevois* deputies, and the cantons ſeemed to be ſatisfied. Notwithſtanding this, the late farmers, whoſe compact ſtill ſubſiſted with *Savoy* and *France*, pretended they had a right to oblige the ſubjects of *Geneva* to take ſalt from them. The intendant of *Burgundy* came to *Colonges*, with a deſign to make the villages of *Chancy*, *Avoully*, and *Moric*, take the king's ſalt, and likewiſe all the houſes dependent on *Geneva*, including the country of *Gex*; to wit, in the villages of *Malagny*, *Reſſin*, and others. Not contented with this, he ordered guards into thoſe villages, who took away the *Genevois* ſalt, and obliged the inhabitants to take that commodity at *Gex*. *Roſette* was then reſident from *Geneva* at the court of *France*, and was ordered to make remonſtrances on this proceeding to his moſt Chriſtian majeſty, who referred him to be examined by *Pompone*, one of his miniſters. He had ſeveral conferences with the *Genevois* reſident and deputies, but without any effect; till *Stoupe*, a native of *Swiſſerland*, and ambaſſador from the ſtates general, prevailed with the king to give leave to the villagers of *Chancy* and *Avoully*, to take their ſalt from *Geneva*. After this *Roſette* died, and was ſucceeded by the ſieur *Fabri*, who ſollicited his moſt Chriſtian majeſty for an extenſion of the ſalt privileges; but he obtained nothing but good words and a gold medal; the inhabitants, all but thoſe we have already named, being obliged to take their ſalt from *Gex*, which belongs to *France*. In this manner the *Genevois* lived for ſome time under the protection of *France*; and the mother of proteſtantiſm in *Europe* has been defended by the firſt *Roman* catholic power. We are not, however, to imagine, that this kindneſs is ſhewn to *Geneva* on its own account, far leſs on that of her religion. The *French* are awed by two conſiderations from ſubverting the liberties of *Geneva*. The firſt is, leſt ſuch a ſubverſion ſhould draw upon them the reſentment of the *Swiſs* cantons; and the next, leſt the king of *Sardinia* ſhould become maſter of that republic, which, ſmall as it is, would render him very powerful. For ſome years, no conſiderable incident, excepting a few bickerings between the citizens and magiſtrates, has happened in *Geneva*; but thoſe are of too little conſequence to deſerve a particular relation. It is certain, however, that even within theſe few years, the *Genevois* narrowly eſcaped being ſacrificed to the ambition of *France*, particularly during the late war, while his moſt Chriſtian majeſty was engaged in ſupporting the intereſts of his ſon-in-law the prince of *Parma*. The friendſhip of *Geneva* became of ſo much conſequence, that provided his *Sardinian* majeſty would join with *France* and her allies, his moſt Chriſtian majeſty offered to put the king of *Sardinia* in poſſeſſion of *Geneva*. This deſign, by the vigilance of the *Bri-*

***State of Europe in* 1690.**

tiſh miniſtry, came to the knowledge of the *Genevois*, and they immediately demanded the ſtipulated ſuccours from their allies the *Swiſs* cantons, who accordingly held them in readineſs. The proper ſignals were likewiſe concerted for giving the alarm in caſe of an attack. Thoſe precautions at A. D. 1744. that time probably ſaved the liberty and independency of *Geneva* as a republic. The *Dutch* intereſted themſelves in the affair, and reproached cardinal *Fleury*, then firſt miniſter of *France*, with the ſame. The cardinal indeed denied it; but there is little doubt that had it not been for the precautions of the citizens, the deſign muſt have ſucceeded. The *French*, without being diſconcerted at the diſcovery, ſtill piqued themſelves with being the ſupports and the bulwarks of the *Genevois* liberty. At preſent, his *Sardinian* majeſty is ſo far from affecting any ſuperiority over the *Genevois*, that no longer ago than the year 1755, a treaty paſſed between them for a mutual exchange of ſeveral vaſſal lands, which were moſt convenient for both parties.

END of the HISTORY *of* GENEVA.

The HISTORY of MILAN.

SECT. I.

Containing an Account and Deſcription of Milan. *Riſe of the* Viſconti *Family. Hiſtory of Archbiſhop* Otho; Matteo *the Great*; Galeazzo I. Azzo; Luchin; *Archbiſhop* John; Matteo II. Galeazzo II. Barnabo; John Galeazzo I. *Duke of* Milan; John Maria; *and* Philip *the laſt of the* Viſconti *Family.*

HAVING been very full in our hiſtory of *Florence*, which comprehends, by its various and extenſive connections with the other *Italian* ſtates, a great part of their hiſtory, we ſhall, in order to avoid needleſs repetitions, confine our hiſtory of them to thoſe tranſactions that have been already mentioned, as cloſely as the thread and order of the narrative will admit of.

Deſcription of the Milaneſe.

THE duchy of *Milan* is bounded on the weſt by *Savoy*, *Piedmont*, and *Montferrat*; by *Swiſſerland* on the north; by the territories of *Venice*, the duchies of *Mantua*, *Parma*, and *Placentia*, on the eaſt; and by the territories of *Genoa* on the ſouth. For all the purpoſes and conveniencies of life it is the moſt deſirable country in *Italy*. Its ſoil is exceeding fertile; its paſtures the richeſt in *Italy*; its climate moderate and healthful, equally void of the extremes of heat and cold. The face of the country abounds in lakes and rivers, ſtocked with variety of all freſh-water fiſh. The chief lakes are three, viz. that called the *Lago Maggiore*, (anciently the *Lacus Verbanus*) *Lago di Lugano*, and the *Lago di Como*. Nothing can be more beautiful than the borders of the *Maggiore*, which are planted with vineyards upon riſing grounds, and every where interſperſed with fine ſummer-houſes and villas, and the vineyards are ornamented by plantations of cheſnut-trees. In this lake are two iſlands, called the *Borromean Iſlands*; *Iſola Bella*, and *Iſola Madre*. The former, the ſoil of which was all imported into it by water, at a vaſt charge, is ſo beautiful, that the whole looks like the work of enchantment, and contains a magnificent palace.

The latter contains a palace likewiſe, which is remarkable for its fine paintings. ~~The *Iſola Bella* was, in the middle~~ of the laſt century, a mere barren rock; and the buildings and improvements made upon both are owing to the counts of the *Borromeo* family. The *Lago di Lugano* is twenty *Engliſh* miles in length; and that of *Como*, from north to ſouth, is thirty-ſix *Italian* miles. The chief rivers of the *Milaneſe* are the *Po*, the *Teſin*, the *Adda*, and the *Seſſia*; and beſides theſe four rivers, the country is interſected with canals, made and carried on, at a vaſt expence, for the benefit of communications and water-carriage. The duchy itſelf is divided into thirteen parts. 1. The *Milaneſe Proper*. 2. The *Paveſe*. 3. The *Lodeſan*. 4. The *Cremoneſe*. 5. The *Comaſco*. 6. The county of *Anghiera*. 7. The vallies of *Seſſia*. 8. The *Novareſe*. 9. The *Vigevanaſco*. 10. The *Lomelline*. 11. The *Alexandrin*. 12. The *Tortoneſe*. And, 13. The territory of *Bobbio*. No country in the world has undergone a greater variety of revolutions, or has been oftener the ſeat of war, than the *Milaneſe*, which is a melancholy proof of its vaſt importance. It is fitted by nature for carrying on all kinds of manufactures; ſo that the natives can live in great power and plenty, without any foreign commerce; while the commodities they produce, particularly cloth, ſilk and linnen, ſtockings, gloves, handkerchiefs, ſteel, chryſtal, agates, and jewels, make the balance of trade in their favour, with their neighbours. The *Milaneſe*, upon the whole, were it under a mild and prudent government, would be one of the richeſt ſpots in the world, though in breadth it does not extend to above one hundred *Engliſh* miles, and in length to one hundred and twenty. Its ancient extent, however, was much greater; and the wealth, ſplendor, and riches of its ancient princes and inhabitants, are viſible, by the aſtoniſhing works they have left behind them, notwithſtanding the perpetual ravages of the wars they were engaged in.

Milan. THE city of *Milan* from its largeneſs, populouſneſs, and magnificence of its public ſtructures, has acquired the epithet of *The Great*; and at preſent it is juſtly reckoned one of the fineſt cities in the world. It is ten miles in circumference, though great part of the ground within the walls is laid out in gardens; and in the beginning of the preſent century it was ſaid to have contained three hundred thouſand inhabitants; at preſent it is ſaid to contain two hundred and fifty thouſand. It ſtands upon the little river *Olana*, and has the advantage of two navigable canals, with the rivers *Adda* and *Teſin*, the firſt of which was the work of the celebrated *Florentine* painter and architect, *Leonardo de Vinci.* The citadel of *Milan* is a regular fortification, and one of the ſtrongeſt in *Italy*. The narrowneſs of the ſtreets, in ſome places, ſpoils the beauty of the city, and their paper windows gives their noble houſes a mean appearance. Here are twenty-two gates, two hundred and thirty churches, of which ninety-ſix are parochial, ninety convents, one hundred religious fraternities, and one hundred and twenty ſchools. The nobility here appear with great ſplendor, and the manners of the inhabitants are more eaſy and free than in any other part of *Italy*. The cathedral of *Milan* is an aſtoniſhing *Gothic* pile of marble, five hundred feet in length, and two hundred in breadth: its roof is ſupported by one hundred and ſixty white marble pillars, each three fathom round, and valued at ten thouſand crowns a piece; it is filled with a prodigious number of ſtatues, ſome of which are prodigiouſly fine; and though its foundation was laid in 1386, ſince which it has been conſtantly building and ornamenting, yet it is now far from being finiſhed. The treaſury of this church is of an immenſe value; and the chryſtal caſe, encloſing the body of St. *Charles Borromeo*, is looked upon to be invaluable. Next to the churches, all of which are very noble, the college founded by St. *Charles Borromeo*, and that founded by *Frederic Borromeo*, where ſixteen profeſſors teach gratis, deſerve attention, as do many other ſeminaries of learning erected here. The palaces of the archbiſhop and the viceroy, and ſome others of the *Milaneſe* nobility, are very magnificent; and the revenue of the great hoſpital, which is ſaid to contain four thouſand patients and poor, and is a very noble ſtructure, amounts to above twenty thouſand pounds ſterling a year. In ſhort, even the mention of all the buildings and curioſities in *Milan* that deſerve public attention, would require more room than we can ſpare. We cannot, however, omit mentioning, that at a ſmall town called *Mouſa*, on the river *Lambro*, is preſerved the famous iron crown with which the ancient kings of *Italy*, and afterwards the emperors of *Germany*, who had pretenſions upon *Lombardy*, were crowned. It is ſo called from an iron ring on the inſide, though the crown itſelf is of gold, and enriched with jewels. It is by much too ſmall for the head of a grown perſon. Its height is about three fingers, and it has neither points, nor rays, nor ornaments of any kind [d].

THE *Milaneſe*, tho' ſubject to an arbitrary government, ſtill preſerve their ſenate; but they are under the controul of a governor, or vicar-general, which office is now in the houſe of *Modena*, which thereby is now become very conſiderable in *Italy*. This governor fills up all the great offices of power and profit. The military governments of the city and citadel of *Milan* are independent of each other, and every town or city of conſequence in the duchy has a common council, out of which twelve acting magiſtrates are choſen; but theſe are ſubordinate to the imperial governor.

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[d] BUSCHING's Geography, Vol. iii. pag. 48.

Pavia. The *Paveſe*, which is the ſecond diviſion of the *Milaneſe*, though great part of it now belongs to his *Sardinian* majeſty, is called the *Milaneſe* garden, for its beauty and fertility. Its chief city is *Pavia*, anciently called *Ticinum*, from its ſituation on that river, and lies twenty miles to the ſouthward of *Milan*. It was formerly the capital of the *Longobardic* kingdom, and is ſtill remarkable for the broadneſs of its ſtreets, the houſes of which are far from being magnificent, for the beauty and richneſs of ſome of its churches, and for its univerſity, which had *Charlemagne* for its founder, and for ſeveral other literary inſtitutions. Here is a biſhop's ſee, which was once the richeſt in *Italy*, but is now dependent on the pope; and upon the whole the city is gone to decay, its trade being ruined through the exactions of the government. The few objects within it worth the public attention, belong to the clergy, or monks; and the church and convent of the *Carthuſians* are inexpreſſibly noble, the court of the convent being one of the fineſt in the world, and ſurrounded by a portico ſupported by pillars, the whole a mile in circumference.

The chief town of the *Lodeſan* is *Lodi*, famous for the richneſs of its paſtures, which produce the celebrated cheeſes, erroneouſly called *Parmeſan*. It lies on the *Adda*, and contains a caſtle, fifty-three convents, colleges, and chapels, with about twelve thouſand inhabitants, who carry on a trade in a kind of porcelain. It is a biſhopric, and the city is ſpacious and well built. The ancient *Lodi*, though once a flouriſhing city, is now a place of no note, having been deſtroyed, out of ſpite, by the *Milaneſe*, though it was afterwards repaired by the emperor *Frederic Barbaroſſa*.

Cremona. *CREMONA* is the chief city of the *Cremoneſe*, and lies forty-five miles ſouth-eaſt of *Milan*. It ſtands on the north ſide of the *Po*, which joins, by a canal, with the *Oglio*. Though it is five miles in circumference, and in general well built, with ſpacious ſquares and broad ſtreets, it is neither rich nor populous. It has a bridge of boats over the *Po*; and beſides the cathedral, which is magnificent, it contains

tains ſixty-two convents, churches, and chapels, and five alms-houſes. The reſt of the diviſions of the *Milaneſe* require no particular deſcription, though, upon the whole, the country is beautiful and rich by nature, with a peculiar ſalubrity of air, ſo that almoſt every foot of it is improveable. Notwithſtanding its preſent ruinous condition, it can raiſe an army of thirty thouſand fighting men, and its revenues are computed to be annually three hundred thouſand pounds ſterling.

Ancient hiſtory of Milan.

ANCIENTLY the duchy of *Milan*, containing the north part of the *Old Liguria*, was called *Inſubria*, from its inhabitants the *Inſubres*, who were conquered by the *Romans*, as they were by the *Goths*, who in their turn were driven out by the *Lombards* of *Gaul* and *Germany*, about the year 572. *Didier*, the laſt king of the *Lombards*, was taken priſoner by *Charles the Great*, who put an end to the *Longobardic* kingdom, and appointed the governors of *Milan*. Thoſe governors being diſtant from the court of their maſters, the ſucceſſors of *Charlemagne*, ſoon affected to be independent, which brought upon that country a ſevere chaſtiſement from the emperor *Frederic Barbaroſſa*; for he levelled the walls of *Milan* to the ground, about the year 1152. The hiſtory of 1152. that emperor is foreign to our preſent purpoſe; but under him lived a nobleman, one *Galvian* [a], who was deſcended from *Otho*, a *Milaneſe*, who, together with *William* prince of *Montferrat*, ſerved in the cruſade, when *Godfrey* of *Bouloign* took *Jeruſalem*, and who killed, in ſingle combat, a *Saracen* general, whom he ſtripped of his helmet, which was adorned with a ſerpent ſwallowing a youth, and this, ever after, was the badge of that family. His grandſon *Galvian* having the courage to oppoſe the emperor, he was taken priſoner, and carried in chains to *Germany*, from whence he made his eſcape, and returning to *Milan*, he died in the ſervice of his country. From him deſcended another *Otho*, who was born at *Invori*, a ſmall village near the *Lago Maggiore*. His family, at the time of his birth, was but low, and all their poſſeſſions were confined to four inconſiderable villages in the neighbourhood, of which *Invori* was one: but according to *Paulus Jovius*, they formerly had large poſſeſſions near *Milan* itſelf; but their houſe had gone to decay, through the misfortunes of the times. *Otho* IV. was then emperor of 1212. *Germany*, and our *Otho* ſoon diſtinguiſhed himſelf to great advantage, both by the ſtrength and beauties of his mind and body. When he grew up, he went to *Rome*, where he

Arch-biſhop Otho.

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[a] PAULUS JOVIUS apud Stephanum, pag. 5.

was received into the family of cardinal *Octavian Ubaldini*; an eminent prelate, who was employed in the greateſt poſts. The cardinal being ſent ambaſſador to *France*, young *Otho* was ſo much in his favour, that he carried him with him as his private ſecretary, an employment which he diſcharged with vaſt addreſs; ſo that the cardinal, who himſelf was aſpiring to the popedom, conſidered *Otho* as deſtined for ſomething that was very great. In the mean while a *Milaneſe* nobleman, one *Torreſs*, or *Torriano*, a perſon of vaſt ambition, putting himſelf at the head of the popular faction in the *Milaneſe*, had driven into exile *Leo Peregi*, the biſhop of *Milan*, who died at *Lignano*; and *Torriano*, having put to death, or baniſhed, all the *Milaneſe* nobility, eſtabliſhed the government of the people there. *Octavian*, who was himſelf of a noble *Tuſcan* family, ſome years before had been prevented by *Torriano* from endeavouring to carry out of the treaſury of St. *Ambroſe*'s church at *Milan*, a carbuncle, or jewel of vaſt beauty and value, which he pretended to reſerve to adorn the papal tiara. This bred an inveterate enmity between them. *Octavian*, by virtue of his legatine powers, nominated *Otho* to the archbiſhopric of *Milan*, and his nomination was confirmed by pope *Urban* IV. *Octavian*'s intention, by this nomination, was to humble the power of the people, which *Otho* effectually did. *Milan* was at that time divided between two factions, that of *Torriano*, and that of *Franciſco Sepri*, who had put himſelf at the head of a great party, who deteſted *Torriano*'s cruelty and haughtineſs. *Otho* was deſigned by the pope to cruſh both. One *Stefanardo de Vicomercato* [b], who wrote the life of this *Otho* in verſe, and who ſeems to have been his contemporary, gives us a very indifferent idea of *Otho*'s virtues. Other writers give us the higheſt opinion of *Torriano* and his modeſty. Being at the head of the popular faction, he no ſooner heard of *Otho*'s nomination to the archbiſhopric, than he immediately ſeized upon the archiepiſcopal palace and all his effects, and employed them in forming the canal from *Pavia* to *Milan*; but the party of the nobility having now obtained a head from the pope, in the perſon of *Otho*, began to form cabals, and write letters to their friends in *Milan* for reuniting their ſtrength; and *Otho* who had the temporal, but not the ſpiritual revenue, which the pope received for himſelf, having got together the face of an army, advanced towards the *Lago Maggiore*, and took poſſeſſion of *Arona*, a ſtrong poſt near that lake. Upon this *Torriano* marched all his

Riſe of Torriano.

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[b] Apud MURAT. Tom. 9.

troops out of their garriſons, and with his general *Palavicini*, he ſhut up *Otho* and his party both by land and water, in *Arona*, ſo cloſely, that *Otho* was obliged to abandon the place, and to leave his party to make the beſt terms they could for themſelves. After this *Torriano* demoliſhed the caſtles of *Arona*, *Anghiari*, and *Brebia*, but ſoon after died. He was ſucceeded by his brother *Philip*, who procured himſelf to be named podeſta, or pretor of *Milan*, for ten years; and taking advantage of the civil diſſenſions at *Como*, he took poſſeſſion of that principality. Notwithſtanding his ſucceſſes, the party of the nobles, or patricians, under *Otho*, daily gained ground, and drove *Philip* to have recourſe to all kinds of arts and alliances to confirm his authority, by matching his relations into the noble *Milaneſe* families, and to pleaſe them, by diſmiſſing *Palavicini* from his command in the army. *Palavicini*, incenſed at this affront, became the declared enemy of the *Torriano* party. About this time *Charles* of *Anjou*[c], brother to *St. Lewis*, king of *France*, was called into *Italy* by *Urban* IV. to make head againſt *Manfred*. In his march he was received by *Philip Torriano* with great diſtinction and hoſpitality, and furniſhed with cloathing, arms, and other neceſſaries for his army, to induce him to declare againſt the nobles; and to ingratiate himſelf the more, he made *Embarra*, a *Frenchman*, governor of *Milan*. Soon after *Philip* died in great reputation for his courage, though he appears to have loſt ground in the affections of his people.

Hiſtory of Napi Torriano.

PHILIP was ſucceeded by *Napi*, or *Napoleone*, one of his own family, but a ſworn foe to the nobility, whom he proſcribed and put to death on all occaſions. *Succi*, the head of the *Viſtari* family, was then prince of *Lodi*, and befriended the diſtreſt *Milaneſe* nobles; for which he was beſieged in his capital by *Napi*, who took it, and put him to death, with as many of his friends and family as fell into his hands, beſtowing the ſovereignty of *Lodi* upon the family of *Tiſiraga*, the enemies of the *Viſtari*. By this time *Palavicini*, the head of the *Milaneſe* exiles, was dead, and they repaired for protection to *William* marquis of *Montferrat*; upon which *Napi* paſſed the *Teſin*, and ſtormed *Vigevano*, to ſtrike a terror into the marquis. Thoſe vigorous proceedings rouſed *Clement* IV. who had ſucceeded *Urban* IV. and he both interdicted and 1265. excommunicated *Milan*, and all the *Milaneſe* of *Napi*'s party, ſo that all the churches in that city were ſhut up; his holineſs, at the ſame time, enjoined the inhabitants to return to their allegiance under archbiſhop *Otho*.

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[c] Vol. xxxvi. p. 24.

He loſes his popularity. *NAPI* had now loſt a great deal of his popularity by his unamiable cruel manners, and the inhabitants were not proof againſt the papal fulminations. *Otho*, on the other hand, was now the main prop of the nobility; the marquis of *Montferrat* not daring longer to patronize them; and being ſupported by the pope, he diſcovered a great and an enterpriſing genius; ſo that the very mention of his name was obſerved to ſtrike terror into *Napi*. The exiles, at this time, had rendezvouſed near *Vercelli*, to the government of which (it then belonging to the *Milaneſe*) he nominated his nephew *Paganini*, a young man, reſembling himſelf in all his bad qualities, and his hatred of the nobility. It was eaſy for the nobility to perceive, that *Napi*'s intention, by this nomination, was to drive them out of *Vercelli*; and while *Paganini* was on his march to his new government, they oppoſed him in a body, and put him to death. *Paganini*'s body was carried to be buried at *Milan*, and the news of his death ſo greatly exaſperated *Napi* and *Embarra*, that they are ſaid to have put to death all the friends and relations of both ſexes of the noblemen who fell into their hands, as victims, upon the tomb of *Paganini*, and to have ſent them in waggon loads to be buried with their anceſtors. It was even with difficulty that *Muſca*, *Napi*'s ſon, prevailed on his father, by ſwearing that he would put himſelf to death, if his ſuit was not granted, to pardon a phyſician of the noble party. *Napi*, however, perceiving that his cruelty was every where deteſted, threw the whole blame of it upon *Embarra*, whom he expelled from his government, in which he had grown extremely unpopular by his vices. To keep well with *Charles* of *Anjou*, who was now on the throne of *Naples*, he ſent his brother *Franceſco*, with a moſt magnificent attendance, to congratulate him upon his ſucceſſes. *Franceſco* was moſt graciouſly received by *Charles*, who beſtowed upon him the honour of knighthood, with a conſiderable commiſſion in his army; and upon his return to *Milan*, he eclipſed *Napi* himſelf, in the ſplendor of his appearance and the manner of his living.

His cruelty.

Archbiſhop Otho *diſtreſt,* At this time, the party of the nobles under *Otho* was reduced to the utmoſt diſtreſs. He himſelf, and his friends, having ſpent all their ſubſtance, wandered about from place to place, his holineſs being unable, through the ſituation of his affairs, to give them aſſiſtance. *Otho*, however, who betrayed no marks of deſpondency, ſtill found reſources in his own courage and conſtancy, which ſo greatly re-animated the ſpirits of his party, that they choſe for their general *Squarcini Burri*, a man of great eminence and courage, whoſe daughter was married to *Mathew Viſconti*, afterwards called *Mathew the Great*.

Great. At the ſame time they renewed their confederacy with the marquis of *Montferrat,* who was ſon-in-law to the king of *Spain.* The marquis agreed to this confederacy, chiefly with a view of making himſelf maſter of the *Milaneſe.*

Napi had in his pay ſeveral bodies of *French* and *Germans,* which had followed the earl of *Flanders* into *Italy,* and, after the death of their leader, choſe to ſerve in the fruitful plains of the *Milaneſe,* rather than under *Charles* in *Naples.* To counterbalance their experience in military diſcipline, *Burri* was ſent on a ſolemn embaſſy from the marquis, to perſuade *Ferdinand* to aſſiſt the exiles with a body of troops. As *Ferdinand* had then great differences with *Charles, Burri* obtained the aſſiſtance he deſired, which conſiſted in ſix hundred horſe and a body of foot, who landed at *Genoa,* and from thence they marched to join the marquis of *Montferrat.* This reinforcement from ſo powerful a prince, re-eſtabliſhed the hopes of *Otho* and the *Milaneſe* exiles; and they marched in a body againſt *Vigevano,* then poſſeſſed by *Napi,* and beſieged it. The ſiege at firſt was carried on merely by the archers and croſs-bow men, who drove the defendants from their walls; but being afterwards provided with wooden defences, *Burri* thought fit to abandon the ſiege, and to paſs the *Teſin,* that he might carry the war nearer to the gates of *Milan.* Upon his retreat, he was attacked by a ſally from the garriſon, but with ſo little caution, that the *Spaniards* facing about, muſt have got poſſeſſion of the town, had not the port-cullice been ſuddenly let down. Many of the garriſon, however, were put to the ſword, and, after that, the exiles and *Spaniards* deſiſted from their attempts; but in their retreat they ſurpriſed a ſtrong poſt that was held by the *Milaneſe* and the *Comeſe. Otho* and *Burri* becoming maſters of this poſt by the *Spaniſh* horſe fording or ſwimming over the *Teſin,* treated their enemies with the utmoſt humanity, and gave them their liberty; but, with all, exhorted them to reinſtate the nobles and their archbiſhop in their rights. This lenity rendered *Otho* and *Burri* wonderfully popular at *Milan* and *Como,* to the great mortification of the *Torriani.* Purſuing their advantage, they entered the territory of *Lomellino,* and from thence proceeded to that of *Sepri,* and at laſt they made themſelves maſters of all the open places in the neighbourhood of *Milan.*

but makes
head,

NAPI all this time was not idle; he drew together his forces, and ſummoned his allies, the *Parmeſans,* to his aſſiſtance, and at the ſame time a great body of *French* mercenaries were advancing to his aſſiſtance. The latter, however, *and is defeated.*

whoſe rendezvous was at *Carrati*, were ſo little upon their guard, that they were ſurpriſed by *Otho* and *Burri*. Moſt of them being taken priſoners, were ſtript of their baggage and arms: but the victors, in their turn, falling into the like diſorder, gave their captives an opportunity of recovering their arms; while *Napi*, all of ſudden, attacked them ſo vigorouſly, that they loſt all the advantage they had obtained, and it was with difficulty that the *Spaniſh* horſe eſcaped acroſs the *Teſin*. *Napi* might have purſued his victory with great effect, but was contented, being afraid of ambuſcades, with obliging his enemies to repaſs the *Teſin*, but with very little loſs. *Napi*, however, we are told, exerciſed great ſeverities againſt the party of the nobles who had joined *Otho*, and whoſe poſſeſſions lay within his juriſdiction, by demoliſhing their caſtles.

Is befriended by the pope,

CLEMENT IV. was ſtill pope, and to him *Otho* again applies for aſſiſtance; his ſuit was ſeconded by the cardinals, who thought that his holineſs could not begin his reign more auſpiciouſly than by reſtoring *Otho*, and the *Milaneſe* nobles, to their rights. Upon this, *Clement* wrote in very ſtrong terms, threatening the *Torriani* with his indignation if they did not inſtantly admit the archbiſhop, and his friends, into *Milan*; and, upon their continuing obſtinate, he ſhut up their churches, and laid them under excommunication. By this time *Napi* began to be hated by the *Milaneſe*, who exclaimed againſt his rebellion to the pope. This induced *Napi* to appoint an embaſſy for mitigating the pope's anger; but his holineſs not only refuſed the ambaſſadors acceſs to his perſon, but commanded them inſtantly to depart out of the papal territories; upon which they repaired to the court of *Naples*, to prevail with that king to become their interceſſor with his holineſs. *Charles* readily accepted of this office, and appointed ambaſſadors of his own to repair to the pontiff, who was prevailed on to admit thoſe of the *Torriani* into his preſence, on pretence that they had been always zealous votaries to the holy ſee, and enemies to emperors. In the audience which ſucceeded, both the *Neapolitan* and the *Milaneſe* ambaſſadors repreſented *Otho* as being a mere freebooter, at the head of a party of robbers, and launched out into ſuch invectives againſt him, as greatly diſguſted the cardinals, who were moſt of them friends to *Otho*. The latter was, at that time, at the court of *Rome*; and being preſent at this audience, he was permitted to reply to the charge againſt him, which he did by recriminating upon the cruelty, craft, and ambition of the *Torriani*. Both parties being heard, his holineſs declared, that he would ſend a legate into *Lombardy* to adjuſt all differences between them; in which caſe he promiſed to relieve *Milan* from its excommunication. *Otho* attended the legate to *Milan*, where *Napi* behaved with ſo much addreſs and diſſimulation, that the city was relieved from its eccleſiaſtical cenſures; but without his ſuffering the archbiſhop to intermeddle in any affairs, either of church or ſtate, every day producing ſome new evaſion of the pontifical decree. In the mean while, pope *Clement* died, and a vacancy of the pontifical dignity ſucceeding for ſome months, *Napi* applied to the emperor *Rodolph*, whom he invited into *Italy*, and to be crowned at *Milan*. This invitation was accepted of with great readineſs; and *Rodolph* conſtituted *Napi* his governor and vicar-general in *Lombardy*, ſending to him at the ſame time a fine body of *German* horſe, the command of which was given to *Caſſoni*, *Napi*'s nephew. This happened about the time when *Gregory* X. was raiſed to the pontificate[f]. The reader in another part of this work will find the circumſtances of this elevation. *Otho*, perceiving the juggling of *Napi*, threw himſelf at the feet of the new pope; and *Gregory* not only promiſed to confirm all that his predeceſſors had done in his favour, but intending to viſit his native country of *Piacenza*, he took *Otho* with him, and paid a viſit to *Milan*, in his journey. He was received there by *Napi* with ſo much reſpect and pomp, that, in order to compromiſe matters between him and *Otho*, he raiſed *Raimond*, nephew to the former, to be patriarch of *Aquileia*. There ſeems on this occaſion to have been great management on the part of the pope (A), he knew the conſequence of having *Napi* in his intereſt, and of breaking the connexions between him and the emperor; and, it has been ſaid (B), that he gave his conſent that *Otho* ſhould be aſſaſſinated privately at *Piacenza*, in the pope's own houſe. This deſign being diſcovered to *Otho* by a waiter at a tavern, he fled out of *Piacenza* by night, and retired to *Lions*, where the council being finiſhed, he returned to *Italy*. It is, however, pretty improbable, that his holineſs was acceſſary to the deſign of aſſaſſinating *Otho*; becauſe the latter, upon his return from *Lions*, again put himſelf under his protection. But it is generally agreed, that *Gregory* ſhewed no reſentment at the decree for putting *Otho* to death, in caſe he ſhould return to *Milan*; and that he ever afterwards

but in vain.

Diſſimulation of pope Gregory X.

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[f] Vol. xxv. p. 501.

(A) *Muratori* obſerves, in his notes upon *Vicomercato*, *apud Murat.* tom. ix. p. 81. that the *Torriani* were at that time under no neceſſity of privately aſſaſſinating *Otho*, becauſe they had publickly rendered it lawful to kill him, if he ſhould attempt to return to *Milan*.

(B) Ibid, ibid.

conſidered him as a troubleſome creditor, teazing him for the performance of his own and his predeceſſor's engagements. Outwardly, however, his holineſs paid ſo much reſpect to *Otho*, that the nobles of his party, which was every day gaining ground in *Milan*, flocked to the papal court upon its return to *Italy*; but, to the inexpreſſible aſtoniſhment of *Otho* and his friends, when the pope was preparing to enter *Milan*, he received an order to ſtop at *Biello*, a town near *Vercelli*, leſt his return to *Milan* ſhould diſturb the public tranquillity in that city. *Otho* was obliged to comply with this bitter command, and concealed his reſentment, but without loſing his courage. *Gregory* was received in *Milan* with a vaſt profuſion of honours; and his horſe was led by the reins by *Napi* and *Franceſco*, under a magnificent canopy, ſupported by twelve young *Milaneſe* noblemen. Before he departed from that city, he made a long apology to *Otho's* friends, that the ſtate of affairs in chriſtendom did not admit of his doing *Otho* juſtice, becauſe of the power of the *Torriani*, which was equal to that of the greateſt kings. In ſhort, he adviſed them to be patient under their misfortunes, but without giving them any other hopes of redreſs, than that he would find a more proper opportunity to ſettle their affairs. The truth is, *Otho* and his party were conſidered at this time to be *Gibelins*; and the *Guelphs* looking upon the *Torriani* as their leaders, had actually ſubmitted to be their ſlaves. The ſame humour prevailed in other parts of *Italy*; which was now filled with noble exiles. At the head of the *Guelph* party were the pope, *Charles* king of *Naples*, and the *Torriani*. All the comfort *Otho* could obtain during his long and painful exile, was an order from his holineſs, to be reinſtated in part of his revenues, as archbiſhop. But, as *Jovius* obſerves, he had ſuch an invincible fortitude of mind, that his hopes increaſed at the time when other exiles deſpaired. While he remained at *Biello*, pope *Gregory*, who had ſided with *Guelphs* or *Gibelins*, as it ſuited his intereſt, died at *Arezzo* in 1276.

1276.

Otho *recovers his credit*,

His death united the party of the *Milaneſe* exiled nobles, who flocked to *Otho*, and choſe for their leader *Godfrey* count of *Languſco*, a noble *Pavian*, and an inveterate enemy of the *Torriani* family. The latter was, at this time, in the ſummit of their power, being equally courted by the pope, the king of *Naples*, and the new emperor of *Germany*; and by their ſituation they actually held the balance of all *Italy*. *Languſco* was rich and powerful, and took into his pay many *German* and other mercenaries, at the head of whom he advanced towards the *Lago Maggiore*; all the towns through which he marched, opened their gates to receive him, thro' the tereſt of the *Viſconti* family, which was ſeated in that ry. Amongſt other places, the important towns of and *Anghiari* ſubmitted to the exiles; and *Otho* him- at the head of a conſiderable detachment, made an ir- on into the county of *Sepri*, now belonging to the city *lan*, lying between the *Teſin* and the *Olon*, all which ry he entirely reduced. By the thread of the hiſtory, popularity of *Napi*, at this time, ſufficiently appears, hat his real power was confined within the walls of , as he had loſt ſo conſiderable a territory without almoſt g a ſtroke. He ſummoned all his allies to his aſſiſtance, ew to the field the military chariot of *Milan*, in token e was determined to conquer or to die. He added to tifications of the city, and he gave the command of it brother *Franceſco*, who baniſhed ſome ſuſpected citizens, ed others, and obliged the reſt to give hoſtages. He took the command of the main body; and ſent his ſon (C), with a body of *German* horſe, to check the ad- of the enemies. He then marched towards *Anghiari*, camped on the banks of the *Guaſara*, which empties nto the *Lago Maggiore*; while *Godfrey*, *Otho*'s general, ped on the oppoſite ſhore. *Napi*'s army marched in viſions; the firſt was commanded by *Caſſoni*, who ex- g his father was at hand to ſupport him, attempted to e river; but was oppoſed by *Godfrey*, who, in making e defence, was carried down the ſtream, and made er. By this time *Napi* came up with his diviſion, and e rout of the exiles became general. *Theobald Viſconti*, her of *Matthew*, who was afterwards called *the great*, hirty-four nobles, were taken priſoners: and it is ſaid *api* ſhed tears of joy, on ſeeing the noble actions of in the engagement. *Napi*'s victory being complete, to conſult his brother *Franceſco* how he ſhould diſpoſe priſoners; and he adviſed him to cut off the heads of one of them. This barbarous reſolution was oppoſed *ſoni*, who was for milder meaſures; but the *Germans* loſt their general *Lauſer* in a ſingle combat with *God-* emanded his blood in revenge; upon which *Godfrey*, *ld*, and the thirty-four nobles (D), had their heads

but is again defeated.

Muratori, ubi ſupra, that his real name was ; perhaps it was *Gaſton*.

Paulus Jovius, in his of the twelve *Viſconti* of *Milan*, ed. *Steph*. p. 37, makes them but twenty-two; but *Vicomercato*, whoſe authority is preferable, makes them thirty-four, nor was *Languſco* one of them, as *Jovius* ſays he was, he dying in the battle.

ſtruck off, and they were ſent from the field of battle piled up in a common waggon.

and in great diſtreſs;

THIS defeat greatly affected *Otho*, who was *Theobald's* uncle, and ſerved only to increaſe the barbarities perpetrated by both parties on each other. When *Otho*, who was at ſome diſtance, received the news of it, he ſeemed to preſerve his uſual firmneſs of mind; and though he ſhed ſome tears to the memory of his nephew, he told his friends, that he did not doubt the *Torriani*, in revenge of their barbarity, would ſoon experience a fatal reverſe of fortune. In a few weeks after the people of *Como*, provoked by the repeated cruelties of their poteſta *Accurſio Cutica*, one of *Napi*'s creatures, took arms, and impriſoned *Accurſio*, whom they threatened to put to death, unleſs *Napi* would ſet at liberty one of their countrymen, *Simon* of *Locarna*, whom he had made priſoner ſome years before, and had confined him, like a wild beaſt, within a den. *Napi*, having a regard for *Accurſio*, gave orders to ſet *Locarna* at liberty; as not thinking he could long ſurvive the ſeverities of his impriſonment. He obliged him, however, to ſwear, never, from thenceforth, to carry arms againſt the houſe of *Torriano*; but, as *Franceſco* had foreſeen, he no ſooner found himſelf at liberty, than he declared, that he did not think himſelf obliged by an oath that had been extorted from him by cruelty; and from that hour he devoted his life to revenge againſt the *Torriani*. *Locarna*, being a man of great intereſt, brought vaſt numbers to join *Otho* againſt the *Torriani*, and he was followed by all the people of *Como*. *Otho* was ſtill at *Vercelli*, where he held his head-quarters, and provided horſes and arms for thoſe who joined him. Underſtanding that the *Torriani* had been ſo elevated by their late victories, as to be very remiſs in guarding the important fortreſs of *Sepri*, and taking advantage of a dark night, he paſſed the *Teſin*, and made himſelf maſter of the place. This ſucceſs gave great luſtre to his arms, and in a few days he again extended his quarters to the neighbourhood of *Milan*. *Napi* immediately ordered a choſen body of veterans, commanded by himſelf, and the *German* mercenaries, under his ſon, to take the field, and the reſt of his troops and auxiliaries to follow him. He was inexpreſſibly mortified to underſtand, that an enemy, whom he had ſo often ſubdued, and whoſe cauſe he lately thought to be irrecoverable, ſhould again give him diſturbance; and he bent the whole of his reſentment againſt *Otho*, who upon his approach called in all his parties, and entrenched his army under the walls of *Sepri*, which he kept behind his back, with a ſtrong garriſon, to retire to in caſe of neceſſity. *Otho* was too ſtrong to be attacked

from which he recovers,

attacked in his trenches; but *Napi*, in order to draw him out of them, ſent for his battering machines, which he applied to the walls of *Sepri* itſelf. The garriſon making a gallant reſiſtance, *Otho* called a council of war, where it was unanimouſly reſolved to take advantage of the conſternation of *Napi*'s troops, and to charge them before they could recover themſelves. This was executed with ſo much vigour, that his army was entirely defeated; nor could either *Napi* or his ſon, who was at the head of the *German* cavalry, rally them, ſo greatly diſcouraged they were with the reſiſtance they met with before the town. *Otho*, it is ſaid, did all he could to ſtop the carnage, and it was owing to him that the loſs of the *Milaneſe* was ſo ſmall as it was. *Napi* and *Caſſoni*, upon reviewing their army, found it ſtill ſo ſtrong, that they determined immediately to renew the fight while *Otho*'s troops were in a ſtate of ſecurity from their late victory. Early in the morning, therefore, *Napi* renewed the battle with ſo much ſucceſs, that his *German* horſe took *Otho*'s cavalry unprovided, and having put them to flight, the infantry were eaſily defeated; and thus, ſays *Jovius*, it is difficult to ſay whether, within the ſpace of a few hours, they acquired moſt glory, or ſuffered moſt diſgrace. As to *Otho* himſelf, after expoſing himſelf to the greateſt dangers, he put himſelf at the head of his cavalry, and retired to *Como*.

but is again worſted.

He retreats.

THE inhabitants of that place fearing the resentment of *Napi*, whom they had deſerted, refused to receive him within their gates, but furniſhed him with all kinds of neceſſaries, and with ſkilful guides, who enabled him to make his retreat towards *Lago di Lugano*; ſo that he reached a ſtrong camp at *Zornigo*, a ſmall village, with a wood on his rear. Here he remained for ſome days in ſafety, and ſent expreſſes to all his friends, to inform them of his ſituation; but being obliged to decamp for want of proviſion, he moved to *Canobi*, a plentiful town, on the borders of the *Lago Maggiore*. At firſt the inhabitants refuſed to receive him; but *Otho* repreſented his caſe ſo pathetically, that they not only received him within their walls, but devoted themſelves to his ſervice. It was no ſooner known that *Otho* was ſafe at *Canobi*, than the *Milaneſe* exiles again flocked to his ſtandard; and *Napi*'s ſoldiers being contented with ſtripping their priſoners, great numbers of them, tho' naked and half ſtarved, repaired to *Canobi*: amongſt others he was joined by *Locarna*, who followed him by the track of his carriages. *Otho*'s ſpirit ſeemed to grow with his difficulties and diſtreſſes; and though he had been five times vanquiſhed in battle, he prepared to make another attempt. The reader is to obſerve, that he was at this time ſixty-five years of age, and he was almoſt deſtitute of money, and that the fate of war had deprived him of moſt of his friends and followers. His conſtitution, however, was healthful; he had enured it to be in all kinds of fatigues: he looked upon defeats and diſappointments to be ſo many incentives to freſh attempts; and the wonderful vigour of his mind raiſed him friends, even amidſt the *Alps* and *Appenines*, where many noble familes, who lived in a kind of an independency, furniſhed him with horſes, arms, cloaths, money, and all kinds of carriages: he was even joined by numbers of volunteers, who were fond of ſerving under ſo extraordinary an old man, particularly from *Vercelli* and *Novara*. The marquis of *Montferrat* himſelf, notwithſtanding his former defeats in the ſame cauſe, having reduced *Aleſſandria* and *Tortona*, entered with him into a freſh alliance. This prince ſomewhat reſembled *Otho* in his character of perſeverance, and retained in his pay the remains of the veteran *Spaniards*, who had been ſent him by his father-in-law. Experience had taught him, that there was a neceſſity for a naval force to drive the *Torriani* out of *Milan*. The care of providing and commanding that was committed to *Locarna*, who acquitted himſelf perfectly well in both capacities, while the marquis marched towards the *Lago Maggiore*, at the ſame time that *Anghieri* (E) was attacked by the fleet under *Locarna*, on board of which *Otho* was. This place was ſoon reduced; but the garriſon fled to the citadel, which after a ſhort reſiſtance ſurrendered likewiſe. The marquis of *Montferrat* had, by this time, reached the *Lago Maggiore*, and both ſea and land forces laid ſiege to *Arona*, which they plied ſo hard with their machines and engines, playing from batteries on the land, and the decks and maſts of the ſhips, that the garriſon capitulated to ſurrender, if the place was not relieved in three days. This capitulation was ſcarcely ſigned, when news was brought that *Caſſoni* was advancing at the head of the *German* horſe, and the *Milaneſe* veterans. Upon this, the marquis drew up his army to the beſt advantage, and was joined by all the bands that could be ſpared from the ſhips. *Caſſoni*, ſeeing the advantageous poſture of his enemies, and that their beſt troops were poſted in the front, drew up his men ſo as to flank *Otho*'s army with the worſt of his troops, but ſupported by one wing of his *German* horſe; ſo that by making a circuit, they broke into the rear of *Otho*'s army, with terrible ſhouts,

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(E) *Stephanardus* makes no mention of the taking of *Anghieri* on this occaſion.

and even fell into *Otho*'s camp, putting all before them to the ſword. This obliged the marquis to alter the diſpoſition of his battle; but it was now too late, for *Caſſoni* charged him ſo vigorouſly with the front line of his cavalry, that his army was completely broken, tho' with no great loſs, becauſe the ſhips received his fugitives. The marquis's tent was taken on this occaſion, but he himſelf retired in pretty good order, with his cavalry, to *Pavia*; as *Otho* and *Locarna* did, with the remains of their infantry, to *Como* and *Novara*. Upon the whole it appears, both from *Sigonius* and *Stephanardus*, that the marquis behaved very poorly in this battle, and that, in fact, he fled without ſtriking a blow.

He is joined by the Comeſe *and other ſtates.*

THE *Comeſe*, who had revolted from the *Torriani*, had put themſelves under the protection of *Locarna*, but without declaring in favour of the *Milaneſe* exiles. On the arrival of *Locarna* at *Como*, great debates enſued, whether the *Comeſe* ſhould not immediately declare for *Otho*, and call in his army to protect them againſt the reſentment of the *Torriani*. This conſideration was enforced by motives of compaſſion and generoſity; and notwithſtanding the oppoſition given to it by the faction of the *Viti*, it prevailed through the addreſs and eloquence of *Locarna*. The *Comeſe*, all of a ſudden, declared in favour of *Otho*, and the exiled nobles; but their two head magiſtrates obſtinately oppoſed the reſolution. *Otho*, on the other hand, was favoured by the biſhop, who was of the *Advocati* family. Both parties, at laſt, came to blows; but that which was headed by *Locarna* drove their antagoniſts, after a briſk conflict in the ſtreets, into the caſtle, and from thence out of the city, both their magiſtrates being taken priſoners. After this, the people levelled to the ground the houſes and towers of the *Viti*; and *Otho*, who remained ſtill at *Novara*, was invited to *Como* by letters from the magiſtrates, who were now all of them in his intereſt.

FROM that day *Otho*'s cauſe proſpered, and that of the *Torriani* went backward. *Otho* was received at *Como* by the biſhop, who paid him the greateſt honours, and lent him money out of his pocket for repairing his equipages, and recruiting his forces. *Locarna* was ſeconded by *Lucteria Ruſca*, the head of the *Comeſe Gibelins*; and *Otho*'s troops now wore the imperial eagle in their ſtandard. He had learned, by repeated experience, that the court of *Rome* ſought to make him ſubſervient to its own ambitious deſigns; and that he was far ſafer in truſting to the emperor, who he knew was ſufficiently able to protect, but not to diſplace, him. The *Comeſe*, who were then very powerful, having declared for him, their example was followed by moſt of the populous towns lying on the borders of the *Lago Maggiore*, and in the neighbourhood; ſo that he ſaw himſelf ſoon, once more, at the head of a conſiderable army. He was joined by *Ricardo Languſco*, brother to *Godfrey*, count of *Languſco*, who had, as we have obſerved, been killed in the ſame ſervice. *Ricardo*, who was highly exaſperated againſt the *Torriani* for his brother's death, and had brought with him ſome choſen troops, was declared general of the army. *Otho* did not fail to harangue the *Comeſe* in the moſt animating and grateful terms; and was anſwered by the biſhop of *Como*, who undertook, in the name of the inhabitants, to ſtand by his rights to the utmoſt. *Otho* then took leave of the *Comeſe*, and marched to *Icini*, then a noble and populous town, but now not to be met with in maps. Here the inhabitants joined *Otho* with great ſpirit. The news of his progreſs gave ſo little alarm to *Napi*, that he told ſome of his gueſts at an entertainment, that his executioners would now have abundance of work in hanging up the rebel *Comeſe*, as ſo many thieves. He then gave orders for the march of his army, having, as uſual, ſent out his ſon *Caſſoni* with the *German* horſe, who ſeized upon *Canturi*, lying within five miles of *Como*. After various marches and counter marches, while *Otho* was at *Leuco*, a prieſt, mounted on a ſwift horſe, came up to him from *Decimo*, or *Decio*, ſo called from being ten miles from *Milan*, to inform him, that his enemies under *Napi*, and the heads of his party, were at *Decio*, where they behaved in the moſt riotous diſorderly manner, and obſerving no kind of diſcipline, but plundering the inhabitants, turning them out of their houſes, and ſeizing all they had. The prieſt added, that *Caſſoni* and the *German* horſe were ſtill at *Canturi*; and that it was his opinion, by marching in the night-time, the army under *Napi* might be ſurpriſed and deſtroyed. *Otho* looked upon this information as a good omen, *Decio* having been the place where he received his education and holy orders. Being informed by his ſcouts that *Caſſoni* was ſtill at *Canturi*, and thereby freed from all dread of thoſe formidable enemies, to whom he had already given three defeats in the open field, he loſt not a moment in given orders for the march of his troops. Affecting now to act only in an eccleſiaſtical capacity, he appeared in his ſacerdotal habits, preceded by a ſilver croſs, and committed the whole care of the expedition to *Ricardo*.

He defeats Napi *and the* Torriani *at* Decio.

The march ſucceeded perfectly well, and the ſcouts reported that a profound ſilence reigned all about, and within, *Decio*. They marched without lights, and arriving about the dawn of day, they broke into the town with ſuch fury, that *Napi* had ſcarcely time to put on his armour; and all that *Pontio*, who had the chief command under him, could do, was to rally a few half-armed troops; but he was attacked by *Ricardo*, who put him to the ſword, with moſt of his party, while *Locarna* and *Ruſca* attacked the other diviſion under *Napi* himſelf. Here the engagement was pretty ſmart, but entirely to *Otho*'s advantage. Several of the heads of the *Torriani* were killed, and it was with great difficulty that *Otho* could ſave *Napi*, who was taken priſoner, from *Locarna*'s vengeance. Many young noblemen were, at the ſame time, made captives, moſt of them the deſcendants, allies, or relations of the *Torriani* family; and all the honour of this glorious day reſulted to the *Comeſe* (F).

Moderation of Otho.

Few victories obtained in the heat of a civil war, and after ſuch provocation, on the part of the vanquiſhed, have been more moderately proſecuted than this was. This, undoubtedly, was owing to the wiſdom and policy of *Otho* himſelf, who ſought all opportunities to prevent bloodſhed. *Locarna* and *Ruſca* had the charge of *Napi*, and the moſt illuſtrious priſoners, whom they carried to the caſtle of *Baradello*, near *Como*. *Locarna*, ſeeing his principal foe in his power, abated his reſentment, but ſhut him up in a cage, where being deprived of every thing that could put an end to his life, his hair and nails grew to a moſt enormous length. It is ſaid, that he ſubmitted quietly to his fate, but that he interceded for a favourable treatment of his ſon and nephew, whom his authority had carried with him to the field; in which they were accordingly indulged.

Caſſoni *obliged to abandon* Milan.

The news of *Napi*'s defeat and impriſonment arriving at *Milan*, *Oldred*, who had been left governor of the city, ſummoned a council of the magiſtracy, and ordered the people to take arms. His authority was very little regarded. Nothing was now to be heard of amongſt the citizens, but the praiſes of *Otho* and the exiles, for the moderate uſe they had made of their victory, and the greatneſs of the defeat, which had cut off, or impriſoned, all the heads of the *Torriani* party, and rendered it impoſſible for them ever to recover their power. In ſhort, *Oldred* found ſuch a diſpoſition in the citizens, that he was obliged to ſhut himſelf up in the caſtle for ſafety. *Caſſoni* was ſtill at *Canturi*, where he

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(F) Such is the account given us by *Paulus Jovius*, who was himſelf a *Comeſe*, of this battle, or rather ſurprizal, which makes ſo eminent a figure in the *Milaneſe* hiſtory: but *Muratori*, tom. ix. p. 92. in his notes upon *Vicomercato*, obſerves that the match was very unequal, and that the *Othonians* (as they are called) were far ſuperior to their enemies in number. *Vicomercato* likewiſe hints that *Pontio* was not killed, but taken priſoner.

had an imperfect account of his father's defeat; and not knowing the particulars, he returned with his army to *Milan*, where he was in hopes of finding his father, or ſome of his friends. Being informed of the truth, and refuſed admittance into the city, he broke open the gates, forced his entrance, and marched, at the head of his troops, to the market-place; but not before his rear had been attacked by ſome of the townſmen. *Caſſoni*, not diſcouraged, erected his family ſtandard in the market-place; but none repaired to it, or joined him, when he invited the inhabitants to aſſert their ancient liberties: finding, therefore, all his efforts fruitleſs, he retreated to *Lodi*, and being denied admittance there, he went to *Cremona*, and from thence to *Parma*.

1277. *Into which Otho is received.* THE ſame day on which *Caſſoni* fled out of *Milan*, *Otho* was invited into it with all the demonſtrations of zeal and loyalty on the part of the inhabitants. He ſtill retained his moderation (G); and, after his entry into *Milan*, which was very pompous, he made a ſpeech to the citizens ſo full of wiſdom and clemency towards his enemies, that he entirely removed their apprehenſions, and they committed the government of the city to his hands. He appointed count *Ricardo* to the government of *Milan*, and made *Locarna* his general, or (as he is called) the maſter of his horſe, as being the two perſons to whom he principally owed his ſucceſs. He then founded ſome religious houſes, and inſtituted certain feſtivities to commemorate the anniverſary of his victory, ſome remains of which the *Milaneſe* are ſtill ſaid to retain. It is ſomewhat remarkable, that, on the morning of *Otho*'s victory at *Decio*, *Bonacoſa Burri*, the wife of his nephew *Matthew*, afterwards called *Matthew the Great*, was brought to-bed of a ſon, who, from a cock crowing at the time of his birth, was called *Galeazzo*.

He reduces the remains. *OTHO* being now ſettled in peace and proſperity, applied himſelf to reduce the remains of the *Torriani* faction, who had taken refuge in mount *Orfano*, ſo called from its ſtanding alone in the middle of a vaſt plain. As the place was found by *Otho* to be impregnable, he was forced to block it up, by which he obliged it to ſurrender by famine in ſix months. *Otho* offered his protection to the garriſon; but they choſe to leave the *Milaneſe*, rather than truſt to his clemency. Their departure

(G) We have in *Paulus Jovius* a portrait in profile, which he aſſures us to be from an original of *Otho*, painted, in the caſtle of *Anghieri*, with a deſcription of the battle. In this portrait he is repreſented in his archiepiſcopal robes, with a croſs in his right-hand, and in his left a ſword of an enormous ſize, but of curious workmanſhip.

departure left him at liberty to apply himſelf to his civil and eccleſiaſtical functions, in both which capacities he excelled all princes of his age; he rewarded all his friends in the moſt generous manner, and left nothing unattempted that could reclaim his enemies.

Of the Torriani.

WHILE he was intent upon thoſe duties, a freſh war broke out againſt him. The *Viſtari* having, by his means, been reſtored to the government of *Lodi*, their opponents called in *Caſſoni*, *Godfrey*, and *Raimond* of *Aquileia*, to their aſſiſtance; and being joined by auxiliaries from *Cremona* and *Parma*, they invaded the *Milaneſe*. *Caſſoni* having taken and plundered ſeveral towns upon the banks of the *Adda*, paſſed the *Lambro*; and the danger ſeemed ſo threatening to the *Milaneſe* government, that they unadviſedly drew out their chariot of war, and marched to *Santo Donato*. Some authors pretend, that, in the mean while, *Otho* put himſelf at the head of a flying party, and advanced to *Caſſano*, a town on the *Adda*, to reſtrain the incurſions of *Caſſoni*; but perceiving him to be ſtronger than he imagined, he was obliged to fly to a neighbouring village, where he was ſaved by hiding himſelf in the ſteeple. Whatever may be in this, it is certain, that the army of the *Milaneſe*, who attended the chariot of war, were defeated by *Caſſoni*, and about twenty of their nobility were made priſoners. *Caſſoni*, elated by this victory, carried his incurſions to the very gates of *Milan*. *Otho* ſhewed his uſual conſtancy on this dangerous occaſion, and, without betraying the leaſt ſymptom of fear, he made all proper diſpoſitions for the defence of the city. Thoſe precautions defeated *Caſſoni*'s ſanguine expectations, that the friends of his family would declare themſelves in his favour within the city; ſo that he was obliged to repaſs the *Adda*, and to lay ſiege to *Bergamo*. His retreat gave *Otho* a breathing time, and he invited the marquis of *Montferrat* again to join him with his troops, ſo as to put the ſucceſs of the war on a ſhort iſſue. The marquis acceded to his propoſal, but upon pretty high terms; for *Otho* was obliged to pay him down a large ſum in ready money, to give him a conſiderable ſubſidy for five years, and to declare him general of all his troops againſt the *Torriani*. This bargain being concluded, the two prefects, or podeſtas, of *Milan*, who happened that year, to be *Antonio Languſco* of *Pavia*, and *Lucteria Ruſca* of *Como*, raiſed an army, and drew out the chariot of war. On this occaſion, *Otho*, that he might oblige as many of his friends as he could, reduced the ſervice of the prefects from twelve to ſix months. Nothing happened for ſome time but a few ſkirmiſhes, and plunderings of open

Succeſs of Caſſoni.

Otho *joined by the marquis of* Montferrat.

villages. At laſt, the marquis of *Montferrat* reſolved to paſs the *Adda*, and to carry the war into the heart of the enemy's country.

ARCHBISHOP *Otho* was then in the field, and was oppoſed by *Raimond Torriano*, whom we have already mentioned, patriarch of *Aquileia*. Two churchmen being at the head of different parties, it was propoſed by the *Bergameſe*, as well as their opponents, who were ſtudious of peace, that they ſhould confer together on that head. This propoſal produced a peace, which was by no means agreeable to the marquis of *Montferrat*; for the *Milaneſe*, of both factions, having then an opportunity of intercourſe, ran into each others arms, ſo that the two camps ſeemed to be but as one, till the marquis, by his authority, broke off their intimacy. This, however, did not interrupt the negotiations for peace, which at laſt was concluded on the following terms, viz. That the caſtles of *Bepriano* and *Vapriano* ſhould be delivered into the hands of *Conrade*, an eminent lawyer, who appeared there as mediator, and the college of merchants, as being indifferent parties; that the *Torriani* ſhould recover their eſtates, caſtles, and houſes, but that their places of ſtrength ſhould be put into the hands of citizens, who had never eſpouſed either ſide, and that the priſoners of both ſhould be diſmiſſed without ranſom.

Otho'*s failure in good faith.*

As this peace was concluded chiefly by the intervention of the marquis of *Montferrat*, and *Conrade*, *Luchterio* of *Languſco*, and *Locarna*, refuſed to agree to the laſt article, pretending that their priſoners in the caſtle of *Baradello* were their own property by the right of war, and that none could diſpoſe of them without their conſent. Notwithſtanding this, the marquis ſet at liberty all the priſoners of the *Torriani* faction who were in his cuſtody. *Otho*, on the other hand, lay under inexpreſſible difficulties; he knew not how to diſoblige the friends and relations of his family, who by the peace were obliged to give up all the lucrative grants they had obtained of the eſtates of the *Torriani*; and at their inſtigation he abſolutely refuſed to ratify the terms. Thus the *Torriani* were reſtored neither to their country nor their eſtates, nor were their friends in the caſtle of *Baradello* delivered. This failure of good faith ſeems to have been the greateſt ſtain that *Otho* ever incurred in his perſon or government, and opened the mouth of calumny againſt him, inſomuch that his enemies made a handle of it for gaining over great numbers of the neighbouring princes and ſtates to their party.

ABOUT

Death of Napi.

ABOUT this time *Napi* died of filth and naſtineſs, being
nſumed by vermin in the caſtle of *Baradello*, where he
d lain for nineteen months and twenty-three days. Some
, that he was dragged out by the heels, and buried in a
ch, like a beaſt of burden ; while others affirm that he had
decent burial. Other priſoners of his family and party
n after followed him in the ſame manner. Thoſe bar-
rities encreaſed the public deteſtation againſt *Otho* ; ſo that
imond, the patriarch of *Aquileia*, prevailed with the *Venetians*,
d the neighbouring ſtates, to furniſh him with two thou-
nd horſe, and as many foot, who were joined by the *Ger-*
n veterans, the *Cremoneſe*, the *Parmeſans*, and the *Lodeſe*,
der *Caſſoni*, not to mention a great number of the *Mi-*
eſe themſelves, who were diſcontented with *Otho*'s govern-
nt, on account of the injuſtice done to the *Torriani*, by
hich their country continued to ſuffer. Their defection,
hich was voluntary and plauſible, alarmed *Otho*, who im-
ediately raiſed an army, ſummoned his allies to his aſſiſ-
nce, and laid out vaſt ſums of money in warlike prepara-
ns. Having called upon the marquis of *Montferrat* to
n him with his troops, he declined it by ſeveral frivolous
cuſes, that he might augment *Otho*'s difficulties. It is pro-
ble that he had never loſt ſight of his views on the *Mi-*
eſe. According to *Jovius*, he had carried his wife to pay
viſit to *Otho* at *Milan*, where ſhe was entertained with ſo
uch ſplendor, and received ſo many noble preſents, that
e was inceſſantly urging him to aſpire to the ſovereignty
that magnificent city. The marquis eaſily inclined to
r ſuggeſtions, and had even gone to *Spain*, where he
ought that king into his views, and returned with three
ndred men at arms, with a body of light horſe and infan-
r. This proceeding, together with his various ſhufflings
d excuſes, gave *Otho* ſome ſuſpicion of his deſign ; and he
ployed his nephew *Matthew*, who had now acquired a
eat character in the management of buſineſs, to ſound
m, and to give him a large ſum of money to induce him
take the field. *Matthew*'s arguments had ſo much weight,
at the marquis, prevailed on partly by the gold, and partly
a ſenſe of ſhame, drew out his troops, and joined *Otho*
d the reſt of his allies at *Vapri*. The whole formed one
the moſt numerous and beſt appointed armies that had
en ſeen in *Italy* for ſome years, conſiſting of thirty thou-
nd foot and ſix thouſand horſe, of whom above two thou-
nd were men at arms. This formidable army, and the
pedition with which it had been brought to the field,
unted *Caſſoni*. He had depended on the backwardneſs of

the

Caſſoni *defeated, and ſlain.*

the *Milaneſe*, whom he imagined could not be brought to declare againſt his family. Seeing *Otho*'s army advance, he perceived that he muſt either repaſs the river, which he could not do without expoſing himſelf to great danger of defeat, fight *Otho* upon very unequal terms, or ſuffer himſelf to be ſhut up in *Vapri*. He diſdained the thought of either retreating or acting on the defenſive, and reſolved at once to fight his enemy. Before he executed this deſperate reſolution, he made a ſhort ſpeech to his *German* cavalry, and putting himſelf at their head, he attacked the *Spaniſh* auxiliaries with ſo much fury, that he killed their ſtandard-bearer; but being at laſt ſurrounded by numbers, he was himſelf killed, and his army completely defeated, moſt of them being either drowned in paſſing the *Adda*, or falling in the field. This battle confirmed *Otho* in his government, and was fought four years after that of *Decio*. *Caſſoni* was nobly buried at *Vapri*, where his tomb is ſtill to be ſeen.

Practices of the marquis of Montferrat.

THE *Lodeſe* having been very active in favour of *Caſſoni*, their territory was invaded by the marquis of *Montferrat*, and ravaged with ſo much cruelty, that they were obliged to purchaſe their peace from *Otho*. He then attacked the *Cremoneſe*; but this produced a confederacy againſt him amongſt the *Piacentines*, the *Parmeſans*, the *Mantuans*, and the *Reggians*, who ſupported the *Cremoneſe*. The war was thereby protracted for ſome time; but at laſt peace was concluded for a hundred years, by which the priſoners on both ſides were to be releaſed, and the *Torriani* fugitives were to be ſuffered to have refuge in the cities and territories of their friends. The marquis, through thoſe ſucceſſes, and his *Spaniſh* alliance, made at this time ſo great a figure in the affairs of *Lombardy*, that he no longer doubted of becoming maſter of *Milan*, as *Otho* was now grown very old. To pave the way of his ambition, he practiſed with the *Comeſe*, who choſe him for their governor, or poteſta, for ten years; but with an expreſs reſervation as to the priſoners in *Baradello*, whom he was to leave in the power of the people of *Como*; and, by his oath, he was, at the requeſt of the people and the *Ruſcan* party, faithfully to make war with all their enemies as occaſion ſhould require. Having obtained this great acquiſition of power, he returned to *Milan*, with a large retinue, where he renewed his intrigues, and employed all kinds of practices to depreciate *Otho* in the eyes of his ſubjects. His manners, however, were ill-ſuited for ſuch an undertaking, for he was as arrogant in his behaviour as he was inſatiable in his avarice, which had involved the *Milaneſe* in prodigious expences. This rendered him unpopular amongſt

mongſt them, and the more as he claimed all the glory of the late battle of *Vapri*, and took ſuch ſteps as left it no longer doubtful that he was aſpiring to the ſovereignty of *Milan*.

THE firſt ſtep he took in direct oppoſition to *Otho*, was his eſpouſing the intereſt of the *Soracini*, a family which was extremely obnoxious to the *Viſconti*, and had always oppoſed *Otho* and his friends. *Are diſappointed.* He next procured *Poggio*, one of his favourites, to be made poteſta of *Milan*, where two factions ſtarted up; one in the intereſt of *Otho*, and the other in that of the marquis. The latter, to ſtrengthen his party, had by the force of gold procured the deliverance of *Guido Torriano* out of the caſtle of *Baradello*. The *Comeſe* reproached their friends at *Milan* with this eſcape, which gave infinite diſquiet to *Otho*. He now plainly ſaw that the marquis was ſtriking at the foundation of his authority; but he wiſely reſolved to diſſemble, and he entertained the marquis with as much affability and complaiſance as ever. By this prudent behaviour he made great diſcoveries of his rival's intentions, and was enabled to guard againſt all his ſecret machinations, and to weaken his party. It is probable that *Otho*, on this occaſion, employed other means to divert the marquis from his dangerous deſigns; for he was moſt critically called back to *Vercelli*, on account of a civil war breaking out in his own marquiſate. Upon his retreat, *Otho* immediately ſummoned a meeting of his friends, and giving his nephew *Matthew* his orders, he directly mounted on horſeback, and advanced in armour to the poteſta's palace, from whence he drove *Poggio* out of the city. A new poteſta was nominated in his room, the *Soracini* were driven into exile, and their palace, which they had built out of the ruins of the *Torriani*, was levelled with the ground; others of the *Montferrat* faction, who were leſs obnoxious, were baniſhed ten miles from *Milan*; and thus *Otho*'s government and credit were entirely re-eſtabliſhed in that city.

THAT he might prove himſelf to be in all reſpects a complete politician, he endeavoured to get permanency to his power, by applying, as the *Torriani* had done before, to *Rodolph*, emperor of *Germany*, for his protection, and inviting him to receive the crown of *Italy* at *Milan*. *Otho's alliance with the emperor.* *Rodolph* was a wiſe and a wary prince; and though he had before inclined to favour the *Torriani*, accepted of *Otho*'s offer; and, without going to *Italy*, he took him into his alliance, and not only in the moſt ample form promiſed to aſſiſt and protect him, but ſent him ſome troops of *German* horſe to ſerve him as his life-guard; a preſent which was at that time of the utmoſt conſequence to the princes of *Italy*.

The

The marquis of *Montferrat*, over-awed by this great alliance, laid aſide, for that time, his ambitious projects againſt *Milan*, and continued a war againſt the people of *Tortona* and *Aleſſandria*.

Quarrel between the Milaneſe *and the* Comeſe.

In the mean while, a breach happened between the *Milaneſe* and the *Comeſe*, which unexpectedly revived all the hopes of the *Torriani*. The vaſt ſervices performed by the *Comeſe* to the *Milaneſe*, encouraged the former to preſume a little too much upon their own importance; and having made ſome demands concerning limits, which they pretended belonged to them of right, and which the *Milaneſe* diſallowed of, they immediately took arms, and invading *Lucca* they poſſeſſed themſelves of that, and ſeveral other towns belonging to the *Milaneſe*. Upon this, the latter declared war, and raiſed a conſiderable army to do themſelves juſtice, the command of which was given to *Matthew*, who attacked and defeated the *Comeſe*, killed great numbers of them, and carried a large booty in priſoners and plunder to *Milan*. The *Comeſe* complained moſt bitterly of this treatment, which they ſaid was more barbarous than the moſt enraged enemies could have inflicted. Their reſentment was aggravated by the conſideration that they had ſome time before choſen *Matthew* for their poteſta, and general of their army, and had loaded him with many extraordinary honours. The remembrance of all this, with that of the great things the *Comeſe* had done for *Milan*, worked them up to ſuch a pitch of indignation, that all of a ſudden they entered into a conſpiracy againſt the *Viſconti* family; and not only ſet at liberty *Muſca* and *Herecci*, the two heads of the *Torriani* family, whom they had detained in priſon ever ſince the battle of *Decio*, but raiſed them to be their poteſtas, and furniſhed them with arms and money.

Conduct of the marquis of Montferrat.

The marquis of *Montferrat* was not wanting to ſupport the *Comeſe* in this war, and all parties in the confederacy breathed nothing but fury and deſtruction to *Otho* and *Matthew*. The power and reputation of the marquis rendered him a moſt formidable enemy; and the keenneſs of the two young *Torriani*, in reſentment of an almoſt eight years impriſonment, was incredible. The rendezvous of the *Torriani* was at *Parma*. The event of this war proved unfortunate to *Matthew*, to whom the archbiſhop had reſigned all his power, both civil and military. The *Torriani* and the *Comeſe* expelled him out of *Milan*; and *Otho* dying ſoon after, the *Torriani* became again poſſeſſed of *Milan*, and *Matthew* was obliged to take refuge at the imperial court, where he was in high favour under the emperor *Rodolph*, who made him his vicar-general over *Milan*, *Como*, *Novara*, *Vercelli*, *Aleſſandria*, and *Tortona*. As to *Otho* himſelf, he did not live to ſee *Matthew*'s calamities, but died at the age of eighty-ſeven, in *Auguſt* 1295.

Death and character of Otho.

OTHO was a ſingular inſtance how far perſeverance and intrepidity can conquer repeated misfortunes. Though he never had been bred either a ſoldier or a politician, yet he excelled both in the field and the cabinet; and died without feeling any other diſeaſe than the decay of nature, amidſt his friends and kinſmen.

Succeeded by Matthew *the Great.*

MATTHEW was born in a village near the *Lago Maggiore*, on the very day that the emperor *Frederick* is ſaid to have been put to death by his natural ſon *Manfred*. His father *Theobald* died when he was young, and he became the favourite and companion of his uncle *Otho*, amidſt all his difficulties and diſtreſſes. In ſtrength of body and firmneſs of mind, as well as in conſtancy under every kind of fortune, he exactly reſembled *Otho*; but in clemency and civil virtues he exceeded him. During the courſe of his life he at one time or other ſubdued all his enemies; but never was known o take a ſevere revenge upon any. He was expelled out of *Milan*, thro' the practices of the *Torriani*, by *Alberti Scotti* of *Placentia*, and other *Italian* princes, who had debauched his mercenaries. *Guido Torriano* became maſter of *Milan*. He was, as we have ſeen, received by the emperor *Rodolph*; but pon his death, which happened ſoon after his expulſion, e, was, with a few friends who attended him, reduced to aſt difficulties; nor did he receive any aſſiſtance from the mperor *Albert*, who ſucceeded him. Upon the arrival of he emperor *Henry* the VIIth in *Italy*, the biſhop of *Conſtance* epaired to *Milan*, and demanded of the inhabitants that the mperor ſhould be crowned in their city with the crown of *ombardy*. This demand met with ſome difficulty; and hile he was at *Aſti*, *Matthew* and the archbiſhop of *Milan* aving joined together againſt the *Torriani*, repaired to him, nd ſwore fealty. The caſtle of *Vigevano* was then held by *uido Torriano*[c]; but it was ſurpriſed by the emperor, hich forced *Guido* to make an humble application to him t *Novara*, to make an apology for what had paſſed; and fter that, the emperor croſſed the *Teſin*, and ſent beforehand his harbinger to prepare for his reception in *Milan*. His approach was extremely diſagreeable to *Torriano*; and his majeſty having reaſon to ſuſpect he would be oppoſed, proceeded with great caution; but having entered the city, he found ten thouſand men drawn up under arms, which *Torriano* ſaid was to oppoſe *Matthew* and the archbiſhop. The emperor, however, proceeded with ſuch caution and moderation, that he procured a reconciliation between all the three parties, and obliged them to embrace each other. Next day he harangued the people from his tribunal, and publiſhed this reconciliation. After that, there was ſome diſpute between the inhabitants of *Milan* and of thoſe of *Mouſa*, concerning the place of his coronation. But at laſt their own crown was carried from *Mouſa*, where it commonly was kept, to *Milan*, and the ceremony was performed there in the church of *St. Ambroſe*.

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[c] Iter Ital. ap Murat Tome xix. p. 891.

The emperor crowned king of Lombardy.

HENRY being now king of *Lombardy*, a conſultation was held about granting him a ſubſidy, and *Matthew* voted for giving him forty thouſand florins, and the empreſs ten thouſand. *Torriano*, to make his court with the emperor, propoſed to grant him a hundred thouſand; which won the hearts of the *Germans*, but loſt thoſe of the *Milaneſe*. After his coronation he made no fewer than one hundred and ſixty new knights. *Matthew Viſconti* was, at this time, at the head of the *Gibelin* intereſt in *Milan*; but *Torriano* knew ſo well how to make his court to the emperor, that he was under a cloud at court. Before his imperial majeſty left *Milan*, he made a demand of the remainder of the ſubſidy which had been voted to him, amounting to fifty thouſand florins. This produced great commotions in *Milan*; and *Torriano* having, under frivolous pretences, refuſed to attend him to *Rome*, gave ſome ſuſpicion of his loyalty. This was confirmed by the great number of ſoldiers entertained by *Torriano*, and the emperor demanded a hundred hoſtages for the good behaviour of the inhabitants during his abſence. This propoſal met with great difficulties on all hands. Of thoſe hoſtages, *Galeazzo*, *Matthew*'s eldeſt ſon, was one; and *Franceſino*, the ſon of *Guido Torriano*, was the other. Though their fathers were of oppoſite factions, yet both of them hated the *Germans*, and both of them had a private conference, in which they mutually agreed not to attend the emperor. This agreement was concealed by *Galeazzo*, but betrayed by *Franceſino*. When the day of the emperor's departure came, the hoſtages refuſed to attend him, unleſs their expences were defrayed: upon which the emperor ſent *Nicholas* his chief miniſter to demand of the ſenate, that they ſhould be paid by the public. The ſenate refuſed to agree to this propoſal; upon which they were locked up by *Nicholas*, who, upon making his report to the emperor, adviſed him to put them all to death. *Henry* rejected this cruel propoſition, and the ſenators were ſet at liberty. He took new precautions, however, againſt any ſurpriſe; but indeed the *Milaneſe*, at this time, were ripe for any deſperate attempt againſt the *Germans*; and, underſtanding that there had been a compromiſe between the *Viſconti* and the *Torriani*, they put themſelves under arms. *Matthew* and his ſon were by the emperor ordered to be arreſted. *Matthew* was too wiſe to expoſe himſelf and his friends to danger, and therefore preſented himſelf without armour to the emperor. *Torriano*, on the other hand, fled to his own palace, which he had fortified, and the ſtorm broke upon him and his friends. Their houſes were beſieged and rifled, and many of them were put to death. In the mean while *Galeazzo* was by his father ordered to ſurrender himſelf to the emperor; but he had declared for the *Germans* againſt the *Torriani*, and put himſelf at the head of a great body of his friends. His appearance, in all probability, ſaved the *Germans* and the emperor from being cut in pieces, the main body of the imperialiſts lying without the city. The *Germans* by his aſſiſtance prevailing, would have put to death all the *Guelphs*, and the followers of *Torriano*, had it not been for the moderation and wiſdom of young *Galeazzo*, who diverted their rage, by giving up the houſes of the *Guelphs* to plunder. This behaviour of the *Viſconti* ſaved *Milan* from deſtruction, and they did all they could to put a ſtop to the licentiouſneſs and avarice of the *Germans*. This rendered them obnoxious to the latter; and they prevailed upon the emperor to baniſh the father to *Aſti*, and the ſon to *Treviſo*. Thus, the *Germans* were for ſome time entirely maſters of the city; from which the *Torriani* were now expelled. *Matthew*, however, and his ſon, found friends about the emperor, and both of them were recalled, with great honour.

Matthew *arreſted*,

but recalled.

ACCORDING to *Paul Jovius*, while the emperor was at *Aſti*, *Matthew*, in the diſguiſe of a countryman, made his way to his perſon, and falling at his feet, implored his protection, which his venerable appearance, being then above ſixty years of age, ſoon procured, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of all his enemies preſent. It is, however, not very clear that he did not betray *Torriano* in the attack which was made upon the *Germans*; but it ſeems pretty certain that he had entered into no concert with the emperor, who was at firſt extremely jealous of him, and planted ſpies upon his conduct. As to *Guido*, being old and infirm, it was with difficulty he eſcaped out of *Milan*, and his family loſt all its poſſeſſions there. *Henry* then gave to *Matthew* the ſupreme command of *Milan* under himſelf; and after taking

The emperor is crowned at Rome.

all neceſſary precautions for its ſafety, he ſet out for *Rome* to be crowned. *Matthew*, from that time, devoted himſelf to the imperial intereſts; and being ſupported by three ſons, men of the moſt conſummate abilities in the arts both of war and peace, he entirely broke the *Torriani* faction, and acquired ſo many ſplendid victories, that the voice of all *Italy* beſtowed upon him the epithet of *the Great*. But the envy which attended his glorious actions raiſed him a vaſt number of enemies, he being now maſter of almoſt all *Lombardy*. *Robert*, king of *Naples*, having taken part with the pope, declared himſelf the protector of the *Guelphs* in *Italy*, and *Matthew*, as being their head, was excommunicated. In the mean while the emperor *Henry* died by poiſon, as was ſaid; but *Matthew* not diſcouraged by that, nor the other croſs events which happened to him, ſtill continued to make head againſt the *Guelphs*, whom he defeated in three battles. The firſt was fought at *Aldino*, the ſecond on the banks of the *Arbe*, and the third at *Monte Catino*, where the brother of the king of *Naples* was killed, and *Luchin*, *Matthew*'s ſon and general, gave ſignal proofs of his warlike genius. *Marc*, another of *Matthew*'s ſons, headed the *Spinolas* and the *Dorias*, and the other *Genoeſe* exiles, and ſhut up *Robert* himſelf in *Genoa*. Upon this *Bertrand Vaſco*, the pope's legate, renewed the ſentence of excommunication againſt *Matthew*, and, in order to exaſperate the people againſt him, laid the city of *Milan* itſelf under an interdict. This had its effect; for the inhabitants being ſhut out of their churches, and deprived of all ſacred rites, immediately nominated twelve ambaſſadors to *Bertrand*, to avert the pope's indignation. Moſt of thoſe ambaſſadors were enemies to *Matthew*, ſome of them of his own family, and others under the greateſt obligations to his friendſhip, particularly *Garbagnati*, and *Cribelli*, a man of great intereſt in *Milan*, but of a reſtleſs unquiet diſpoſition. *Matthew*, on the other hand, was powerful in his family, his dependencies, troops, and riches; but being now very old, he applied himſelf chiefly to aggrandize his numerous progeny, which ſtill encreaſed the number of thoſe who envied and hated him. The report of the deputies who had been ſent to *Bertrand*, who were now returned to *Milan*, was, that he was at the head of a great army; but that they could not prevail upon him to withdraw his cenſures, unleſs the inhabitants expelled *Matthew*, and returned to their old form of popular government. This report threw the populace into ſuch a ferment, that *Matthew* was obliged to apply for aſſiſtance to his ſon *Galeazzo*, who at that time commanded in *Placentia*, and who, aſſembling his army, marched directly to *Milan*. *Ga-*

Matthew *excommunicated.*

leazzo was at that time in high reputation all over *Italy* for his valour, and very popular at *Milan* on account of his ſplendor and liberality. He was no ſooner arrived in the city, than his father's enemies were confounded; and the twelve deputies at firſt ſhut themſelves up in their houſes, and at length took advantage of a dark night to eſcape out of the city. They were no ſooner gone, than *Galeazzo*, who was endued with great natural eloquence, called an aſſembly of the citizens, where he ſo effectually laid open the deſigns of the *Guelph* faction, that he brought all the citizens over to his own party, and reſettled the tranquillity of the government.

His death.

MATTHEW was now ſeventy-two years of age, and being again reſtored to his country and government, he was too wiſe to think of continuing in power, which he formally reſigned to his ſon *Galeazzo*, by putting into his hands the imperial ſtandard: he then repaired to the altar, attended by all the clergy who durſt follow him, where he made a ſolemn profeſſion of his religion, and took an oath that he never had done any thing that could merit the cenſures he lay under, through the enmity of a proud and vindictive churchman. Next day he repaired to *Mouſa*, and there he repeated the ſame profeſſions. Soon after he was ſeized with a fever, and ordered himſelf to be tranſported in a litter to *Creſcentini*, where he was attended by his four ſons. His dying advice was full of piety and wiſdom; and he had the happineſs of expiring in their embraces. Such was the devotion, or ſuperſtition, of the age, that the place of his interment was kept long ſecret, leſt, dying excommunicated, his body ſhould be torn from the grave by the implacable churchmen.

Succeeded by Galeazzo.

HE was ſucceeded in the government of *Milan* by his eldeſt ſon *Galeazzo*, who had ſpent all his life in arms, or in combating the intrigues of his own, or his father's enemies. He had for ſome time been poteſta of *Novara*, from whence he had been driven by the *Guelphs*; but aſſembling an army, with incredible expedition, he drove his enemies to *Mortara*, which he beſieged, took, and raſed to the ground, though eſteemed one of the ſtrongeſt fortifications then in *Italy*. This raiſed his reputation in arms beyond even that of his father, whom in his exile from *Milan* he moſt faithfully attended through all his fortunes, till all proſpect of relieving him being at an end, he entered into the *French* ſervice, in which he highly diſtinguiſhed himſelf in her wars with the *Engliſh*. Returning to *Italy*, he gave proofs of his courage, when *Azzo*, duke of *Ferrara*, was at war with the pope. In one battle he had three horſes killed under him; and though he was wounded, he mounted one of his enemies horſes, and, ſnatching his ſtandard, he broke through the ranks, and rejoined his own troops. This, and many other acts of valour, endeared him to *Azzo*, who was then one of the moſt conſiderable princes in *Italy*, and he gave him his ſiſter *Beatrix* in marriage. This lady was handſome, but nine years elder than *Galeazzo*, and had been left very rich by a former huſband. The nuptials were magnificent beyond all expreſſion, and ſuch as had not for ſome ages been ſeen in *Italy*, and celebrated by the poet *Dante*, who lived at the time. The great ſervices performed by *Galeazzo* to *Azzo* raiſed him to the government of *Treviſo*; and his deportment, in every reſpect, was ſo noble and majeſtic, that it recommended him to the particular notice of the emperor *Henry* VII. upon the arrival of that prince in *Italy*. His father's fortune, at that time, taking a favourable turn, he commanded the *Milaneſe* troops, and was highly inſtrumental in reducing the greateſt part of *Lombardy* to the *Viſconti* family; for he drove out of *Placentia*, *Alberti Scotti*, his father's ancient enemy, and made himſelf maſter of that city. He afterwards defeated *Cavaloabove* of *Cremona* at the battle of *Bardi*, and beſieging that city both by ſea and land, he took it partly by force, and partly by famine. His other brothers, at the ſame time, made a great figure in *Italy*. *Luchin* defeated and killed *Bauchio*, general to the king of *Naples*, near the *Tanaro*; and the renown of the *Viſconti* family was now ſo great as to unite againſt them the pope, the king of *Naples*, and the *Florentines*. It was on this occaſion that the *Swiſſers* were invited by the *Guelphs* into *Italy*; and *Henry* duke of *Auſtria*, with *Philip* of *Valois*, afterwards king of *France*, were tempted with a promiſe of ſharing the ſpoils of *Milan*, if they would enter into the ſame cauſe. This formidable conſpiracy was fruſtrated by the addreſs and courage of the *Viſconti* family. *Matthew* gave a large ſubſidy to the *Germans*, by which they were prevented from entering into *Italy*. *Philip* was a young prince, full of fire and courage, and paſſed the *Alps* at the head of a very noble army, in which moſt of the nobility of *France* ſerved. As his preſumption far exceeded his conduct, it expoſed him to the ſuperior abilities of *Galeazzo* and his brother *Marc*, who was joined with him in the command of the *Longobardic* army, and who, by the diſpoſitions they made, might, without danger to themſelves, have deſtroyed the whole *French* army. *Marc* was for making the beſt of their

His ſucceſſes.

advantage;

antage; but *Galeazzo*, more conſiderate, was averſe to king ſo powerful a nation as the *French* were, the irrecon- able enemies of *Milan*. He therefore prevailed with his ther to propoſe a conference with *Philip*; which being eed to, *Galeazzo* addreſſing himſelf to *Philip* and the er *French* generals, repreſented to them the folly of ex- ing themſelves in a foreign quarrel; and drawing out his ıy, he ſhewed them, by its poſition, that the deſtruction the *French* was inevitable if they ſhould come to blows. , at the ſame time, produced the badges of knighthood h which he had been honoured by the *French* king, and atiated upon the violence that muſt be done to his own linations, if he ſhould be forced to come to extremities h his ancient friends and allies.

He baffles the French.

THIS artful ſpeech had all the effect that *Galeazzo* could ire. The *Milaneſe* army was ſuperior to that of *France* in ntry, and contained five thouſand excellent cavalry. is appearance ſtruck the *French* princes and noblemen with miſhment, which was heightened by the graceful pre- ce of *Marc*, whom *Galeazzo* had left at the head of the ıy. In ſhort, the *French* choſe to make peace, and re- ned, with no great credit to their conduct, to *France*.

Revolt of Milan.

At the time of *Matthew*'s death a body of *German* merce- ies, the ſucceſſors of thoſe who had been ſent to the arch- hop *Otho* by the emperor, ſtill ſerved in the *Milaneſe*, but hout much reputation, on account of their infidelity and acioufneſs. With them, the agents of the pope and the g of *Naples* entered into a conſpiracy for expelling the *onti* family out of *Milan*, and reſtoring the popular go- nment. They were backed by *Leodriſio*, *Garbagnati*, and *belli*, and large ſums were divided amongſt the *Germans*, o were commanded by one *Roger* and *Anchini*. Thoſe ſtices had ſuch an effect, that all *Milan* revolted againſt *leazzo*, who, with his brother *Marc*, fled to *Lodi*. Upon ir departure a popular form of government took place; it was ſcarcely eſtabliſhed when the *Guelphs* and *Gibelins* the city fell at variance; and their diſſentions communi- ing themſelves to the neighbouring country, the *Guelphs* ed *Mouſa*. This diviſion plainly evinced that the new ſtituted form of government would be of ſhort duration. e heads of the republic, who were moſtly *Gibelins*, ſent *drifio* with an army to beſiege *Mouſa*, which was defended *Tignaca*. Inſtead of waiting to be beſieged, *Tignaca* threw wn the walls of the place, and attacked *Leodriſio*, by om he was defeated, and made priſoner.

The Viſconti *reſtored.*

In the mean while, the cardinal legate had appointed one of the *Torriano* family to ſucceed *Galeazzo* in his government, in the capacity of a poteſta.' This was by no means agreeable to the *Milaneſe Gibelins*; and, upon further inquiry, it was diſcovered that they had been made tools to the papal ambition; nor did the legate any longer continue the pay of the *German* mercenaries, who hated the very mention of a *Guelph*. In a general aſſembly of the *Germans*, *Henry Gruniſtein*, one of their chief officers, propoſed to recall *Galeazzo* to the government; and deputies of the greateſt quality in the city were ſent to invite him back, without any other conditions than that he ſhould forget what was paſt; and ſo great was *Gruniſtein*'s opinion of *Galeazzo*'s honour, that he offered to become a hoſtage for the performance of all he ſhould promiſe. While the deputies were treating with *Galeazzo*, *Marc* returned by night, and *Leodriſio* applied to him in the moſt ſubmiſſive terms to be reconciled to *Galeazzo*. Next day *Galeazzo* entered *Milan*, with the ſame freedom and eaſe as he would have returned from a hunting match, or a party of pleaſure. Upon his arrival the poteſta *Torriano*, *Garbagnati*, and *Cribelli*, fled to the legate.

Their danger.

Soon after, the papal, the *Neapolitan*, and the *Florentine* forces being joined by the patriarch of *Aquileia*, who likewiſe was of the *Torriano* family, and all his friends, marched to the *Adda*, in order to attack *Milan*. Their army upon the whole conſiſted of forty thouſand foot, and ten thouſand horſe, and was commanded by *Gaſto* the legate's nephew, and under him by *Raymond Cardona*, a *Spaniard*, *Henry* of *Flanders*, and *Simon Torriano*, all of them leaders of great reputation. The van attempted to paſs the *Adda*, near *Trezzo*, with *Garbagnati* and *Cribelli* at its head; but they were oppoſed by *Marc*, who killed *Garbagnati* and *Cribelli*; but their party being ſupported by all the ſtrength of the *Florentines*, made good their paſſage, and *Marc* being ſatisfied with having killed the two moſt inveterate enemies of his family, retired to *Milan*.

GALEAZZO was in no condition to withſtand this invaſion by himſelf. His two brothers *Marc* and *Luchin*, however, bravely attacked the confederates, who were double their number, and would have totally defeated them, had not *Luchin* been wounded, and obliged to retire from the field.

They recover,

After that the confederates extended their quarters to *Como*, and even laid ſiege to *Milan*. *Galeazzo*, who knew they were unable to take the city, applied for aſſiſtance to *Lewis* V. of *Bavaria*, who ſent him fifteen hundred horſe, under the command of *Bertaldi*, one of his beſt generals, who threw himſelf into *Milan*, and did great execution upon the confederates, by the frequent ſallies he made. Perceiving that the war was like to be ſpun out to a great length, the confederates bribed a *Swiſs* regiment that ſerved under *Bertoldi* to aſſaſſinate *Galeazzo*; and the plot was upon the point of taking effect, when it was diſcovered by *John Viſconti*, the younger, brother of *Galeazzo*, who, though in orders, took arms and defeated the conſpirators. This diſcovery, together with the death of *Gaſto*, diſcouraged the other generals of the confederacy ſo much, that they retired to *Mouſa*, which had been betrayed to them by *Landi*, and from which *Azzo*, *Galeazzo*'s eldeſt ſon, had been driven. Here they remained for ſome time in hopes of receiving ſupplies from the legate; and for that purpoſe they threw a bridge over the *Adda*. *Galeazzo* knew the conſequence of cutting off this communication, and reſolved either to effect that, or force his enemies to a battle. The latter choſe to fight; and, drawing their garriſon out of *Mouſa*, they marched to *Vapri*, where the bridge was built, and put their army in order of battle. *Henry* of *Flanders* commanded the right wing, as *Simon* and *Paſſarini* did the left, which was chiefly compoſed of *Florentines*. The center, which conſiſted of *French* and *Neapolitans*, was commanded by *Raymond*, and the whole was ſo artfully diſpoſed, that the heavy and light armed were of mutual aſſiſtance to each other. The *Milaneſe* were commanded by *Galeazzo* and *Marc*, and the enemy evacuated *Vapri*, where they left all their baggage. *Galeazzo* ordered it to be ſet on fire, and, under the cover of the ſmoke, he charged the confederates amidſt their conſternation at the loſs of their baggage. *Marc* led on the attack, and totally defeated the diviſion under *Henry* of *Flanders*. *Galeazzo*, in the mean while, was victorious over the left wing; and the center being chiefly buſied in endeavouring to extinguiſh the flames, the defeat became general. *Raymond* was taken, as were the principal officers amongſt the *Florentines*; *Simon Torriano* was killed, and very few of the confederates eſcaped being either drowned in the *Adda*, put to the ſword, or made priſoners. The ſtandards of king *Robert*, the pope, the *Florentines*, and the *Torriani*, fell into the hands of the *Milaneſe*; and it was with the greateſt difficulty that *Henry* of *Flanders*, next morning, after wandering all night, reached *Mouſa*, to which the remains of the confederate army eſcaped.

and defeat their enemies.

THIS place was defended by *Verguſio Landi*; and fearing he ſhould receive no quarter, becauſe he was the means of expelling *Azzo*, he prepared to defend it to the laſt extremity;

Siege of Mouſa.

tremity; but *Galeazzo* beſieged it with ſo much vigour, that *Landi* was at laſt obliged to agree to give it up, if he ſhould not be relieved in a certain time by the legate. Mean while *Henry* of *Flanders* left *Mouſa* in deſpair, and *Paſſarini Torriano* advancing to relieve the place, ſurpriſed and defeated a body of *Savoyards*, but was himſelf intercepted and defeated by *Marc Viſconti*; upon which *Mouſa* was ſurrendered according to articles.

Negotiation for a peace.

NOTWITHSTANDING the advantages *Galeazzo* had gained, he found that he muſt, in the end, ſubmit to the confederacy that had been formed againſt him; and reſolved, if poſſible, to make a peace, but in ſuch a manner as that he ſhould not ſeem to beg it. *Raymond Cardona* was ſtill his priſoner, and being looked on by all parties to be a man of great honour, as well as addreſs, *Galeazzo* privately ſet him at liberty, but ſuffered *Landriano* and *Conti*, the two noblemen who had the charge of him, to be proſecuted and baniſhed, as if they had been acceſſary to his eſcape. *Raymond* performed his engagements with *Galeazzo* with the utmoſt punctuality. He firſt repaired to *Piacenza*, where he had an interview with the legate, and then to *Avignon*, where the pope reſided; and in the preſence of *Landriano* and *Conti*, the two innocent exiles, he preſſed his holineſs ſo warmly in favour of peace, that he could no longer reſiſt his arguments, but would do nothing without conſulting his ally the king of *Naples*. The latter ſtrenuouſly oppoſed all pacific motions, unleſs *Galeazzo* could be brought not only to abandon the cauſe of the emperor, but to become a party in the war againſt him; both which terms *Galeazzo* rejected with great indignation. The peace, however, was concluded, and the war of *Italy* was contracted to the quarrel between *Caſtruccio* and the *Florentines*, who employed *Raymond* as their general. As *Galeazzo*, in the late treaty, had reſerved a liberty to aſſiſt the emperor's allies, *Galeazzo* ſent his ſon *Azzo* with eight hundred choſen horſe to *Caſtruccio*'s aſſiſtance, and *Raymond* was again defeated and taken priſoner, chiefly by the valour of the *Milaneſe* auxiliaries [f]. It muſt not, however, be forgot, that *Galeazzo* had by this time reſtored *Landriano* and *Conti* to their eſtates and honours, but without explaining the particulars of his own management.

GALEAZZO, by the late victory obtained by *Caſtruccio* and *Azzo*, ſeemed now to be at the ſummit of his good fortune, when he was on the precipice of danger. His brother *Marc*, who had performed ſo many ſignal ſervices to him, thought they were ill requited, and entered into a conſpiracy with *Leodriſio* to ruin him. The *Florentines* had now given up the government of their city to *Charles*, prince of *Tarentum*, which obliged *Galeazzo* to form a party of the *Gibelins* all over *Italy*, for inviting the emperor *Lewis* V. of *Bavaria* to come to their aſſiſtance, which invitation was accordingly accepted of; and *Lewis* paſſing the *Alps*, came to *Verona*, the prince of which joined in the conſpiracy with *Marc* and *Leodriſio*. While the emperor was at *Verona*, the conſpirators applied to him, and accuſed *Galeazzo* of having betrayed his cauſe. The emperor was ſo poor, that at that time he took little notice of the charge, becauſe of the magnificent preſents made him by *Galeazzo* when he came to *Como*. It was not long before *Galeazzo* diſcovered the conſpiracy, and that *Ruſco*, the lord of *Como*, had entered into it. The charge againſt him was his having negotiated a peace with the pope and the king of *Naples*, by means of *Raymond*, the moſt dangerous enemy to the *Gibelin* intereſt of any in *Italy*. When *Galeazzo* heard of this accuſation, all he ſaid was, "While my brother accuſes me, he does not "conſider that he is wounding himſelf." Theſe words being carried to *Marc*, his anſwer was, "I will ſtand to all "the conſequences; but, by heaven! *Galeazzo* has no bro-"ther, becauſe he engroſſes all power to himſelf." The emperor took little or no concern in this diſpute, farther than to endeavour to reconcile all parties, and proceed to *Milan*, where he was crowned king of *Lombardy* by the biſhop of *Arezzo*, and moſt nobly entertained by *Galeazzo*. He was, however, ſtaggered by the vaſt offers of men and money made him by *Scaliger*, whoſe ambition led him to aſpire to the principality of *Milan*, on pretence that *Galeazzo* had been guilty of treaſon. At laſt, *Lewis* agreed to the propoſal of *Scaliger*, who, under pretence of doing honour to the emperor, had brought with him to *Milan* one thouſand horſe, and a large body of foot, all of them choice troops. To make the reſolution more practicable, *Lewis* required the troops in *Galeazzo*'s pay to take an oath of fidelity to himſelf, which they did, and to attend him to *Rome*. A high court of juſtice being ſummoned, *Galeazzo*, his brothers, and his ſon *Azzo*, were required to appear before the emperor. Their chief accuſer was *Marc*, who complained in the moſt bitter terms againſt *Galeazzo*'s tyranny; and offered, in the name of the people of *Milan*, to ſupply him with money to the extent of his wiſhes, if he would pronounce ſentence againſt *Galeazzo*.

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[f] See Vol. xxxvi. p. 79.

1327.
Galeazzo *accuſed and impriſoned*.

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[d] Ibid, p. 83.

It happened unfortunately at this time for the latter, that his finances were quite exhauſted in ſupplying the emperor's continual wants, which he had done for three months. This inability of his made all the *Germans* his enemies; ſo that the defence he made to his charge was little attended to. After he had finiſhed, the captain of the imperial guards decoyed him, his ſon *Azzo*, with his brother *Luchin* and *John*, into a ſeparate room, under pretence of having a private audience of the emperor, where they were put under a ſtrict guard, and given to underſtand that they were to expect death, if, in three days time, the citadel of *Mouſa* was not delivered up to his imperial majeſty; which demand was accordingly complied with, though *Galeazzo*'s wife had retired thither, as believing it to be only place where ſhe could be ſafe. A few days after, all the illuſtrious priſoners were carried to *Mouſa*, where they were impriſoned in a dungeon, which *Galeazzo* had juſt finiſhed for confining malefactors. Their keeper was one *Rizacci*, who acted as deputy for the biſhop of *Arezzo*, appointed governor of the caſtle, who behaved towards them with the utmoſt brutality and cruelty.

with circumſtances of cruelty.

Diſtreſſes of the Viſconti.

It is amazing that this revolution was effected without the leaſt commotion; and none but thoſe concerned knew what had happened. The whole was owing to the poverty and inſatiable avarice of the emperor, and to the vaſt promiſes made him by *Marc*, and *Galeazzo*'s other enemies. Next day, after the princes were impriſoned, *Lewis* appointed four and twenty governors, choſen out of the different wards of the city, to be a regency for *Milan*, but gave the command of the whole to *William Montfort*; he then marched towards the *Breſciano*, where at *Orzi* he ſummoned a meeting of all his vaſſals, and produced to them the proofs of *Galeazzo*'s pretended correſpondence with the pope, which contained evident marks of forgery. The *Gibelin* princes were ſtruck with the fate of ſo great a prince as *Galeazzo* was, and each made his fate his own. Neither he nor his ſon, nor his brothers, however, received any immediate relief, and the emperor proceeded to *Rome*, where he was crowned emperor. The fate of the *Milaneſe* princes determined the *Piſans* to refuſe him admittance into their city; and had it not been for *Caſtruccio*, all the *Gibelin* intereſt in *Italy* would have declared againſt him. The ſervices performed on this occaſion by *Caſtruccio*, who was now the emperor's general, and firſt miniſter, gave him an opportunity of interpoſing in favour of his friend *Galeazzo*, and was backed by the other *Gibelin* ſtates, and by *Marc*, who now began to feel remorſe for what he had done. The emperor for ſome time continued inexorable;

who are debaſed.

Inexorable; but the *Florentines* obtaining poſſeſſion of *Piſtoia*, *Caſtruccio* threatened to abandon the imperial intereſt, unleſs the *Viſcontis* were ſet at liberty; and he actually retired to *Lucca*. Upon this the emperor found it dangerous to continue their impriſonment longer; and gave orders for their being ſet at liberty, after remaining in captivity for nine months. No condition was annexed to their deliverance; but the captives were given to underſtand, that they ſhould pay their reſpects to the emperor upon his return from *Rome*. Thus ended an affair that reflects infinite diſhonour upon *Lewis*, who, according to all accounts, never had convicted *Galeazzo*, or his relations, of the leaſt crime to deſerve the puniſhment they met with. His artful conduct, and the reputation he had for cunning, were the foundations of the charge againſt him; and perhaps the greater difficulty there was in diſcovering proofs of his guilt, the emperor concluded him to be the more criminal. *Galeazzo* had no ſooner recovered his health, from his long impriſonment, and reſettled his family-affairs, than he reſolved to pay a debt of gratitude to *Caſtruccio*, who was then intent upon retaking *Piſtoia* from the *Florentines*[f]. We have already mentioned that famous ſiege. *Galeazzo* brought to the aſſiſtance of his friend a large body, both of horſe and foot; and while he himſelf was beſieged in his works; being obliged to go to *Lucca*, he left the conduct of the ſiege to *Galeazzo*. Upon his return, he found the works ſo far advanced, that he divided the command with him, by committing to his care the operations againſt the city, while he himſelf acted againſt the *Florentines*. The town at laſt was taken; but the exceſſive heat of the weather, and the fatigue of the ſiege, had thrown *Galeazzo* into a lingering diſtemper, ſo that he was obliged to be removed in a litter to *Peſcia*, where in three days he died, at the age of fifty-one. He was a prince of great reſolution and addreſs, and was ever fruitful in finding expedients for making the government of *Milan* independent in his family, by ballancing the papal and imperial powers, ſo as that neither of them ſhould too much preponderate in *Italy*. He was buried at *Lucca*, and was attended to his grave by his friend *Caſtruccio*, who ſurvived him but a few days.

Death of Galeazzo.

Succeeded by Azzo.

GALEAZZO was ſucceeded in the government of *Milan* by his ſon *Actio*, or, as he is commonly called, *Azzo*; who united in his own perſon the patience, perſeverance, and civil virtues of his father, and reſembled his grandfather, *Matthew the Great*, in prudence and foreſight. When he came to the government, the *Viſconti* family made but a ſecond figure in the affairs of *Italy*, by being obliged to follow the fate of the imperialiſts, and loſing the aſſiſtance of the famous *Caſtruccio*. *Azzo* entered into life under great diſadvantages, being born and educated in exile. He had been left governor of *Piacenza*, under his father, when the latter marched to the aſſiſtance of *Matthew the Great*; but that city was ſurpriſed by the cardinal legate's troops; and we are told[g], that *Azzo* himſelf muſt have been taken priſoner, had he not eſcaped by his mother's ſcattering ſome bags of gold about the doors of her houſe, which gained him time for getting away[g]. *Azzo* thus eſcaping, he put himſelf at the head of an army compoſed of *Milaneſe*, *Ferrareſe*, and *Mantuans*, and reduced and fortified the town of *San Damino*. He then commanded the auxiliaries which his father ſent to the aſſiſtance of *Caſtruccio*, and performed many celebrated ſervices under that great captain, who owed to him ſome of his chief ſucceſſes. When *Florence* was beſieged, or rather inſulted, by *Caſtruccio*, *Azzo* in return for the bravadoes of the *Florentines*, when they beſieged *Milan*[h], celebrated horſe-races under the walls of the city, and returned to *Milan* covered with glory. The death of his father and *Caſtruccio*, before his family had recovered its luſtre, gave him great concern; but upon the retraction of his uncle *Marc*, he wiſely made that a handle for recommending himſelf and his family-intereſts to the protection of the emperor. He went to *Piſa*, where his imperial majeſty then was, attended by his uncle *John*; and being ſeconded by his other uncle *Marc*, he obtained of the emperor the inveſtiture of *Milan*, upon the promiſe of a vaſt ſum of money, which *Lewis* then ſtood greatly in need of, his affairs being in diſorder all over *Italy*. Amongſt the difficulties he laboured under, was the danger of his own troops revolting; eight hundred of whom had already left his ſervice. The emperor employed *Azzo* to bring them to their duty; and the reader will find in the hiſtory of *Florence*[i] the ſequel of this affair. It appears, however, that *Marc Viſconti* was a man of much greater abilities and conſequence than he is repreſented to be by the *Milaneſe* hiſtorian, and did both the emperor and his family very important ſervices upon this occaſion; not only by appeaſing the mutineers, but by procuring ſeveral additional privileges and immunities to the *Milaneſe*. The emperor, at this time, had made *Peter de Corvaria*, who took the name of *Nicholas* V. pope; and had not only depoſed, but condemned to death the true pope, *John* XXII.

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[f] Ibid, p. 88.

His management with the emperor.

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[g] Jovius, p. 110. [h] Ibid, p. 80. [i] Ibid, p. 92.

This mock pope, by the emperor's recommendation, created *John Viſconti*, *Azzo*'s youngeſt uncle, a cardinal; but *Viſconti*, tho' he did not abſolutely refuſe the honour, for fear of diſobliging the emperor, declined to wear either the hat, or any of the outward badges of that office; which recommended him ſo much to the true pope, that he was firſt made biſhop of *Novara*, and then archbiſhop of *Milan*.

refuſes the emperor admittance into Milan.

AZZO having thus, with great prudence, put his family-affairs on a proper footing, returned towards *Milan*; where he and his uncle, the archbiſhop, were denied admittance by *William Montfort*, who ſtill continued the imperial governor of that city, tho' they were welcomed, with great acclamations of joy, through all the *Milaneſe*. *Azzo*, however, by the help of a little money, ſoon got over this difficulty; and *Montfort* reſigning his command, returned to *Germany*. When *Azzo* re-entered *Milan*, he was attended by *Conrade Porcari*, the imperial procurator, who had been ſent by *Lewis* to receive the money that had been promiſed, and which *Azzo* immediately borrowed out of the cheſts of the city. This *Porcari*, having received the fourth part of the ſum that had been promiſed, inſtead of returning to *Piſa*, went off with it to *Germany*. His infidelity was a great diſappointment to the emperor, as well as to the troops who were to receive the money; and he was obliged to impoſe immenſe taxations upon the *Piſans*. He likewiſe ſold to *Raymond*, and his other *Florentine* priſoners, their liberties; and not only ſeized upon the jewels of *Caſtruccio*'s widow, but ſtripped his ſons of the government of *Lucca*, which he ſold to *Franceſco Interminelli* for money.

Miſerable condition of the emperor.

THOSE acts of rapaciouſneſs, injuſtice, and ingratitude, but above all his miſerable poverty, and the contempt in which he was held by his troops, rendered the perſon and dignity of the emperor very deſpicable all over *Italy*. *Azzo* was no ſtranger to this; and when his imperial majeſty, in his return to *Italy*, took *Milan* in his way, he was refuſed admittance, both there and at *Mouſa*. He attempted, however, to force his way into the laſt mentioned city; but by the ſwelling of the *Lambro* he was diſappointed in his deſign, and thus he wandered about, a laughing ſtock, through all *Lombardy*, till he came to *Pavia*, where he was obliged to put up with all the indignities that had been offered him, upon *Azzo* paying the reſidue of the money he had promiſed him. During all the reſt of his journey through *Italy*, he met with the moſt groſs affronts, equally from *Gibelins* as *Guelphs*. In the mean while, *Marc Viſconti*, who had been ſent by *Lewis* to his *German* troops as a hoſtage for the payment of their arrears, became their general, and recovered *Lucca* for the ſons of *Caſtruccio*, and drove *Franceſco Interminelli*, the imperial governor, out of that city. After that he marched againſt *Piſa*, from whence he drove *Tarlati* of *Arezzo*. *Marc*, after this, repaired to *Florence*, and having gloriouſly finiſhed his campaign, he left *Tuſcany*; but full of wrath againſt his nephew *Azzo*, for not having ſent him money for redeeming himſelf out of the hands of the *Germans*.

MARC's reputation, at this time, was very high in *Italy*, where he was conſidered as the head of the *German* army there. He had, before he left *Florence*, entered into connexions with that people, and the heads of the *Guelphs* in *Italy*, for extirpating the *Gibelin* party, and making himſelf lord of *Milan*; for which he was qualified by his courage, his liberality, his majeſtic appearance, and many other noble perfections. The vaſt ſums of money he had ſpent at *Florence* had, probably, given *Azzo*, and his uncles, ſome intimation of his deſigns; ſo that, when he returned to *Milan*, being narrowly watched, it was found that he was tampering with his friends, and the dependents of his family, to form a party. His nephew and his relations diſſembled for the preſent; and their forbearance encouraged *Marc* to bring his complaints before the public, of his having been ſuffered ſo long to remain a hoſtage and priſoner amongſt barbarians. His reſentment is ſaid to have been kindled into a kind of a madneſs by a love-affair. He had, it ſeems, carried off a noble lady from her huſband; and finding that ſhe wanted to impoſe upon him, he had, in the firſt tranſports of his rage, drowned her in a wet ditch; but, being ſtill diſtractedly in love, her death drove him almoſt to madneſs. All thoſe concurrent circumſtances are ſaid to have convinced *Azzo*, and his uncles, that they were upon the eve of a civil war, unleſs *Marc* was taken out of the way. He was accordingly ſurpriſed in his bed-chamber, after dinner, by ſome of his nephew's body-guards, and ſtrangled, without any noiſe or diſturbance, and his dead body caſt out of the window, as if he had thrown himſelf from thence in one of his fits of deſpair. His body had an honourable interment, in the burial-place of his anceſtors; and the *Florentines* and other *Italians*, who had attended him to *Milan*, were civilly diſmiſſed.

Death of Marc Viſconti.

1331. *The king of* Bohemia *enters Italy.*

SOON after this, viz. in 1331, *John*, king of *Bohemia*, entered *Italy*, as the imperial vicar; but without being attached ſtrongly either to the *Guelphs* or *Gibelins*. He reduced *Breſcia* and *Bergamo*, and afterwards became maſter of *Parma*, *Cremona*, *Pavia*, *Modena*, and ſeveral other places. While he was on the other ſide of the *Adda*, *Azzo* waited upon him with ſome magnificent preſents, and it was not long before he had reaſon to apprehend, that *Italy* was on the eve of a mighty revolution. The pope and *John*, from being inveterate enemies to each other, became now intimate friends; and it was publickly talked, that *Philip*, the *French* king, was a party in the league; and that their real plan was, to divide amongſt themſelves all *Italy*. This apprehenſion produced an univerſal league amongſt the *Italian* ſtates, *Guelphs* as well as *Gibelins*, at the head of which was *Azzo*; and each party was bound to furniſh a certain proportion of ſtrength for the defence of the whole. *Scaliger* of *Verona*, *Paſſarini* of *Mantua*, *Obizi* of *Ferrara*, and the *Florentines*, were the other parties. According to the partition of power they laid down, *Azzo* was to have poſſeſſion of *Cremona* and *Pavia*, *Scaliger* of *Parma*, *Paſſarini* of *Reggio*, *Obizi* of *Modena*, and the *Florentines* of *Lucca*. At this time, the *Germans* were beſieging *Ferrara*, but were defeated by the allies; *Aliprandi Pinalla* being at the head of *Azzo*'s troops. The conſequence of this victory was, that *Pavia* fell into the hands of *Azzo*; he likewiſe recovered *Piacenza* from *Franceſco Scotti*, and obliged *Ruſca*, lord of *Como*, to reſign his dominion over that city, in exchange for *Bellizone*.

AZZO, tho' yet a young man, was ſo ſeverely ſubject to the gout, that being rendered for ſome time incapable of managing his own affairs, his old enemy *Leodriſio* renewed his intrigues againſt him, and found means to debauch the *German* mercenaries from his ſervice, and to engage in his practices *Ruſca* and *Scaliger*; the latter of whom furniſhed him with money for paying the mercenaries.

Activity of Azzo;

THE reader can be no ſtranger to the practices of *Leodriſio* againſt the *Viſconti* family; and he purſued them, on this occaſion, more vigorouſly than ever. Having added a great body of *Milaneſe* exiles to the mercenaries he had debauched from *Azzo*, he paſſed the *Adda*, notwithſtanding all the oppoſition made to him by *Aliprandi Pinalla*, *Azzo*'s general. This irruption being made in winter, filled all the *Milaneſe* with conſternation. The ſnow lay then deep on the ground, and the inhabitants found it impracticable to ſecure their effects or cattle in places of ſafety for ſubſiſtence, ſo that moſt of them fell into the enemies hands. *Azzo* was not wanting to himſelf on this occaſion. Notwithſtanding his lameneſs, he acted with aſtoniſhing vigour and activity; he reinforced his garriſons, and choſe his poſts with the utmoſt judgment and propriety. In this he was aſſiſted by the ſpies, which he entertained about *Leodriſio*'s perſon while he was at *Verona*, and who informed him of all the particulars of his marches, and the routs he was to hold; by which he was enabled to make head againſt his enemies, till his reinforcements came up from *Ferrara*, *Placentia*, and other places. As he was incapable to take the field in perſon, he gave the command of his army to his uncle *Luchin*, a prince who at this time had acquired great reputation in war. *Leodriſio* was, with his army, at *Nervi*, within twelve miles of *Milan*, when he was met by *Luchin*, at the head of the flower of his nephew's troops and auxiliaries. Both ſides being equally ardent to fight, the ſignal of battle was given, and *Leodriſio*'s diviſion was entirely defeated. The *Germans* and *Swiſs* threw themſelves into a hollow ſquare, and ſoon ſtopped the purſuit of *Luchin*'s troops, which being incautious and irregular, the moſt forward of his cavalry were checked, a great number of his men cut in pieces, and at laſt the fortune of the day ſeemed to go againſt him. *Luchin* did all that a brave general could do, to ſtop the rout; but his horſe being killed, he was beaten to the ground by the battle-axes, and heavy maces of the *Germans*, and made priſoner. The *Germans* and *Swiſs* then attacked the *Placentines* with ſo much fury, that they killed *Diodati Malvicino*, and *Lancilot Anguiſola*, their leaders, and put their troops to flight. But while *Leodriſio* thus thought himſelf ſecure of victory, *Hector Panici* unexpectedly arrived, with a freſh body of horſe, ſent to *Azzo*'s aſſiſtance by the duke of *Savoy*. The fortune of the day was now again changed, and the *Savoyards* charged *Leodriſio*'s men with ſo much vigour and judgment, while they were intent only upon the ſpoil, that they gave them an entire defeat, and *Leodriſio* himſelf was taken priſoner in his flight, and ſhut up in the caſtle of St. *Columbo*; where he remained priſoner during the remainder of *Azzo*'s life, and that of his uncle.

his victory.

Loſs of the enemy.

THIS unexpected, and indeed wonderful, victory, ſtruck the *Milaneſe* with a kind of an enthuſiaſtic tranſport; and *Paul Jovius* himſelf makes no kind of ſcruple to ſay, that when *Azzo*'s army was defeated, the good St. *Ambroſe*, the tutelar ſaint of *Milan*, was ſeen in the air, by many, encouraging the *Savoyards* and the *Milaneſe* to renew the battle. Notwithſtanding this ridiculous ſtory, *Luchin* obtained a moſt complete victory. His men, after defeating their enemies, found him bound to a tree, and under a guard of *Germans*, whom they defeated. His victory, however, was dearly bought: above nine thouſand men, on both ſides, were killed on the field of battle; and *Luchin* was inexpreſſibly affected by the loſs of his brother-in-law *Fliſco*, who was amongſt the ſlain. But the *Leodriſians* ſuffered far more from the conſequences of the battle, than they did during the heat of it; being entirely ſtrangers in the *Milaneſe*, they were knocked on the head by the country people, or periſhed of their wounds, or through hunger and cold; ſo that few or none of them repaſſed the *Adda*. Upon the place of battle, which was fought between the villages of *Parabici* and *Nervi*, *Luchin* and his brother *John* built a church, in commemoration of the victory, and dedicated the ſame to St. *Ambroſe*. This church was, in the days of *Paul Jovius*, viſited by the magiſtrates and people of *Milan*, with great devotion and ſolemnity, on the anniverſary of the battle, which was the 21ſt of *February*. A repreſentation of the action was painted on the walls of the church, where the *Savoyards* were eaſily diſcernible by their white croſſes, the arms of *Savoy*. *Luchin* is likewiſe there repreſented in the armour he wore, which is of a very ſingular kind, on the day of the battle.

Azzo *wars with* Scaliger.

AFTER this deciſive advantange, *Azzo* turned his arms entirely againſt *Scaliger*, whom he conſidered as the ſource of all his difficulties; and after giving him repeated defeats, he ſtripped him of *Breſcia*. After this, he turned his thoughts towards the improving and fortifying his capital, which he did by raiſing the walls to a great height, and adorning them with marble dragons or vipers, the enſigns of his family. He likewiſe introduced into the city the ſtreams of two ſmall rivulets, which greatly contributed to its wholeſomeneſs and cleanlineſs. He alſo built many ſacred edifices, which are to this day the admiration of *Italy* and all *Europe*, and endowed them with great magnificence and riches, particularly with regard to church-plate and habits. He died in the month of *Auguſt*, when he was no more than thirty-eight years of age[g], ſo worn out with the gout, that he could not, without extreme torture, bear the weight even of his bed-cloaths. He married *Catharine*, daughter to the duke of *Savoy*, a lady of the ſtricteſt virtue and chaſtity; but by her he left no iſſue. He was a prince of great perfections, handſome in his perſon, liberal, and affable. Many of his ſtatues and pictures yet remain; ſome of them in a taſte uncommon to that age.

His death.

Succeeded by Luchin.

AZZO was ſucceeded by his uncle *Luchin*, to the univerſal ſatisfaction of all the *Milaneſe*. *Luchin*, tho' a great captain, was both prudent and religious; and his firſt care was to procure from *Benedict* XII. an abſolution from the eccleſiaſtical cenſures that the *Milaneſe* then lay under. He like-

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[g] See p. 96. vol. xxxvi.

A conſpiracy againſt him defeated.

wiſe recovered the immenſe treaſures that, during the late diſtraction at *Milan*, had been carried from *Mouſa* to *Avignon*. His life having been a continued ſeries of warlike atchievements, he had received ſo many wounds in actions, that, when he came to the government of *Milan*, he was unable to head his armies in perſon. Notwithſtanding the many noble ſervices he had performed for his country, he no ſooner took upon him the government of it, than conſpiracies were formed againſt him by his moſt intimate friends and relations: amongſt thoſe, one *Franceſco Puſterla*, a nobleman of great family and fortune, and the two brothers *Martin* and *Pinalla Aliprandi*. The two laſt had been general officers under *Azzo*, and thinking themſelves neglected by *Luchin*, they had caſt their eyes upon *Galeazzo* and *Barnabo*, two young noblemen of the *Viſconti* family, of graceful perſons, and warlike diſpoſitions, but immeaſurably ambitious, and aſpiring to be maſters of *Milan*. *Martin* and *Pinalla* having entered into ſchemes for carrying into execution their conſpiracy, met with ſo many difficulties, that, before they could bring them to bear, they were betrayed by *Ramengo Caſſati*, whom they had endeavoured to bring into their ſchemes. Upon this diſcovery, *Martin* and *Pinalla* were impriſoned, and put to the torture, and at laſt died of pain and hunger. The other conſpirators were executed on gibbets. *Puſterla*, who was the moſt criminal of them all, endeavoured to eſcape to *Tuſcany*, but was retaken, and publickly executed in the great ſquare, with the cruel mortification of ſeeing two youths, his ſons, executed for the ſame crime, before his face. Soon after his wife *Margaret*, who not only was acceſſary to the conſpiracy, but had been very active in carrying it on, was condemned to perpetual impriſonment; a favour ſhe obtained by her being of the *Viſconti* family, and nearly related to *Luchin*. Upon farther enquiry it was found, that the two young noblemen, *Galeazzo* and *Barnabo*, had been privy to the conſpiracy, and had embarked deeply in meaſures for rendering it ſucceſsful. *Luchin* would have put them to death; but his brother, the archbiſhop, repreſented to him the conſequence of ſuch a proceeding, and how obnoxious the family muſt become if they embrued themſelves farther in the blood of their kinſmen; the public being by no means ſatisfied with the juſtice of *Marc*'s death. Thoſe conſiderations prevailed with *Luchin* to baniſh their kinſmen to *Holland*; or, in the terms of *Paul Jovius*, to the extremity of the ocean, amongſt the *Belgians* and *Batavians*, to puniſh them for their diſloyalty and perfidy.

After this, *Luchin* grew reſerved, diſtruſtful, and moroſe. He ſeldom or never was ſeen to laugh. His look carried with it ſuſpicion and jealouſy, and the temper of his mind was farther rankled by the excruciating pains of the gout. The character and behaviour of his wife did not a little contribute to his diſguſt with the world. Her name was *Fuſca*, and ſhe was of the family of the *Fieſques* of *Genoa*, one of the nobleſt in *Italy*, and which had furniſhed two popes to the holy ſee. In her perſon ſhe was graceful, witty, and gallant, beyond any of the *Lombard* ladies; but ſhe was laſcivious, gay, diſſolute, and expenſive beyond any woman in *Italy*. *Luchin* was in his perſon by no means amiable; but young *Galeazzo* was looked upon to be the handſomeſt man of his age, tho' ſo looſe in his amours, that he had an intrigue with *Luchin*'s wife, who made him the nominal father of a ſpurious but promiſing iſſue, *viz.* *Luchin*, *Orſino*, and two twins, *Borſio* and *Foreſtini*. The world muſt have concluded *Luchin* to be the happieſt man alive, in his family, had not the abandoned behaviour of his wife given too much reaſon for the public to ſuſpect that his children were illegitimate. *Luchin* was able to refuſe her nothing, and being laid up with the gout, ſhe prevailed upon him to fit out a ſquadron of yachts, or pleaſure-boats moſt magnificently equipped, and furniſhed for all the purpoſes of luxury, with which ſhe propoſed to pay a viſit to *Venice* in the carnival time, or ſome ſuch feſtal occaſion. Her companions, who attended her in this expedition, were ladies of the ſame character with herſelf, tho' not quite publickly ſo abandoned; for the reader is to obſerve, that the noblemen and gentlemen of *Milan* were at this time ſo much employed in the field, that they had little leiſure to attend to the morals or conduct of their wives. *Luchin* was then confined to his bed by his gout, wounds, and other infirmities, ſo that his lady had her full ſwing of pleaſure. This happened after her lover *Galeazzo* had been baniſhed. The voyage was performed with the utmoſt magnificence and ſplendour; but the exceſſes of the company broke through all the bounds of modeſty. *Fuſca* proſtituted herſelf to two *Venetian* noblemen, in the moſt ſhameleſs manner, as did the reſt of her companions; and their ſecrets were ſo ill kept, that, upon their return, the whole came to *Luchin*'s ears. It was eaſy for *Fuſca*, from the manner of his behaviour, to perceive that he was not only informed of all the particulars, but that he was meditating a ſevere revenge; in which ſhe was reſolved to anticipate him. She therefore adminiſtered to him a ſlow poiſon, which deprived him of the remainder of his ſtrength, ſo that his death was imputed to his gout and other ailments. He lived ſixty-two years, of which he governed nine, and had a moſt magnificent burial, in the church

Luchin's *wife unfaithful to him.*

His death and character.

of St. *Godard*, near his nephew *Azzo*. Notwithſtanding the ſeverity of his government, he was moſt ſincerely mourned by the *Milaneſe* of all ranks and degrees. He was a moſt excellent juſticiary. He was ſucceſsful in baniſhing faction. He protected the weak againſt the powerful. He took great care to have his capital and his country well ſupplied with all kind of proviſions; and it was a maxim with him, always to carry the wars he waged into his enemy's country; by which he preſerved his own in peace and plenty. He added to *Milan* the principality of *Parma*, which he bought from *Obizi Ateſtini*, who had wreſted it from the *Gonzagæ* and the *Scaligers*, for ſixty thouſand crowns. He obliged the *Piſans* to pay him an honorary tribute of two horſes; one of them equipped for the field, and the other a palfrey, for the uſe of a lady; and likewiſe two foreign falcons or hawks. Before his death he was preparing for an expedition againſt *Genoa*, and had raiſed a numerous army for that purpoſe. In his private life he was modeſt, and left no monument of magnificence behind him, excepting a palace at *Pavia*; but he was contented, after his acceſſion, to live in the houſe that had been inhabited by his nephew *Azzo*. He built, however, a ſtrong citadel at *Bergamo*, on the place where a chapel ſtood before. He was fond of living in the country, and choſe for the place of his retirement a ſpot remarkable for the ſalubrity of its air, but for little elſe, about ſeven miles from *Como*. His favourite ſon was *Brutio*, whom he had by a concubine, and whom he intended to have made the general of his expedition againſt the *Genoeſe*.

Puniſhment of his wiſe.

BEFORE we take leave of his memory, it is proper to inform the reader, that his infamous wife was ſo much ſtruck with remorſe for what ſhe had done, that ſhe retired to a life of mortification and auſterity, and confeſſed the whole of her wicked life. The conſequence was, that *Barſio* finiſhed his life in priſon, as *Foreſtini* did in exile, while the third brother *Morello* took ſervice under the enemies of his country. As to *Brutio*, upon his father's death, he invaded the government of *Lodi*; but he proved ſo intolerable a tyrant, that the inhabitants drove him out, and he died in exile and poverty, in an obſcure village.

Luchin *ſucceeded by* John *the archbiſhop*.

JOHN, the archbiſhop and prince of *Milan*, is repreſented as being a finiſhed pattern of all civil and perſonal virtues. His acceſſion to the government was conſidered by the *Milaneſe* as a public benefit. In prudence and piety, juſtice and moderation, he reſembled the firſt *Otho*; in conſtancy and magnanimity, his father *Matthew*; in generoſity, openneſs of manners, affability, addreſs, and perſon, his brother *Galeazzo*,

; and his nephew *Azzo*, in his winning deportment, and
uating converſation; while he poſſeſſed all the virtues of
hin, without his ſeverity.

PON his acceſſion to the government, his firſt care was
call from baniſhment his two nephews, the ſons of his
her *Stephen*. They had, during their exile, ſerved with
t reputation in the wars of the *Low Countries*, and ſome-
s in the *Engliſh* armies. They appeared, upon their re-
to *Milan*, dreſſed in the habits worn in thoſe countries,
hich they are yet ſeen depictured in ſome of the *Milaneſe*
ches, as paying their devotions in thankſgiving for their
rn. To render their family more ſtable, ſoon after their
rn they matched into two powerful families; *Galeazzo*
ried *Bianca*, the daughter of *Amadeo* of *Savoy*; as *Barnabo*
Beatrix, the daughter of *Scaliger* of *Verona*, a lady of ſo
a deportment, that ſhe generally went by the name of
queen. The firſt warlike adventure, after their return, 1353.
to reſume the expedition againſt *Genoa*; which they pro- *who ac-*
ted with ſo much ſpirit, that they obliged the *Genoeſe* to *quires* Ge-
it to the authority of the archbiſhop. *Paul Jovius*, on noa,
occaſion, calls the *Genoeſe* general *Murtha*. It is certain,
Murtha was obliged to reſign his authority, whatever it
; and the *Genoeſe* were forced to accept of *Pallavicini*,
acted as deputy for the archbiſhop of *Milan*. *Murtha*
been very inſtrumental in bringing about this revolution;
upon his death, which happened ſoon after, they made
Valente, or *Valens*, their general, in oppoſition to *Palla-*
i. The reader, in the hiſtory of *Genoa*[h], will ſee the
of the *Genoeſe* affairs at that time, which was as fluctu-
as the tempers of the inhabitants. The archbiſhop,
had done every thing to ſoothe them, exaſperated at
inconſtancy, raiſed an army, and again proclaimed
againſt them. Upon this, and ſome untowardly events,
h happened at ſea, *Valente* was obliged to reſign his com-
d, and the *Genoeſe*, once more, received *Pallavicini* as
governor under the archbiſhop. This new ſubmiſſion
ely changed the face of affairs in *Genoa*. *Pallavicini* car-
with him to *Genoa* a ſtrong reinforcement of troops,
h not only ſerved to garriſon the city, but to man their
. He made them a preſent likewiſe of thirty gallies,
d, manned, and victualled at his own expence. *Pagano*
a was appointed admiral of the whole, and they ſailed
r the flag of the *Viſconti* family; the archbiſhop, at the
time, taking care to provide for the expences of the

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[h] See vol. xxviii.

expedition. The voyage was ſucceſsful beyond expectation. *Doria* ſcoured the coaſt of *Catalonia*, entered the *Venetian* gulph, and defeated or plundered the enemy's ſhips wherever he came. At laſt he attacked their general *Nicholas Piſano*, whom he defeated, and returned in triumph to *Genoa*, carrying with him thirty-five gallies, and thirty-four ſmaller veſſels, with above five thouſand priſoners.

and Bologna.

THIS ſeaſonable relief filled the minds of the *Genoeſe* with ſuch tranſports of affection and gratitude, that, by a public decree, they continued their government in the perſons of *Galeazzo* and *Barnabo*, if they ſhould ſurvive their uncle the archbiſhop; and thus the *Viſconti* family became ſovereigns of all *Liguria*. About the ſame time *Pepoli*, a noble *Bologneſe*, having ſeized the governor of *Bologna*, was preſſed ſo hard by the papal arms, that he was obliged to have recourſe for aſſiſtance to the archbiſhop of *Milan*, who readily gave it him. The archbiſhop, however, does not ſeem to have acted quite diſintereſtedly on this occaſion. He obliged *Pepoli* to reſign to him the government of *Bologna*, in lieu of *Crepacori* and *Nouantola*[k]. This acquiſition of ſo conſiderable a city as *Bologna*, rendered the *Viſconti* family formidable all over *Italy*, and at laſt excited a confederacy againſt the archbiſhop, between the pope, the *Florentines*, and the *Venetians*. The particulars and progreſs of this confederacy have been touched upon in other parts of this work[l]. It is ſufficient here to ſay, that the confederates prevailed with the pope to excommunicate the archbiſhop, and to put his dominions under an interdict. This gave the archbiſhop very little trouble, and he appointed *Oligiano* to be his governor of *Bologna*, who acted with ſo much courage and ſucceſs, that he eaſily baffled all the attempts of the pope againſt that city. At laſt an expedient was fallen upon. The pope's legate *Griſante*, who afterwards became himſelf pope, under the the title of *Urban* V. paid a viſit to *Milan*, and entered into a negotiation, by which the archbiſhop was to pay every year ſixty pounds of gold by way of tribute for *Bologna*; others ſay that he was to pay twelve thouſand florins a year for twelve years, and a hundred thouſand florins for the expences of the war.

A confederacy againſt him.

THE archbiſhop of *Milan* became then ſo great as to draw upon himſelf the jealouſy of the emperor, notwithſtanding his being the profeſſed head of the *Gibelin* faction in *Italy*. The *Florentines* and he never had been in good correſpondence together; and he now put himſelf at the head of the

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[k] See vol. xxxvi. p. 47.

[l] See vol. xxxvi. p. 119.

dini, the *Uberti*, and the *Pazzi*; all of them *Florentine*
s, aſſiſted by the governors or tyrants of *Arezzo* and *Cor*-
The whole confederacy was commanded by *Oligiano*,
was reputed to be a relation of the *Viſconti* family; but
in fact the archbiſhop's natural ſon, and born at the
ge of *Oligio*, from which he took his name. *Oligiano*
ing together his army, marched from *Bologna* towards
ucco, a village belonging to *Piſtoia*, which he took. He
appeared before *Scarperia*, within twelve miles of *Flo*-
. His army was compoſed of about ten thouſand horſe
ſix thouſand foot, beſides a vaſt number of irregulars,
proceeded with great devaſtation[m]. It does not appear,
ever, that *Oligiano*'s progreſs was ſo great as the *Mila*-
iſtorians have given out; for the archbiſhop very readily
ed into a propoſal for an accommodation; and a truce
accordingly agreed to at the little town of *Serazana*, be-
ng to the *Genoeſe*. The manager for the archbiſhop
William Pallavicini, and *Charles Strozzi* for the *Floren*-
It is ſaid, that in this congreſs the deputies from above
cities and princes appeared, and the archbiſhop pro-
ed with ſo much moderation and juſtice that he ſatisfied
heir demands; ſo that none had reaſon to complain.
ound means even to elude with a joke the pontifical
lers. For when his holineſs perceived that the peace
be concluded without his intervention, he cited the
iſhop to appear before him at *Avignon*, under pain of
mmunication. *Viſconti* received the ſummons with great
rances of reſpect; and profeſſing himſelf to be the hum-
n of the church, he ſaid that he could appear before
olineſs as ſoon as he could be attended with a proper
age anſwerable to his pontifical dignity. He then gave
s for magazines to be erected all over *Lombardy*, and
ſembling troops on the frontiers of his dominions. Not
nted with this, he bought up all the proviſions, and
all the inns that lay on the road to *Avignon*; ſo that
olineſs ſoon ſaw himſelf deprived of the moſt beneficial
of his revenue by the recourſe of churchmen, and other
gers, being ſtopt up to his court. Upon this, ſending
e *Milaneſe* agents, he aſked what their maſter's meaning
y making ſuch immenſe preparations, to make up a dif-
ce that might be otherwiſe accommodated? The agents
ered, as they had been inſtructed, that their maſter was
r a neceſſity to make ſuch preparations, that he might
e more honour to his holineſs, by appearing before him

His management with the pope.

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[m] See vol. xxxvi. p. 122.

at the head of ſeven thouſand horſe, and as many foot. The pontiff underſtood the meaning of this anſwer; and replied with a ſmile, that the archbiſhop had no occaſion to put himſelf to ſo much trouble and expence, and that he willingly diſpenſed with his appearance. Upon this anſwer, the archbiſhop ordered all the magazines, and the vaſt proviſions he had amaſſed, to be gratuitouſly divided amongſt the moſt reputable inhabitants of the country, or thoſe whoſe circumſtances were but indifferent; and thus all the religious houſes and the poor were amply provided for ſome months. This conduct, at once generous, charitable, and wiſe, rendered the archbiſhop extremely popular in *Lombardy*, and procured him a number of real friends, to the great terror of his enemies.

Freſh confederacies againſt him.

TOWARDS the end of his life, however, the perpetual ſtream of ſucceſs that had attended his government, excited the jealouſy of the neighbouring princes ſo greatly, that a new confederacy was formed againſt him by the families of *Eſte*, *Gonzaga*, and *Scaliger*, which had each of them been in alliance with him. They accordingly attacked him with a numerous army, and beſieged him in his camp, near *Modena*, where, being bravely repulſed, they fell into the *Cremoneſe*, which they filled with devaſtations. Notwithſtanding this, the archbiſhop had taken his meaſures ſo well, and had fortified his camp ſo ſtrongly, that he threatened to make himſelf maſter of *Reggio* and *Modena*; by which he muſt have extended his dominions from *Bologna* to *Placentia*, all upon his own territory. But he was in the mean time ſeized with a ſlow fever, which, after various attacks, put an end to his life, in the month of *September*, when he was ſixty-three years of age. He was buried near his predeceſſor the archbiſhop *Otho*; and it muſt be acknowledged that his reign, which laſted but ſeven years, was an almoſt uninterrupted courſe of felicity. We have one thing to add to his character, which was uncommon to that age, which is, that though he appears to have been far from a libertine, yet he laughed at the ridiculous pretences, and deteſted the tyranny of the papal power[n].

His death,

NOTWITHSTANDING the great abilities of archbiſhop *John*, he made a very unequal diſtribution of his dominions at the time of his death. By his brother *Stephen* he had three nephews. The eldeſt was *Matthew*, commonly called *Matthew* the Second. The next was *Galeazzo*; and the youngeſt, *Barnabo*. The two laſt we have ſeveral times

and ſucceſſors.

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[n] See vol. xxvi. p. 47.

mentioned; but the former was a prince entirely given to his pleaſures, and made little or no figure in life. By the laſt will of archbiſhop *John*, all his territories were to be divided amongſt thoſe three brothers. *Milan* and *Genoa* were to be governed by two of them, and the reſt of the dominions was to fall by lot to the third. *Matthew* obtained for his portion, *Bologna*, *Lodi*, *Placentia*, *Parma*, and *Bobbio*, together with many other rich towns and provinces. *Oligiano* at that time was in poſſeſſion of *Bologna*; and the *Bologneſe* underſtanding that archbiſhop *John* was paſt recovery, ran to arms, in order to aſſert their independency; but *Oligiano* took his meaſures ſo well, that they were defeated and capitally puniſhed. He then repaired and fortified the citadel of *Bologna*, which had been begun by archbiſhop *John*; and finding himſelf, as he thought, ſecure againſt all oppoſition, he ſeized the reins of government in his own right, and expelled *Matthew*'s poteſta out of the city. *Matthew* himſelf was ſo much immerſed in ſenſuality and luxury, that he made no attempts to recover his right, but ſpent his days in hawking, and his nights with women, in the moſt infamous courſe of debauchery; if we are to believe ſome hiſtorians of his family; and this courſe of debauchery threw him into a conſumption, which put an end to his life in the ſecond year of his government. *Death of* Matthew II.

It ſeems however pretty certain, that *Valentina* his mother was firmly perſuaded that he was taken off by poiſon at *Sarcna*, one of his country-ſeats, half-way between *Milan* and *Como*; for which ſhe never ceaſed to curſe the two brothers to her dying day. It is ſaid, that in converſation *Matthew* dropt ſome words reflecting upon archbiſhop *John* for the diviſion he had made of his dominions, and hinted that there could be no enjoyment of power with a partner. His words were conſtrued ſo much to his diſadvantage, that the two brothers poiſoned him in a diſh which he was very fond of. He left two daughters, but no ſon. His wife was *Liliola Gonzaga*, daughter of the duke of *Mantua*. His daughters were *Catharine* and *Urſina*. The former was married to *Balthazar Puſterla*, a nobleman of great rank and riches, and the latter to *Ugoline Gonzaga*, a famous warrior. This *Matthew* II. lies buried at *Milan* without a ſtone or inſcription.

GALEAZZO II. was, as we have ſeen, remarkable for the beauty of his perſon, which he adorned with the utmoſt art and elegance of that time. When young, he had paid a viſit to the *Holy Land*, where he had obtained the honour of knighthood; and while he ſerved in *Germany*, he killed *Account of* Galeazzo II.

and his brother **Barnabo,**

in ſingle combat, a nobleman, whoſe device he afterwards always made uſe of, conſiſting of two torches of fire, and two buckets of water hanging by a ragged branch, which device continued in his family even in the time of the *Sforzas*. When the emperor *Charles* IV. came to *Milan* to be crowned, he was conſtituted the imperial vicar over all *Lombardy*, in conjunction with his brother *Barnabo*; and during the ceremony of the inauguration the emperor beſtowed the honour of knighthood on the ſons of both, though then very young. The one was *John Galeazzo*, afterwards the firſt duke of *Milan*, and one of the greateſt princes of his time; and the other was *Marc*, the ſon of *Barnabo*, who made no great figure. The ceremony of the coronation being over, the emperor having received vaſt ſums at *Milan*, in return for the new honours he had beſtowed on the two brothers, returned to *Germany*. It is ſurpriſing that thoſe two brothers, though men of great ambition and intrigue, had not the ſmalleſt difference with each other during the whole courſe of their lives; but upon the death of their brother *Matthew* they made an exact diviſion of the whole heritage. *Bologna* fell to the ſhare of *Barnabo*, which was ſtill held by *Oligiano* under the protection of the pope, and gave riſe to a bloody war. The *Viſconti* family was ſo formidable at this time, that the *Italian* princes laying aſide all their domeſtic quarrels, united againſt them, as did *Conrad Landi*, and *Marcoald*, two *German* generals, who had been left in *Italy* by the emperor, and who entered into the pay of the confederates. At this juncture all *Italy* was full of foreign mercenaries; and the two *Germans* had no difficulty of bringing an army into the field, with which they invaded *Lombardy*, and carried their ravages to the gates of *Milan*. *Galeazzo* and *Barnabo* were obliged for ſome time to put up with thoſe inſults; but at laſt, drawing together their troops, they gave the *Germans* battle at *Caſa*, and defeated them. *Marcoald* was taken, and *Landi* eſcaped, after a bloody engagement, in which ſix thouſand horſe, and four thouſand foot, were either killed or made priſoners.

who beſiege **Bologna.**

BARNABO then led his victorious troops againſt *Bologna*, where he found a much greater reſiſtance than he expected. The *Florentines*, the *Piſans*, the *Ferrareſe*, the *Mantuans*, and the *Veroneſe*, alarmed at the event of the late battle, ranged themſelves under the banners of the pope's legate *Egido*, in defence of *Bologna*; and the marquis of *Montferrat*, to give *Galeazzo*'s troops a diverſion, invaded the *Milaneſe* with great fury. He took *Alba* by ſurpriſe, and made himſelf maſter of *Pavia*, from whence he expelled the *Guelphs*. We have in the hiſtory of *Florence* given an account of the ar- of the *Engliſh* in *Italy*. Beſides thoſe who ſerved under *kwood*, a large body was employed by *Galeazzo*, and by means he recovered *Alba* and *Pavia*, and took a monk, *Buſſelario*, who had incited the *Pavians* to revolt, priſoner. fellow made a deſperate reſiſtance, and had become er of the city, which was with ſome difficulty recovered. *zzo* had then leiſure to march to the aſſiſtance of his ier, who had been defeated in ſeveral battles by the s under the legate; ſo that *Oligiano* perceiving *Bologna* no longer tenable, gave it up to the legate, in exchange *ermo*. All this while *Barnabo* continued to carry on the with great vigour, equally againſt the legate as againſt *ano*; which induced the confederate ſtates to ſend, by of diverſion, an army into the *Milaneſe*, in hopes of ing *Barnabo* out of the *Bologneſe*, and obliging him to the *Po*.

IT *Ugoline* having paſſed that river, and taken *Novara*, encountered in his turn by a war of diverſion. *Gale-* fell into the *Mantuan*, and having taken *Seralio*, a forti- on on the banks of the *Po*, all the *Mantuan* lay open invaſion, which ſo terrified the inhabitants of that city, hich *Ugoline* was prince, that while he thought himſelf e high career of victory, he was obliged to fly to the of his own ſubjects, and to conclude a new treaty with *zzo* and his brother.

Marriage between the princeſs of Milan *and the duke of* Clarence.

HIS accommodation was far from diverting *Barnabo* from eſign of recovering *Bologna*, which he conſidered as hav- een taken from him by treachery. While the fate of ar was depending, *Galeazzo*, whoſe ſpirit aſpired beyond t any prince of his time, reſolved to raiſe his family by oyal matches. The firſt was by marrying his ſon with aughter of the king of *France*, which match accord- took place; and the next was, by marrying his daugh- *iolante* to prince *Lionel*, duke of *Clarence*, the ſecond f *Edward* III. of *England*. This match had been pro- about the year 1366; and *Humphry Bohun*, earl of *Nor- ton*, was appointed, on the part of *Edward*, to negotiate arriage. The affair continued in dependence for al- two years; but at laſt it was concluded chiefly by the ention of Sir *John Haukwood*, whom we have ſo often notice of in the courſe of this hiſtory, and who was ards married to a natural daughter of *Barnabo*. *Ga-* gave two hundred thouſand crowns of gold, and the cities of *Mondovi* and *Alba*, in dowry, with his daughter. The marriage was concluded at *Windſor* on the 25th of *April* 1368, and *Galeazzo* advanced ten thouſand florins as part of his expences for the treaty. The *Engliſh* hiſtorians pretend that *Edward* agreed to this match upon poſitive aſſurance given him, that the *Italian* ſtates, particularly the two princes of *Milan*, the republic of *Florence*, and that of *Venice*, would unite in chooſing prince *Lionel* emperor. There is nothing improbable in this, when we conſider the diſpoſitions of the *Italian* ſtates, and the vaſt averſion they had to the *German* emperors; and the little danger they had to apprehend from *Edward*, whoſe power and reputation was, at this time, beyond that of any prince in *Europe*. The marriage was celebrated on the 29th of *May* in the great church of *Milan*. The magnificence and ſplendor of the nuptials were inexpreſſible. Above two hundred *Engliſh* noblemen and gentlemen attended on the bridegroom, and at every courſe moſt magnificent preſents were ſent to the attendants of the *Engliſh* prince, and ſuch as few crowned heads in *Europe*, at that time, could have equalled. Amongſt other preſents, were no fewer than ſeventy beautiful horſes, with rich trappings of ſilver and ſilk, maſſy pieces of plate, curious falcons and dogs, javelins, ſwords, coats of mail, breaſt-plates, helmets ſplendidly adorned and finely worked, ſcarfs embroidered with pearl, military belts, and a profuſion of wearing apparel of all kinds, adorned with jewels of immenſe value. As to the entertainment itſelf, it was ſo extravagant, that when the diſhes were carried off the table, they were more than ſufficient for ten thouſand men. We muſt not forget that *Francis Petrarch*, the famous poet of *Italy*, was one of the gueſts on this occaſion. We have thought proper to mention thoſe particulars, to give our readers ſome idea of the immenſe riches and magnificence of the *Milaneſe* court at that time.

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* See vol. xxxvi. p. 134.

Death of the latter.

THE *Engliſh* prince did not long ſurvive his nuptials. The change of climate, and manner of living, threw him into a fever; and, after he had put his worldly affairs in order, he died at the city of *Alba*, not without great ſuſpicion of poiſon, on the 17th of *October*. This ſuſpicion was encreaſed by many circumſtances, particularly the total alteration which his elevation to the imperial dignity muſt have introduced into the affairs of *Italy*, as he could have had no other dominion there but the kingdom of *Naples*. The lord *Edward Spencer* was convinced that the duke had foul play for his life: and his ſuſpicion fell at firſt upon the *Viſconti* family; but they cleared themſelves to his ſatisfaction, and the princeſs was a ſecond time married to the marquis of *Montferrat*, who was aſſaſſinated by a boor upon the mountains of *Parma*.

Character, magnificence, and

GALEAZZO had now a ſon grown up with the moſt promiſing appearances of genius and capacity; and the reſt of his life was one continued courſe of proſperity. After he had happily finiſhed all his wars, the particulars of which the reader will ſee in other parts of this work, he retired to taſte the fruits of leiſure with a few ſtudious companions, amongſt whom was *Francis Petrarch*. By his perſuaſion he built a noble library, and founded the famous univerſity of *Pavia*, under the patronage of the emperor *Charles*. Though he was naturally mild and averſe to puniſh, yet when it became neceſſary, he was inexorable. An inſtance of this was the caſe of *Picardoni Vaſalli*. This perſon, who was of a mean original, had attended him during his exile; and when he was reſtored to *Italy*, he, in recompence for his fidelity, had made him his chief financier, and entruſted him with his treaſures. *Vaſalli* was not proof againſt corruption, and oppreſſed the people ſo cruelly, that all the ſubjects of the *Milaneſe* joined in impeaching him. *Galeazzo* gave him up to juſtice; and, after a regular trial, being found guilty, he was hanged on a gibbet. *Galeazzo* refuſed to ſuffer any of his ill-gotten wealth to come into the treaſury; and obſerved, that his crime was aggravated by the criminal's ingratitude and inſenſibility of the low ſtation from which he had been raiſed. He diſcovered another inſtance of juſtice, in the puniſhment he inflicted upon the podeſta of *Vico*, whom he ordered to execute the law immediately upon certain banditti and murderers, who had been condemned to death. The podeſta, by the interpoſition of the friends of the malefactors, delayed their puniſhment till *Galeazzo* returned to *Pavia*. While he was there, the friends of the condemned applied to him for their pardon, which he readily granted, as thinking they had been for ſome time dead. Finding his miſtake, he ordered the podeſta's head to be ſtruck off, before the priſon door, for diſobeying his orders.

death of Galeazzo.

IN his buildings *Galeazzo* was exceſſively magnificent, and affected both to imitate and to rival the *Roman* magnificence in architecture, as may be ſeen by the citadel which he raiſed at *Milan*, and the vaſt porticoes and ſquares which he erected for public ſpectacles. His bridge over the *Teſin* was looked upon to be a maſter-piece; and even *Petrarch* himſelf, who was very ſparing of his compliments to great men, admired the palace he built on the north ſide of *Pavia*, ſo greatly, that he ſaid, "*Galeazzo* in his former works had outdone "the greateſt potentates in *Europe*; but in that palace, that "he had outdone himſelf." The whole was filled with noble pictures, and encloſed by a wall fifty miles in circumference. The great number of families that were turned out of their poſſeſſions, to make this immenſe work, created next to a rebellion againſt *Galeazzo*, who, it ſeems, was not very generous in indemnifying the poſſeſſors for what they had loſt; and one *Barthelo Siſta*, being turned out of his paternal eſtate, was ſo exaſperated at *Galeazzo*, that he wounded him in the belly with a knife, which muſt have killed him, had it not met with part of his armour. The ruins of this park, and ſome parts of the magnificent buildings remained in the time of the emperor *Charles* V. the battle of *Pavia*, where *Francis* I. was taken priſoner, having been fought within its walls. *Paul Jovius* has given us the *Latin* inſcription which was upon one of its ſides. At laſt, upon retaking *Aſti*, and raiſing the ſiege of *Vercelli*, the worldly happineſs of *Galeazzo* ſeemed to be complete; and he died in the year 1378, in the fifty-ninth year of his life, and the twenty-ſecond of his reign.

Hiſtory of Barnabo.

WE are now to attend the fortunes of his brother *Barnabo*, ſo called from his grandfather by his mother's ſide, who being of the family of *Doria*, famous for their exploits at ſea, was thought to inherit ſomewhat of the boiſterous unſteady temper of that element. *Barnabo* was in his perſon brave, and endowed with ſingular firmneſs, both of mind and body. He ſpent his time in action, and ſcarcely ever had a minute of reſpite from war; for no ſooner did he finiſh one quarrel than another inſtantly broke out. He was, however, ſo liberal, that he was ſerved with chearfulneſs by his ſoldiers. His obſtinacy in endeavouring to retake *Bologna* from *Ohgiano* produced a formidable conſpiracy againſt him, at the head of which was the pope. The real deſign of the confederates, was to have exterminated the *Viſconti* family. For this purpoſe they had hired *Engliſh*, *Spaniards*, *French*, and all kinds of foreign auxiliaries; and at laſt the emperor *Charles* IV. was called into *Italy*. In this conteſt *Barnabo* was twice defeated; once near *Bologna*, and again at *Guaſtalla*; but he repaired his loſſes with wonderful addreſs. He had a naval engagement upon the *Po*, in which he had ſo much the ſuperiority, that he not only defeated his enemies, but built a ſtrong fortreſs at *Borgo*, which he defended againſt the emperor; and laid great part of the *Mantuan* under water, by piercing the mounds and dykes of the *Po*. At laſt, all parties being weary of war, the duke of *Bavaria* undertook to mediate a peace, which ended in *Barnabo* being obliged to abandon his enterprize upon *Bologna*, and the emperor renewing his ancient engagements with the *Viſconti*, after which he returned home with a large ſum of money paid him by *Barnabo*.

Expences of the Viſconti family.

THOUGH the latter was thus obliged to give up *Bologna*, which he had ſo long and ſo earneſtly ſtruggled for; yet it was ſome indemnification to him that he acquired *Reggio*, by paying *Feltrino Gonzaga* a ſum of money for the purchaſe. *Paul Jovius* ſays, that during the nine years in which the conteſt about *Bologna* laſted, the two brothers of the *Viſconti* family expended upon it no leſs than three hundred millions of gold; but this ſum ſeems to be incredible, as *America* was not then diſcovered, unleſs we ſuppoſe the ſpecies of the money to have been very inſignificant, which we ſcarcely can do, as the loweſt gold coin we know at that time, amounted to above half a crown *Engliſh*. The ſame author remarks, that this vaſt expence was the more extraordinary, as both brothers were extravagantly fond of building. We are told, that *Barnabo* erected a bridge over the *Adda*, built of three ſtories, one above another. The lower was for chariots and heavy carriages, the middle for horſes, and the uppermoſt for infantry and foot paſſengers. He likewiſe erected a bridge of ſo amazing a conſtruction, that it was carried over houſes and lands, and the buildings left intire. According to *Paul Jovius* [a], ſome part of this ſurpriſing work was viſible in his time. He built the caſtle of *Breſcia*, and that of *Mouſa*; but perhaps the nobleſt works he erected were the priſons of *Milan*, where civil debtors were confined in noble, but ſecure apartments, and provided with all the neceſſaries of life. Thoſe particulars were not the whole of his expence. He married one of his daughters, *Viris*, to *Leopold* duke of *Auſtria*; another, *Thadea*, to *Stephen*; and a third, *Magdalena*, to *Frederick*, dukes of *Bavaria*. Another of his daughters he married to *Frederick* king of *Cyprus*. Another, *Agnes*, to *Franceſco Gonzaga*. Another, *Catherine*, to his nephew *John Galeazzo*. Two others, *Antonia* and *Angleſia*, to *Conrade* and *Frederick* of *Wirtemberg*, dukes of *Suabia*: and he gave *Lucia* to *Edmund*, king *Edward* the IIId's ſon.

Their marriages.

THOSE daughters were all legitimate; but he had a numerous progeny that was illegitimate. He gave his daughter *Doninia* in marriage to Sir *John Hawkwood*, and *Lucia* to *Landi*, a *German* nobleman; and each of them had in apparel and fortune a million of crowns of gold. In all other relations of life, he was equally ſplendid and magnificent. He had five ſons that were legitimate, *Mark*, *Lodovick*, *Ro-*

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[a] Ibid. pag. 158.

dolph, *Charles*, and *Maſtino*: all thoſe were provided for ſeparately and independently, with appointments befitting ſovereign princes. Of natural ſons he had *Ambroſe*, *Uſtorgius*, *Palamede*, *Lancelot*, and *Sacramore*, who all took the name of *Viſconti*; and upon the death of *Philip*, the laſt male branch of the family, they were acknowledged as legitimate. Of thoſe, *Ambroſe* made a great figure in war; and by the aſſiſtance of the *Engliſh*, whom he headed upon the death of *Hawkwood*, he made war upon the pope, the queen of *Naples*, the *Florentines*, and the *Genoeſe*, with various ſucceſs. At laſt, while he was keenly engaged in war in the *Bergamaſc*, he fell into an ambuſh of mountaineers, in proſecuting ſome advantages he had obtained, and was cut off, to the great affliction of his father, who, in revenge, put all who had a hand in his death to the ſword.

Diviſion of their territories.

THIS diviſion of government proved fatal to his family. He and his brother had till then lived in the ſtricteſt friendſhip with each other. But after his children grew up, their deſires were enlarged; and, by the inſtigation of their mother, the queen as ſhe was called, they began to conſider their uncle *Galeazzo* to be an obſtacle in the way of their preferment. In thoſe ambitious notions they were flattered by the queen ſo far, that they formed ſchemes for poſſeſſing themſelves of the undivided ſucceſſion; and the queen dying in the mean time, *Barnabo* gave himſelf entirely up to the madneſs and ambition of his ſons. The vaſt expences of his government had, in ſome degree, rendered this neceſſary for his affairs; but he little knew the character of his nephew *John Galeazzo*, ſon to his brother *Galeazzo* II.

Art of John Galeazzo.

THIS prince, one of the moſt artful of any in his time, had hitherto affected only the title of count of *Virtue*. He affected a ſolitary unambitious life, and even to have a turn for devotion; but in the mean time he had filled his uncle's court with ſpies, who informed him of the moſt minute particulars relating to the government; and diſcovered at length, that nothing but diſſimulation could prevent his being deprived of life or fortune, or of both. To take away all ſuſpicion of his deſigns, he reduced his table and manner of living to a narrow compaſs, and entertained none about his perſon whom he could not thoroughly truſt, both in point of courage and honour. To give the greater colour to his caution, he pretended that he took all thoſe meaſures to guard himſelf againſt certain ambitious courtiers, who wanted to take advantage of the inclination he had for devotion, and that it was neceſſary for him to keep for ſome time upon the defenſive, at leaſt till he ſhould pay a religious vow; after which he intimated, that he was determined to retire from the world.

JOHN GALEAZZO acted his part ſo well, that even his cautious uncle had no ſuſpicion of his ſecret ſentiments. He ſeemed to be afraid, even to a degree of religious timidity, of appearing abroad; and when he did, it was only with a caution and diffidence that rendered him next to ridiculous and contemptible. Thoſe arts concealed his deſigns ſo well, that he ſeveral times applied to his uncle for his intereſt to procure him a quiet retreat, as ſoon as his religious vows were performed. One of thoſe was to pay a viſit to the church of the Bleſſed Virgin upon *Monte Varezzio*. This was to be done ſo ſecretly, that all kinds of eye-witneſſes were to be excluded. It was with difficulty that *Barnabo* himſelf, and two of his ſons, were permitted to wait upon him at the gate of *Vercelli*, to pay him their compliments. But no ſooner were they arrived there, than, upon a concerted ſignal, all three were ſuddenly made priſoners; and the private orders that had been given to the troops, who were advancing from all quarters, were immediately put into execution. The gate and caſtle of *Jove*, as had been before agreed on, ſerved to confine the illuſtrious priſoners; the principal paſſes of the city were immediately ſeized; and to ſecure the troops in the intereſt of *John Galeazzo*, they no ſooner were admitted into the city, than the houſes of the chief friends of *Barnabo* were given up to be plundered. This, and many other incidents, encreaſed the public diſorders; nor did any unanimity appear, but in the execrations that were poured out on all ſides againſt *Barnabo*. The booty in plate, money, hangings, and all kinds of rich furniture, was immenſe. The miniſters of the late government were dragged from dunghills, where they had concealed themſelves, and put to various deaths; and at laſt the citadel itſelf fell into the hands of *Galeazzo*, who found in it a vaſt ſum in ready money.

Tyranny of Barnabo.

FEW revolutions were ever known to be ſo ſudden, ſo unexpected, ſo effectual, and ſo bloodleſs, as this was. It cannot be accounted for, otherwiſe than by reflecting on the acts of tyranny, into which *Barnabo*'s dotage for his family drove him. He had for ſome years lived a ſcourge to his people, and every day had produced freſh inſtances of his rapacity and cruelty. At laſt his avarice exceeded all credibility: he inſtituted a chamber of enquiry, for puniſhing all who had been, for five years before, guilty of killing boars, or of eating them at another's table. They who could not redeem themſelves by money were hanged, and above one hundred wretches periſhed in that manner; while others, who had any thing to loſe, were ſtripped of all their ſubſtance, and obliged to labour at the fortifications, and other public works. Amongſt the other ingenious arts of oppreſſion, he obliged his ſubjects to maintain a great many hunting dogs, and each diſtrict was taxed at a certain number. The overſeers of his dogs were, at the ſame time, the inſtruments of his rapacity. When the dogs were poor and ſlender, their owners were always obliged to pay a fine; when they were fat, a penalty was incurred, for their being ſuffered to live without exerciſe. Perhaps a great part of *Barnabo*'s cruelty and oppreſſions, was owing to his family; but ſome cruelties he was guilty of, admitted of no alleviation.

who is depoſed, made priſoner, and poiſoned.

BARNABO, however, in his extreme miſery, being carried priſoner from *Milan* to *Tritici*, a caſtle of his own building, found one perſon faithful to him, and that was his miſtreſs *Doninia Porra*, who, when he was abandoned by all the world, ſhut herſelf up a voluntary priſoner in his chamber, and watched over him to the laſt day of his life, which laſted ſeven months after his degradation. It is reported, that he was poiſoned in a diſh of lentils, of which he was fond, and died in the arms of his beloved *Doninia*, in the ſixty-ſixth year of his age, and the thirtieth of his government. His body was buried at *Milan*, and his tomb was adorned with an equeſtrian ſtatue of white marble, repreſenting him to the life, but without any inſcription; though that of his wife, who died before him, had a moſt magnificent one.

The reader, after what is ſaid, can be at no loſs to form a character of *Barnabo*, who certainly out-did all the princes of his age in magnificence and liberality. He was a man of undaunted ſpirit, and proof againſt both reverſes of fortune. The vaſt treaſures he expended, and the continual flow of his liberality, ſeems to countenance an opinion, that certain ſources of treaſure were ſhut up after the diſcovery of *America*, either by commerce taking a new turn, or by the old channels of it being diſcontinued. Be that as it will, it is certain that *Barnabo*'s expences were ſo intolerable, that they drove him into rapaciouſneſs, which ſeems to have been the cauſe of his own and his family's deſtruction.

Character of John Galeazzo, *firſt duke of* Milan.

JOHN GALEAZZO, the firſt duke of *Milan*, gave early in life ſo many proofs of ſtrong judgment and genius, that it was a common report that they were too pregnant to be laſting. If we are, however, to form our ideas by the writer of *Petrarch*'s life, no great dependence is to be laid on ſuch appearances. We are told, that that poet, while at *Galeazzo*'s court, when this *John* was no more than ſeven years of age, was, by a kind of divine inſtinct, choſen by the boy to fill his father's ſeat, as being the wiſeſt perſonage in the company. This accident might have have been unobſerved, had the thing happened to a perſon of leſs conſequence than *Galeazzo* proved afterwards to be, or had it been delivered by any other than a fanciful *Italian* author, who magnifies every thing into miracles. It is certain, however, that *Galeazzo*, through the care of his father, had a moſt excellent education. He was early initiated in all kinds of arts and ſciences that were proper to form his mind; and his own application and genius, kept pace with the cares of his tutors. His education was digeſted into a regular ſyſtem, under the beſt tutors that that age afforded; and every part of it gave ſtrength and ſolidity to another. His father had ſeen a great deal of life, but was ſenſible that his genius had not been cultivated by ſtudy to the beſt advantage, which made him the more careful of his ſon's education. Being taken out of the hands of nurſes, he was put into thoſe of the moſt learned men, and the greateſt philoſophers of that age. The reader is to obſerve, that the liberal arts were at this A. D. time but in their twilight, and the troubles of *Greece* had 1350. driven into *Italy* the learned *Byzantines*, to whom literature owed its revival. The reader, in another part of this work [a], will ſee the occaſion of thoſe learned *Greeks* opening public ſchools in *Italy*. It is incredible, how eagerly the *Italians* embraced the calls of learning. We have already mentioned the caſe of *Florence*; but if that city had the honour of reviving the *Greek* erudition, it is certain that *Milan* gave it its encouragement; and it was there that one of the moſt noble academies, or rather univerſities in *Europe*, broke forth all at once. In the civil law *Baldus* was eminent, and the two *Raphaels*, *Fulgoſius* and *Comenſis*, together with *Signaroli Amadeo*. In philoſophy, *Hugh* of *Sienna*, *Blaſius* of *Pellicani*, a *Parmeſan*, were eminent, the latter being an excellent aſtronomer, and well verſed in optics. The three chief profeſſors of phyſic were *Marſiglio* of *Santa Sophia*, *Sillanus Niger*, and *Antonio Vacca*. *Chryſoloras* of *Bizantium*, whom we have already mentioned, was eminent in the knowledge of the *Greek* language; and from the great encouragement given him at the court of *Milan*, he opened ſchools in that city; but *Peter Philargi* of *Crete*, who was afterwards pope, under the title of *Alexander* IV. was, perhaps from the great eminence to which he afterwards arrived, conſidered as being at the head of the academy [b].

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[a] Vol. xxxvi. p. 178. [b] Ibid.

Plan of his education, YOUNG *Galeazzo* was the principal object of attention of all thoſe learned men. A regular academy was now founded at *Pavia*; noble ſalaries to the ſeveral profeſſors were appointed, and apartments aſſigned them for the education of youth. A fine library was erected, compoſed of the beſt authors in languages, arts, and ſciences, in which the ſtudents ſpent their time, while they were not attending the public lectures. It happened fortunately for young *Galeazzo*, that this early initiation in the ſtudy of the liberal arts, rendered them at laſt habitual to him. He went through his exerciſes in common with the meaneſt ſtudent; and being kept ignorant of all the luxuries and avocations of life, but thoſe which his health abſolutely required, he had no emulation but to excel in learning, and in thoſe ſtudies that could contribute to render him a great prince. His intervals of leiſure from ſtudy were not ſpent in gaming, hunting, or any of thoſe diverſions that enervate the mind; and he abſtained from the company even of thoſe buffoons which formed the chiefeſt delight of the *Italian* courts in thoſe days. All his recreations tended to health alone, without exceſs of any kind.

SUCH was the plan of *Galeazzo*'s education; ſo that it muſt have been next to a miracle, if he had not turned out an extraordinary perſon. The reader, however, is not to imagine, that in this ſcheme of education, thoſe exerciſes were omitted that become a prince. Riding and bodily exerciſes of all kinds ſucceeded the more ſedentary ſtudies; but none of them were conſidered as detached from the general plan of educating a prince and a warrior. In ſhort, according to *Paul Jovius*, in forming him very little was left to chance, all fell in with the great idea of fitting a great prince for the cabinet, as well as the field. Even his converſation had that tendency; and his amuſements, though they would have been ſevere ſtudies to any other but himſelf, became habitual delights.

and economy. *GALEAZZO*'s education was in every reſpect ſo complete, that it comprehended matters that ſeemed to be remote from literature. Having in his father's life-time an independent fortune of his own, he accuſtomed himſelf to keep exact and regular accounts of all his receipts and diſburſements, which he ordered regularly to be entered in a fair legible manner. He was equally careful in examining into the private characters of his officers, and had ſecret cenſors appointed, who rewarded or puniſhed them according to their merits. His great maxim was, that one of the chief ſecrets in life was to connect military and civil knowledge, ſo as to make them depend on each other. He was ſo exact an economiſt,

nomiſt, that he could, at one glance, examine all his public and private expences, and he never failed to know, even to a farthing, the real ſtate of his finances. In like manner, he every day reviewed his growing as well as his actual expences, and he kept regular journals of all events that aroſe in his government. But though *Galeazzo* was exact, yet he was not little. He ſeemed to be an economiſt, only with a view of knowing how much he could ſpend; nor did he ſuffer the mintueſt incidents to paſs unobſerved. His generoſity appeared to be unbounded to thoſe who ſerved him well, either in war or peace; and he was, in ſhort, an eminent inſtance of the force of education and method, without reſtricting himſelf in the moſt liberal expences, that munificence itſelf could deſire.

SUCH is the character and deſcription, that *Paul Jovius* has left us of this extraordinary prince; nor is it eaſy to perceive, that it has been in any degree exaggerated. If *Galeazzo* was not ſo great a conqueror as ſome of his cotemporaries, that is to be attributed to his philoſophy and conſtitution. He laid the foundation of his military knowledge amongſt the *Engliſh*, while they ſerved in the *Milaneſe*, under his father and his uncle *Barnabo*. When he was twenty-three years of age, he was by his father, put under the name of *Count of Virtue*, in poſſeſſion of *Novara*, *Vercelli*, *Aſti*, and *Aleſſandria*, by which his territories became expoſed to the marquis of *Montferrat*, who always was the enemy of his father's family, a reſtleſs ambitious prince. As his father had ſome reaſons not to appear openly againſt that marquis, *Galeazzo* and he had a war together, without the father ſeeming to concern himſelf in it; but he was betrayed by the *Guelph* faction; for the cauſe of the marquis of *Montferrat* was eſpouſed by the *Savoyards*, though that prince, then the count *de Maurienne*, was uncle to *Galeazzo*; and the *Fieſques* of *Genoa* taking part with the marquis, invited to their aſſiſtance the pope's troops, who beſieged *Galeazzo* in the caſtle of *Vercelli*, and reduced him to ſuch ſtraits, that he was unable to reſiſt the united force of his enemies, and obliged to give it up. His difficulties were increaſed by the defection of Sir *John Hawkwood*, who took part with the *Florentines*, and joined with them and the pope; ſo that *Galeazzo* was conquered; and all his troops being cut in pieces or taken priſoners, it was with the utmoſt hazard that he eſcaped out of the hands of his enemies.

His misfortunes,

ALL thoſe misfortunes happened during the life-time of his father; but his conduct was ſo unexceptionable, that he rather gained than loſt reputation by them. When his father died, he intirely altered his conduct; and pretending that his ill ſucceſſes in war diſcouraged him from attempting any thing farther in perſon, he reſigned the command of his armies to his generals. To give the more countenance to this retirement from the labours of the field, which was, in fact, occaſioned by the practices and viſible ambition of his uncle *Barnabo* and his family, he pretended that he had his horoſcope caſt, (a practice then very common in *Italy*) and that it had been foretold him, that he could make no kind of figure in a war, and that a private inoffenſive life was his only ſphere of action. He gave out at the ſame time, that he was reſolved to retire from all kinds of public buſineſs; and it was in this interval, that he effected the wonderful revolution we have already taken notice of, and which rendered him the ſole maſter of *Milan*. But all his affectation did not prevent his employing the ableſt generals, and the beſt troops he could find in *Italy*, as the reader may ſee in the hiſtory of *Florence*; ſo that at laſt he made himſelf maſter of *Pavia*, the particulars of which we ſhall not here repeat; we ſhall therefore keep to generals [b].

and ſucceſſes.

In a few years the courſe of *Galeazzo*'s victories, ſeemed to threaten the utter ſubjection of all *Italy* to his power. At laſt, the emperor *Ladiſlaus*, formally created him, by patent, duke of *Milan*; an honour to which none of his predeceſſors had till then obtained, though virtually they were ſo before. According to *Paul Jovius*, the ceremony was performed by ſending him a ducal cap and a ſcepter. This rendered him the moſt potent prince at that time in *Italy*. His troops were incomparably the beſt diſciplined, armed, and paid, of any upon the continent; and his character, in point of prudence and politics, drew to his ſervice all the generals of the greateſt reputation in *Europe*; ſo that even ſovereign princes ſerved under his banners or rather princes, who though not ſovereign in a literal ſenſe, knew no ſuperiors. He diſpoſſeſſed the *Scaligers* of *Verona* and *Vicenza*, and the family of *Carrara*, of *Pavia*, by taking the elder, *Franceſco*, priſoner, and carrying him captive to *Mouſa*. He likewiſe reduced *Treviſo*, *Feltri*, *Bellano*, *Trent*, and all that mountainous diſtrict, under his power. The people of *Perugia* and *Aſſiſi* revolted to him from the pope. The *Sienneſe* having been long fluctuating between the *Florentines*, the papal power, the imperialiſts, and the *Neapolitans*, ſubmitted to him, as did the *Piſans*, and at laſt the *Lucqueſe* themſelves.

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[b] Vol. xxxvi. p. 162.

His wars with the Florentines.

THE *Florentines* were the moſt concerned of any people in *Italy*, to prevent the growth of this enormous power. They were then in high reputation, and the only ſtate who was capable to make head againſt *Galeazzo*; but unable to do any thing of themſelves, they were obliged to have recourſe to their neighbours. They endeavoured to ſtir up a kind of a cruſade againſt *Galeazzo*, and for that purpoſe ſent their ambaſſadors all over *Europe*, to excite not only the *Italian*, but other ſtates, to a ſenſe of their danger, which they ſaid was too threatening to be longer confined within the bounds of *Italy*. This rendered that country the ſeat of a moſt terrible war, in which the *French* and the imperialiſts were equally involved. The *Florentines* would willingly have kept fair with *Galeazzo*, and had actually celebrated feſtivities upon his receiving the ducal honours; but perceiving that he aſſiſted their enemies the *Piſans*, both parties continued for ſome time in a ſtate of neutrality, though each underhand ſupported the party that ſeemed to be the moſt favourable to it. According to the *Florentines* hiſtorians, *Galeazzo* had formed a dangerous conſpiracy, by which he intended to effect a total revolution in *Florence*, by letting looſe a gang of banditti, to make themſelves maſters of that city; but this conſpiracy was timely diſcovered and prevented by the puniſhment of the conſpirators. There is, however, ſufficient grounds for believing the parties accuſed to have been innocent of the charge, and that the whole was the contrivance of one faction againſt another. *Galeazzo*, at that time, was carrying on a war in *Lombardy*, where he was defeated, and forced to raiſe the ſiege of *Mantua*; upon which he was obliged to recal his general, count *Alberigo* from *Lombardy*; but by that general's addreſs, all the diſadvantages they had ſuſtained were ſoon repaired; tho', on the other hand, *Paul Savelli*, the head of the *Milaneſe* troops, who had taken poſſeſſion of *Piſa*, was intirely defeated; and had it not been for the vaſt addreſs of *Galeazzo*, who prevented a ſincere reconciliation between the *Florentines* and the *Piſans*, by condemning the conduct of his own troops, an intire union muſt have taken place between *Piſa* and *Florence*. In a ſhort time *Galeazzo* recovered his affairs, ſo as to become more formidable than ever, and the league againſt him was once more renewed, with the addition of the *Venetians*. *Galeazzo* was too great a politician to be alarmed at this confederacy. He knew that the *Venetians* were inſincere in their profeſſions, and that they hated the *Florentines*. The proſperous condition of his affairs, however, now that he was in a fair way of making himſelf maſter of *Mantua*, prevailed upon him to liſten to the terms of accommodation; and conferences were held at *Pavia* for that purpoſe: but in the mean time, by a ſudden mutiny at *Perugia*, he became maſter of that city, and threatened *Arezzo* itſelf. It was eaſy for *Galeazzo* to perceive, that, while he kept within the bounds of moderation, he could ſtop the progreſs of the *Venetians* in *Tuſcany*; and to give a fairer pretext to his cauſe, he offered to conclude a ten years truce, as it was impoſſible to bring matters in a ſhorter time to a definitive treaty between him and the *Florentines*. The propoſal was accepted, but with no very ſincere intentions on either ſide. On the concluſion of this truce, the *Florentines* diſmiſſed their army, and *Galeazzo* made a ſhew of doing the ſame; but his troops being intirely devoted to him, pretended that they ſerved for pay, and that they could not ſtarve; they therefore, by his connivance, took up their quarters in the *Sienneſe*, and inſtigated the *Ubertini*, and the other lords of petty fiefs, to take up arms. This, and other incidents which happened about the ſame time, renewed the war in *Tuſcany*; and *Galeazzo*, who was faithfully ſerved by his allies as well as ſoldiers, became at laſt maſter of *Piſa* itſelf, by which he opened a door for the ſubjection of *Sienna*; ſo that in a ſhort time he became, in fact, more powerful in *Tuſcany* than ever; *Bologna* having now ſubmitted to him.

He becomes maſter of Piſa.

His vaſt policy.

A. D. 1400.

THIS great revolution was effected by the ſingle expedient of the ten years truce, and is one of the moſt maſterly pieces of policy that we have upon record, as *Galeazzo* brought it about without incurring the ſmalleſt blemiſh upon his character. In the beginning of the year 1400, he prevailed with *Uguccio*, then maſter of *Cortona*, to prohibit proviſions of any kind to be carried through his dominions to *Florence*; and at the ſame time he foſtered a war between *Aſtorgi* of *Faenza* and the *Bologneſe*, and prevailed upon *Guinigi* to refuſe to enter into a league with the *Florentines*. Towards the end of this year, *Bentivoglio* made himſelf maſter of *Bologna*, which occaſioned a new face of affairs in *Italy*. As the friendſhip of that city was equally of uſe to the *Florentines* as to *Galeazzo*, both parties endeavoured to conceal their diſappointments, by courting the friendſhip of *Bentivoglio*. Both likewiſe ſent him auxiliaries; but in 1401, *Galeazzo* joined with count *Alberigo* againſt *Bentivoglio*. This left *Bentivoglio* no dependence but upon the *Florentines*, who ſaw themſelves in ſuch imminent danger, that they were ill enough adviſed to invite the emperor to their aſſiſtance, upon the promiſe of a large ſum of money, part to be paid in hand, and part in a certain time after he had entered *Galeazzo*'s dominions in a hoſtile manner. The vaſt golden bait prevailed 1401.

upon the emperor, who was miſerably poor, to make great diſpoſitions for carrying the war into the *Milaneſe*. The balance of power in *Italy*, in all appearance, was on the point of being ruined at this time, and nothing but the profound policy and moderation of *Galeazzo* could have ſaved it.

Boundaries of his dominions.

HIS plan was to make himſelf maſter of *Lombardy*, ſo as to be able to cut off all hopes of invading it either from *France* or *Germany*. He had driven the *Scaligers* out of *Verona* and *Vicenza*, and had confined *Franceſco Carrara* of *Pavia* in the caſtle of *Mouſa*. He ſtill kept poſſeſſion of the *Tridentine*, and all that mountainous diſtrict; ſo that when the emperor and his generals attacked him at *Aleſſandria*, they were entirely defeated by *Vermi* the *Milaneſe* general; and the remainder of their broken army was obliged to retire to the *Tridentine*.

THIS victory opened the way to *Galeazzo*'s conqueſt of *Mantua* and *Caſal*; and at laſt he defeated a vaſt army of *Florentines* and *Bologneſe* near *Bologna*; and the papal and *Florentine* general, *Bernard* of *Aquitain*, being made priſoner, *Bologna* itſelf ſubmitted to the conqueror, after having been a bone of contention for fifty years between the *Milaneſe* and the ſee of *Rome*. But *Galeazzo* gave now an unuſual proof of virtue and moderation. The *Florentines*, who were his principal enemies in *Italy*, were ſo far from being in a condition to expect ſupport from the *Germans*, that they mutually accuſed one another before the *Venetians*; ſo that *Florence* itſelf was beſieged, and muſt have fallen into the hands of *Galeazzo*, had he been in earneſt about taking it. Some authors are of opinion, that *Galeazzo* intended to have made himſelf king of *Italy*; and they have given out, that he actually had prepared a crown for that purpoſe; but there ſeems to be little foundation for thoſe aſſertions; for *Galeazzo* having ſecured the peace of his patrimonial dominions, and made himſelf maſter of all *Lombardy*, to the amazement of *Italy* and *Europe*, put bounds to his ambition, juſt at the time when *Florence* itſelf was on the point of ſubmitting to his arms. This incredible reverſe of fortune was at firſt diſbelieved by the *Florentines*; but when they ſaw a ſtop put to the march of thirty-two thouſand of the beſt troops in *Europe*, who were advancing againſt their city; and when they learned that *Galeazzo* had named ambaſſadors to treat for a general peace, in which the *Florentines* were to be principally conſidered, they began to give ear to the poſſibility of ſuch an event; but ſtill with great caution; for they treated at once with the *Venetians* and *Galeazzo*. The precaution, though wiſe, was uſeleſs; for *Galeazzo* was firmly reſolved upon a ſincere, and, if poſſible, a laſting peace; which accordingly, to the amazement of the public, was at laſt concluded. It is true, the time between opening this negociation and that of his death, was too ſhort for us to pronounce as to his motives. But the probability lies for his ſincerity, as there is no indication that when the negociation was begun, he had reaſon to believe he was ſo near his end, which happened but a few weeks after his taking *Bologna*[a].

His death.

GALEAZZO was certainly one of the wiſeſt as well as the moſt moderate princes that then lived in *Italy*; but tho' we have, agreeable to the ſenſe of all hiſtorians, given the higheſt encomiums upon his policy, his wiſdom, courage, and magnanimity; yet we find no room for enlarging upon his virtue. That was a quality which ſeems to have been diſuſed amongſt the princes of this age. In other parts of his character we have been ſufficiently copious. *Galeazzo* died in *September*, 1402, in the caſtle of *Meliano*, on the *Lambro*, of a peſtilential fever, in the fifty-fifth year of his age, and the twenty-fourth of his government. His laſt wife was *Catharine*, daughter of his uncle *Barnabo*, by whom he left a daughter and two ſons, who, at the time of his death, were not arrived at man's eſtate. By his firſt wife *Iſabella*, daughter to the *French* king, he had no iſſue; but that he might keep up his connexions with the court of *France*, he beſtowed *Valentina*, his daughter by *Catherine*, upon *Lewis* duke of *Orleans*; by which her progeny, upon the failure of *Galeazzo*'s ſons without iſſue, became powerful competitors for the duchy of *Milan*. *Aſti* was given in dowry to *Valentina*.

As to the perſon of *Galeazzo*, it was like the other princes of his family, noble and majeſtic. The greateſt fault of his reign, was his behaviour towards his uncle *Barnabo* and his family; nor indeed is it certain, that *Barnabo* was ſuch a monſter of cruelty as he is repreſented to have been. It undoubtedly was for the intereſt of *Galeazzo* to have him believed to be ſo; and we know of no advocate his memory, or thoſe of his ſons, met with to do juſtice to their character. It is on all hands allowed, that *Galeazzo* actually outwitted his uncle; and, notwithſtanding the many apologies that have been offered in his favour, it is certain, that ſoon after his death the *Milaneſe* fell into the moſt violent diſtractions; nor could the government there be kept up without an army of twenty thouſand horſe, and as many foot, even in time of peace. He is charged with ſome unnatural vices;

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[a] Univ. Hiſt. vol. xxxvi. pag. 195.

but no proof of his guilt is upon record. He was like his anceſtors, magnificent in his public buildings.

Succeeded by his two ſons.

Diviſions of the Milaneſe *government.*

JOHN MARIA, the eldeſt ſon of *Galeazzo*, ſucceeded to the greateſt part of the *Milaneſe*; but it ſeems to have been an infatuation with the wiſeſt of the *Viſconti* family to have divided their eſtates. Beſides the lawful ſons, he left two natural ones, *Gabriel* and *Antony*; and all of them, excepting the laſt, took the deſignation of *Maria*. His funeral was magnificently celebrated; and upon opening the codicils of his will, it was found that he had left a regency, at the head of which was *Charles Malateſta*, lord of *Kimini*, and *James Vermi*; but *Peter*, archbiſhop of *Milan*, was at the head of the commiſſion, chiefly on account of decency. *John*, the eldeſt ſon, was declared by his will to be duke of *Milan*; to which was annexed the poſſeſſion of *Bergamo*, *Cremona*, *Breſcia*, *Verona*, *Vicenza*, *Feltri*, *Civitella*, *Lodi*, *Bologna*, and a vaſt number of other eſtates; the entire barrier of the *Alps*, towards *Germany* and *France*, together with *Sienna* in *Tuſcany* and *Perugia*. To his ſecond ſon, *Philip*, he left *Pavia*, with the title of count, *Novara*, *Vercelli*, *Tortona*, *Aleſſandria*, and all that neighbourhood. He was equally mindful of *Gabriel*, his eldeſt natural ſon, whoſe mother was a lady of quality; and he left him *Piſa*, *Luna*, *Serazana*, with many caſtles in that neighbourhood. His laſt natural ſon was ſo young, that he made no proviſion for him, but left him to the care of his brothers, and his family, his mother being a perſon of no conſideration. But beſides thoſe proviſions for his family, he left very noble legacies to his other friends, particularly to the *Venetians*, the *Mantuans*, and ſeveral of his private favourites. His legitimate children, the eldeſt of whom was not above thirteen years of age, were brought up under the eye of their tutors; but it is ſurpriſing to reflect, that ſo provident and ſo wiſe a man as *Galeazzo* was, had been ſo much, during the latter part of his life, employed in war[a], that he had taken no precaution for the education of his ſons; and there was ſuch a penury of learned men in all his wide extended dominions, that ſcarce a perſon was to be found equal to the common taſk of their education. A perſon of low extraction, one *Francis Barbavaria*, was the only man found capable to inſtruct them. This drove all the men of quality from the court, and the archbiſhop of *Milan*, was the only perſon of high quality who remained about it; but even he was obliged to ſhut himſelf up within his palace; ſo miſerably was the government divided between contending parties. At laſt, the old remains of the *Viſconti* family got the aſcendency; and *Francis Viſconti* was introduced into *Milan*, from which he had lived for ſome time in exile. He had a brother, *Antony*, whom he aſſociated with himſelf in all his ſchemes. The intrigues of ſo diſtracted a court are not to be regarded. Murders, robberies, and rapines multiplied every day; and at laſt a kind of compromiſe was made between *Antony Viſconti* and the party of *Barbavaria*. The *Florentines* took advantage of thoſe confuſions, and were unwearied in their endeavours to excite the ſtates of *Italy* to throw off the yoke of the *Milaneſe*. By this time the duke of *Milan* and his brother were taken out of the hands of their mother, who had very ſeldom acceſs to ſee her ſons; and every day produced ſome new alteration in the government. One *Pandolph* was named to the government of the *Sienneſe*; but had neither ſpirit nor courage to oppoſe the attempts of the *Florentines*. *John Colonna* had the charge of *Piſa*, with a ſufficient body of troops to defend it; but the *Florentines*, having perſuaded pope *Boniface* to join them, invaded the *Milaneſe* under *Nicholas Ferrara*. The firſt attempt was upon the ſide of the *Parmeſan*, where ſeveral tumultuary actions paſſed, but without any effect; and at laſt a treaty was propoſed for accommodating all differences. *Charles Malateſta* appeared on the ſide of the young duke of *Milan*. *Gianelli*, the pope's brother managed for his holineſs. The *Florentines* demanded *Perugia* and *Bologna*; and their claims comprehended the property of almoſt all *Tuſcany*. This gave a handle for *Malateſta* to throw a difference between the *Florentines* and *Gianelli*, on account of the ambition of the former. He propoſed to ſhut the *Florentines* quite out of the negociation; and this was ſo much for the benefit of the church, that the agreement was ſtruck, and *Bologna*, with *Perugia*, was immediately given up to the holy ſee; upon which the *Florentines* were obliged to return to *Tuſcany*.

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[a] Billii Hiſt. apud Murat. tom. xix. pag. 12.

which is ſplit into factions. THIS compromiſe proved as a precedent for all the reſt of the ſtates of *Lombardy*, which had been ſubjected to the *Milaneſe*, to endeavour to aſſert their own independency; and the old factions of the *Gibelins* and *Guelphs* were now revived with more animoſity than ever. Not only ſtates and principalities were torn in pieces by thoſe diſtractions; but every village had its ſeparate factions; and though the whole went under the name of *Guelphs* and *Gibelins*, yet thoſe were no other than ſounds to cloak private faction and perſonal reſentments. In a ſhort time all the *Milaneſe* was one promiſcuous ſcene of carnage; and the rage of parties that had been quieted under the mild government of the *Viſconti*, ſeemed

to

o have been gathering ſtrength, that it might break out with the more fatal effects. Every petty governor of a town or ſtate, ſet up to be independent; while thoſe of greater conſideration were ſo much intereſted in their own ſchemes of ambition, that they neither durſt nor cared to check their nferiors. The misfortune was, that though the *Milaneſe* was ſuppoſed to be an imperial fief, yet the whole empire was in a condition equally diſtracted; ſo that it could not be ſaid hat there was any center of authority, not only in *Milan*, but n *Italy*, and indeed in *Germany* itſelf. While matters were n this confuſion, each ſeized the portion of territory that lay moſt practicable or convenient for himſelf, without the ſmalleſt regard to their former oaths and engagements. *Pandolfo Malateſta* made himſelf maſter of *Breſcia* and *Bergamo*. *Gabrini Fundulio* ſeized upon *Cremona*; as *Scaliger* did upon *Pavia* and *Aleſſandria*. *Vineati* became maſter of *Lodi*; the *Benzoni* of *Crema*; the *Arcelli* of *Piacenza*; *Ottoboni* of *Parma*; *Franchino Ruſca* of *Como*; and the *Bruſſati* and *Tormelli*, returning from baniſhment, poſſeſſed themſelves of *Vercelli* and *Novara*. The young duke of *Milan* continued ſtill in the power of his kinſmen *Viſconti*, while his mother was a helpleſs exile amongſt the friends and exiles of her huſband's family, without even the means of ſupporting herſelf. *Pandolfo Malateſta*, being introduced to *Como* by the faction of the *Ruſcani*, gave up that rich city to be plundered. The ducheſs was, at that time, at *Como*, and a ſcheme was laid for driving her from thence. For this purpoſe factions were encouraged; and the ducheſs plainly perceiving, by the progreſs of the tumult, that her enemies intended to become maſters of the city, thought proper to retire to *Mouſa*, though vaſtly againſt the advice of her friends. During this ceſſation of government, the young duke was, by his mother, adviſed to create a governor, who ſhould, during his minority, have the care of his dominions; and to name *Charles Malateſta* to that office. He was a worthy man, and a brave ſoldier; but though the young duke's name and authority introduced *Malateſta* into *Milan*, yet he found things there in a moſt deſperate ſituation. The greateſt part of the generals and counſellors employed by the great duke, had been either put to death, or obliged to fly for their lives. There was only one circumſtance in his favour, and that was the diſſentions and diſagreements that prevailed amongſt the oppoſite faction, and which *Malateſta* took care to improve, ſo as to procure to himſelf an eaſy acceſs to his government. His firſt care was to introduce a force into *Milan*, ſufficient to overawe the diſaffected of every kind; and taking from the factious all hopes of profiting by the public commotions, he treated of a marriage between his niece and the young duke. It is ſaid, that the public factions, at this time, arrived at ſuch a height, that when any perſon was devoted to death, the common ſaying of the judge was, "You have given me a ſubject, and "it muſt be my buſineſs to make him a criminal."

Charles Malateſta *made regent.*

SUCH was the ſtate of the *Milaneſe* affairs, when *Charles Malateſta* entered upon his regency. Having with great difficulty equipped a ſufficient army, his firſt undertaking was to puniſh one *Stranguline*, who had been guilty of murdering his collegue, and had fled to *Scaliger*, who was then in poſſeſſion of the caſtle of *Milan*, which *Charles* beſieged with ſo much vigour, that he ſoon reduced it. He next took a ſignal revenge upon thoſe who had been the moſt active againſt the ducheſs dowager; and to ſhew how high party was carried at that time, the common executioners of priſoners were maſtiff dogs trained up to blood. This method of execution was highly agreeable to the young duke; and *Malateſta*, for that reaſon, haſtened the marriage between his niece, who was daughter to *Pandolph*, and the young duke. This expedient had ſome effect in ſoftening the young prince's manners; but a new faction at this time ſtarted up. *Chriſtopher Caſſati*, and *Antony Vercelli*, liſted themſelves under the banners of the young count of *Pavia*; and they had entered into a conſpiracy for inviting the *French* under *Boucicault* to take part in the war. Both *Charles* and *Pandolfo Malateſta* oppoſed this conſpiracy; and it is ſaid, that young *Philip* narrowly eſcaped being murdered. It happened unfortunately for the *Milaneſe*, that *Charles Malateſta* was the profeſſed partizan of the *Guelphs*, while the *Milaneſe* in general inclined to the *Gibelins*. This occaſioned another revolution; and *Charles Malateſta* was driven out of *Milan* by *Facino Scaliger*, who permitted his followers, the *Gibelins*, to indulge themſelves in all kinds of licentiouſneſs. This produced another conſpiracy againſt *Scaliger*, who was ſurpriſed and made priſoner by *John Luitprand*, who ſoon repented of his undertaking, and pleaded youth and want of conſideration for his excuſe. *Philip* count of *Pavia* was thought to be at the bottom of this conſpiracy; and *Scaliger*, diſſembling his reſentment, took little notice of *Philip*; but, pretending to be indiſpoſed, took his bed, and meditated to make himſelf maſter of *Pavia*. According to *Paul Jovius*, the deſign upon *Scaliger* was ſo near being executed, that he was obliged to the ſwiftneſs of his horſe, which carried him off with ſuch violence, that he received a con-

tuſion

p in his forehead, and eſcaped to *Roſetta* with the loſs of ap. Be that as it will, it is certain that he was delivered ſt as ſoon as he was made priſoner.

Adventure of Bouccicault.

FTER this the faction of the *Guelphs*, which was headed *ntony Torriano*, prevailed upon *John Maria*, notwithing the ancient enmity between their families, to invite *cicault*, the *French* general, to become the guardian of *Milaneſe*, in place of *Scaliger*. *Bouccicault*, who was re-able at once for the vaſtneſs of his courage, and the neſs of his perſon, was governor, under the *French* king, *enoa*, which had revolted to him amongſt the other ſtates *aly* that had thrown off the yoke of the *Milaneſe* upon the of *John Galeazzo*. *Bouccicault*, according to *Paul Jo-* came to *Milan*, attended by a great retinue of *French* ry: but began his government by an attempt to make elf maſter of the caſtle of *Milan*. In this, finding ſome ulty, he endeavoured to effect his end by gold; and that g, he employed rougher meaſures, for he erected a court ſtice, and iſſued edicts, as if he had been the abſolute of *Milan*; and even went ſo far as to coin money. It elieved, that the hatred which the *Italians* naturally en-ined of the *French*, puſhed *Bouccicault* upon thoſe unpo-meaſures; for in a ſhort time he became obnoxious, ated not only by *John Maria*, but by the *Milaneſe* of all and denominations; and though he was one of the worthy men of his time, he was repreſented as endea-ing to uſurp the power of the ducal family. But in the while, a great revolution happened at *Genoa*, from ce, by the intrigues of *Scaliger*, the *French* troops were n out, and the marquis of *Montferrat* was ſubſtituted in *cault*'s room, and acknowledged to be the prince, or r guardian, of *Genoa*. This revolution was no ſooner n at *Milan*, than *Bouccicault*, pretending to lead an ex-on againſt *Pavia*, evacuated that city before the news e public. In his march towards *Novi*, he was attacked *aliger*, and ſo totally defeated, that he loſt in one day overnment both of *Genoa* and *Milan*; ſo that it was with moſt difficulty that he eſcaped back to *France* by the

HE *Italian* hiſtorian [a] has, on this occaſion, charged *cault* with a piece of barbarity little agreeable to the al tenor of his character; for we are told, that he put ath *Gabriel*, the ſame who had been driven from *Piſa* e *Florentines*, and had taken refuge at *Genoa*, on ac-

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[b] PAUL JOVIUS, pag. 178.

count of the riches he had carried from *Piſa*. About this time *John* loſt his mother, who was weakened by heart-break, and a long courſe of ill uſage. She is blamed by *Paul Jovius* for the pernicious counſels ſhe gave to throw her ſon's dominions into the hands of the pope, by which they never reverted to the dukedom. He mentions particularly the alienation of *Bologna*, which had coſt ſo much blood and treaſure to the dukes of *Milan*, as had *Aſſiſi* and *Perugia*; all which now went to the popedom, for the empty phantom of the ſuppoſed friendſhip of his holineſs, which, in the end, proved rather a detriment than an advantage. *Sienna*, at the ſame time, recovered her liberty, after long and bloody conteſts. All thoſe calamities were far from putting a ſtop to the civil diſſenſions of *Milan*, which grew every day more and more intractable. They who were defeated, being ſpirited up by revenge, refuſed to agree to any truce with their enemies; and the victors rejected all accommodation, as being uſeleſs to their purpoſes.

Compromiſe with Facino.

In ſuch various ſcenes of diſtreſs, the duke found no other expedient for preſerving or retrieving his authority, than making matters up with *Facino*, or, as we have called him on other occaſions, *Scaliger*, a prince of unbounded ambition, as well as abilities, both in peace and war. *John Maria*, therefore, having received hoſtages for the fidelity of *Facino*, gave him, under himſelf, the government of all his eſtates and armies; but he had ſcarce ratified this meaſure, than he repented it; though he plainly perceived that it was to no purpoſe. *Facino* was obliged to ſupport himſelf in his new acquired power, by other freebooters of government, whom he ſuffered to pillage the ſubjects of their private properties, but reſerved to himſelf the whole of the public money. *Facino* attributed all the danger he had eſcaped to the count of *Pavia*, and endeavoured to make himſelf maſter of that city. He therefore pretended to be indiſpoſed; and being in a confederacy with the *Beccarii*, *Pavia* was betrayed to him, and the eſtates of all the contrary faction were given up to the plunder of the *Beccarii*. *Facino* underſtanding this, and that nothing would be left to him, iſſued an order for plundering both factions, which accordingly was punctually obeyed. The count of *Pavia*, by this time, had retired to the citadel, where he had very little authority, and leſs aſſurance of ſafety. *Facino* promiſed to take him under his protection, if he was admitted into the citadel, which at laſt the count was obliged to ſuffer; ſo that *Facino* had, in fact, the full power and authority over *Pavia*, as well as *Milan*, and nothing was wanting but the title, to render him ſovereign maſter of both.

The

;, and his brother the count of *Pavia*, had ſcarcely
on neceſſaries of life allowed them; and the former
aded no longer to cohabit with his wife. Taxes and
s were multiplied, and *Facino* took ſuch a liking to
of *Pavia*, then one of the ſtrongeſt, as well as moſt
in the world, that he ſhut himſelf up in it, and
ll into his laſt illneſs; while the two brothers were
o ſuch difficulties, that *Philip* is ſaid to have been
of bed-cloaths.

Conſpiracy againſt the duke, who is murdered.

IG his illneſs, which now appeared to be mortal,
faction, being afraid that, upon his death, *John*
uld recover his authority, and being no ſtranger to
fierceneſs and cruelty, formed a conſpiracy to put
his life. At this time the *Milaneſe* was intirely in
d *Facino*, though confined to his bed, carried his
the *Bergameſe*, where they did infinite damage.
thors, particularly *Paul Jovius*, ſay, that he was
ar in the *Bergamaſco*, when he was ſeized with his
[a], and that he was carried to *Pavia*[b]. While he
his death-bed, the conſpiracy againſt *John Maria*
head. The *Guelphs*, as well as the *Gibelins*, en-
it through deteſtation of his bloody, brutiſh diſpo-
ich, in ſome meaſure, juſtified *Facino*'s ſeverity;
le power he ſtill retained, was daily employed in
the unhappy victims of his tyranny to be devoured

hief of the conſpirators were of the *Viſconti* family;
ſcheme was, if their conſpiracy took effect, to make
rnabo's ſon duke of *Milan*; and if *Facino* ſhould die,
via to the *Beccarii*. The other conſpirators were
d his brother *Paul Puſterlano*, whoſe father *John*
d put to death, as we have already ſeen, by throw-
o the dogs, and ſome noblemen of the houſe of
e two brothers of which had been butchered by
he ſcene of the tragedy was the church, where they
im at the great altar (C), as he was aſſiſting at
. It is remarked, that the deteſtation of *John Ma-*
n was ſo ſtrong with the conſpirators, that it united

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ius apud Murat. tom. xix. p. 35. [b] Paul
). 180.

ul Jovius, page 180,
the conſpirators in
ere about thirty.
cording to *Paul Jo-*
vius, he was aſſaſſinated by the
two brothers *Borſi*, on the 16th
of *May*, as he was proceeding
to *St. Godard*'s church.

them, though they were of different factions, ſo that not one of them betrayed another. *Paul Jovius* obſerves, that notwithſtanding the troubles and diſtreſſes of his government, he never abated in the ferocity of his diſpoſition. He had one *Squarcia Giramo*, of a noble family, but who ſerved him as his favourite, and the purveyor of his inhumanities, by procuring for him the largeſt and fierceſt maſtiffs, who were maintained on nothing but human fleſh. When he was dead, there was not a living creature who took the leaſt concern about his body, which would have lain unburied, had it not been for the care of a common whore, who kept it for ſome time amongſt roſes; a humanity that deſervedly procured for her a handſome proviſion from *Philip* his brother and ſucceſſor, by which ſhe was enabled to marry with credit, and in good circumſtances. The ſame day *Giramo*, the infamous minion of *John Maria*, was diſcovered in a lurking hole by the people, and dragged by a hook in his noſe to the ſtreet before his own palace, which was levelled to the ground, and there put to death with the moſt exquiſite tortures. It is remarked of *John Maria*, that notwithſtanding his ferocity, he poſſeſſed many of the great qualities of his anceſtors (A), which ſerved to render him ſtill more deteſtable.

Death of Facino,

FACINO was all this time confined to his bed at *Pavia*; but his officers and creatures kept poſſeſſion of the caſtle of *Milan*. *Hector*, whom we have already ſpoken of, no ſooner heard of *John*'s aſſaſſination, than he came to *Milan* with no more than twelve attendants; and the conſpirators being prepared to receive him, he was admitted into the city without oppoſition. The commandant of the caſtle was *Vicenzo*, who refuſed to deliver it up, though neither threats nor rewards were wanting to ſhake him. *Facino* no ſooner heard of the murder of *John Maria*, than he fell into a violent paſſion at the conſpirators; and his laſt breath was ſpent in recommending the perſon of *Philip*, and the puniſhment of his brother's murder, to his attendants, particularly to *Bartholomew*, archbiſhop of *Milan*, in the moſt earneſt pathetic manner. According to *Billius* [b], he likewiſe recommended to their care his wife *Beatrix*. He alſo ordered, that *Philip* ſhould not, for ſome time, be ſuffered to ſtir abroad, for fear of farther treachery. He died without iſſue, and without relations, who could ſucceed to the power he left in the *Milaneſe*. He made ſome amends upon his death-bed for the treachery and inhumanities he had been guilty of in his life-time. His death gave the conſpirators additional hopes of ſucceſs, and they all ſwore fealty to *Heſtor*.

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[b] Billius, ubi ſupra, p. 36.

(A) *Billius* ubi ſupra. But this perhaps was only a compliment to his dignity; for *Paul Jovius* takes no notice of it, nor is it eaſy to conceive, that any good quality could exiſt in ſo young a monſter.

whoſe widow Philip, *the new duke of* Milan, *marries.*

It happened fortunately for *Philip*, that *Facino* was, at the time of his death, at the head of an excellent army, and that his officers had all joined in the moſt ſolemn engagements, for revenging *John Maria*'s murder. *Philip* remained at the caſtle of *Pavia*, cloſely guarded; ſo that he was uncertain for ſome time, whether he was a prince or a priſoner. *Boſtero*, or *Baucio*, of *Cremona*, commanded in the caſtle of *Pavia*; and his firſt care was to ſhut up the gates, and to ſuffer none, without his knowledge, to enter the caſtle, or to depart out of it. This precaution was taken on account of the *Beccarii*, whoſe allegiance was a little doubtful; and the *Pavians*, who were devoted to *Philip*, being ſupicious that he was doomed to his brother's fate, took arms, and demanded that *Philip* might be produced to them. He accordingly appeared on the walls with great expreſſions of his ſenſe of their affection and loyalty, and aſſured them that he was perfectly ſafe, provided he was ſecure of their allegiance. But though *Philip* was thus ſafe, yet he was deſtitute of every thing, particularly money, that was befitting ſo great a prince. *Facino* was exceſſively rich, eſpecially in ready money, and had left all the fortune he could diſpoſe of to his wife *Beatrix*, with a view, as ſome ſuppoſe not improbably, of her marrying *Philip*. The archbiſhop and *Baucio* conſulted together, and propoſed the match to *Philip*, who readily agreed to it; and the conſent of the *Beccarii* was likewiſe obtained, they thinking that they would have the chief management under their former miſtreſs *Beatrix*; but ſhe knew them too well to truſt them. *Philip*, at this time, was ſcarcely twenty years of age, and ſhe was about thirty-eight, but poſſeſſed of all the remains of her huſband's authority, as well as wealth. *Facino*'s officers and ſoldiers were intirely devoted to her, as were the inhabitants of *Vercelli*, *Novara*, and *Aleſſandria*, and the garriſons of almoſt all the neighbouring caſtles; ſo that all parties in *Pavia* being agreed, the marriage was celebrated with a general approbation.

The next care of *Philip* and his party in *Pavia*, was to relieve *Vicenzo*, who ſtill held out the caſtle of *Milan*, by aſſuring him of a ſpeedy aſſiſtance from *Philip* in perſon. *Heſtor*, and the *Viſconti* faction, had been far from ſeeing or ſuſpecting this ſudden alteration in favour of *Philip*; and it diſconcerted all their meaſures. The reputation of *Philip* gained ſuch ground, that each vied with another to be the foremoſt to join him. All the diffidence of the *Viſconti* and their friends was now with regard to the mercenaries who had ſerved under *Facino*, and who having been indebted to him, ſought to better their circumſtances by going over to the *Viſconti*. This defection, however, was ſoon remedied, by the repreſentations of *Sicco* of *Padua*, who put them in mind, that they had ſworn to be faithful not only to *Facino*, but to *Beatrix* likewiſe. He therefore perſuaded them to wait the reſult of a letter from *Beatrix*, or her huſband. A letter accordingly arrived from *Pavia*, remitting all the debts that had been due to *Facino* and his wife; and it was explained to them, that *Philip* was now the ſole lord and maſter of the *Milaneſe*. Thoſe repreſentations had the intended effect, and the revolters were brought back to their duty, though not without receiving large gratuities, in earneſt of their future fidelity.

NOTHING was now wanting to *Philip*'s ſucceſs. His wife had brought him in ready money a dowry of about four hundred thouſand pounds, an immenſe ſum at that time; his army was in excellent order, and commanded by *Carmagnola*, and one of the *Beccarii*, while *Vicenzo* continued gallantly to defend the caſtle of *Milan*. On the other hand, *Heſtor* and his friends had been obliged to have recourſe to cruel oppreſſive methods for raiſing money to carry on the ſiege; but they were unſucceſsful. *Philip* advanced to the *Comeſe* gate, where an encounter happened between him and *Heſtor*, in which the latter was defeated, and obliged to fly to *Mouſa*. *Philip*, upon this, entered the caſtle without farther reſiſtance, and the firſt thing he did, was to proclaim pardon to all but thoſe who had been concerned in his brother's death. *Andrew Bagio*, and *Francis Maine*, were accordingly judicially ſentenced, and put to death for the ſame. This well-timed moderation won the hearts of the *Milaneſe*, and *Philip* was joyfully acclaimed duke of *Milan*.

HAVING ſettled every thing in that caſtle and city, he proceeded to *Mouſa*, which *Heſtor* had taken poſſeſſion of, and beſieged it. In this ſiege *Carmagnola* eminently diſtinguiſhed himſelf. The ſiege was furiouſly preſſed, and the place was bravely defended, till *Philip* bringing up his machines, drove *Heſtor* into the caſtle, where, being mortally wounded in the leg by a ſtone, he died in three days. He was a young man of great ſpirit and courage, and in his noble appearance, being above the common ſize, he reſembled his father *Barnabo*. After *Mouſa* and its caſtle were reduced, *Philip* proceeded to

Canturi, from whence *John Viſconti* removed to *Naples*, and the place was immediately ſurrendered to *Philip*. *Ruſca*, a young nobleman of great accompliſhments, was then maſter of *Como*, but he ſurrendered it to *Philip*, without making any terms for himſelf, as being only a kind of truſtee, for which *Philip* rewarded him with ſeveral noble poſſeſſions. In the mean while the people of *Lodi*, and the neighbouring ſtates, entered into treaty with *Philip*; but *John*, who was in poſſeſſion of *Lodi*, refuſed to give it up, and ordered his ſon to defend it to the laſt. *Philip*, upon this, carried *John* priſoner from *Milan* to *Lodi*, where he ſhewed him in chains to his ſon, to whom he offered not only pardon, but a reward, if he agreed to give up the place. The young man heſitated upon this, and expoſtulated upon the iniquity of his father's impriſonment. But *Philip*'s ſoldiers, in the mean time, ſtormed the place, and carried both father and ſon priſoners to *Milan*, where they were executed.

His great ſucceſſes againſt the ſtates of Italy.

PHILIP was equally fortunate againſt the other petty tyrants, who had diſmembered the eſtates of his family. He took *Bergamo* and *Breſcia* from *Pandolfo Malateſta*, and made *Gabrino Funduli*, the cruel tyrant of *Cremona*, his priſoner. There was ſomething ſhocking in the manner of this man's death. Being carried to the ſcaffold where he was to ſuffer, he was exhorted to lay his head upon the block, and to undergo death with reſignation and meekneſs; but inſtead of that, looking on the friars who aſſiſted at his execution with a furious air, he bid them trouble him no more with impertinent exhortations, adding, that he had been villainouſly betrayed by *Philip*, and that he repented of nothing ſo much, as that he had not thrown both the emperor and the pope, who came to viſit him at the ſame time, from the top of his lofty tower at *Cremona*.

IT would be too tedious to particularize all the ſucceſſes of *Philip* in the *Milaneſe*. It is ſufficient to ſay, that having ſubdued all oppoſition there, he applied himſelf to regulate his court and army. He had of houſhold troops eight thouſand horſe and foot, and of his other ſubjects, drawn from different parts of his dominions, above twelve thouſand, all of them the beſt ſoldiers in *Italy*. Beſides *Carmagnola*, he had engaged in his ſervice the famous *Nicholas Picinino*, and ſeveral others of the moſt famous generals then in *Italy*, by whom his army was excellently well diſciplined. The troops I have mentioned were all quartered about *Milan*, and he had above twenty thouſand more in other parts of his dominions. Their commander in chief was *Carmagnola*, who was at the ſame time *Philip*'s firſt miniſter, and married to one of his kinſwomen; and all his inferior poſts, both civil and military, were well ſupplied with able officers and miniſters.

At this time the *Venetians* held *Verona*, the *Florentines* *Piſa*, and the pope *Bologna*, all which cities and ſtates had once belonged to *Philip*'s father, and he reſolved to retake them. The reader, in the former parts of this work, will meet with the hiſtory of the progreſs of his arms; ſo that we need not but touch upon a few particulars that have not been yet related. *Placentia* had been ſurprized by *Philip Arſellani* for *Philip*, by which the emperor *Sigiſmond*, who had deſigned to give it to the marquis of *Montferrat*, was diſappointed. *Arſellani*, for that ſervice, came into great favour with *Philip*; but perceiving, in a ſhort time, that *Carmagnola* had the ſole aſcendency both in the court and the army, he was ſo ſtung with emulation and jealouſy, that he threw off his dependence with *Philip*, and governed in his own name. *Philip*, upon this, ordered *Carmagnola* to march with an army againſt *Placentia*, which he willingly did. In the mean while *Arſellani*, and *Pandolfo Malateſta*, entered into a confederacy together, in which they were joined by *Fulgoſo*, the doge of *Genoa*, and his five brethren, who had driven all the oppoſite party out of that city. The exiles were befriended by *Philip*, who aſſiſted them with part of his horſe. About the ſame time the *Beccarii* again rebelled, and *Caſtellino Beccari* falling into *Philip*'s hands, was put to death. His brother *Lancelot* entered into a league with one of the *Facino* family; and the former attacked *Tortona*, and the other *Aleſſandria*, while *Carmagnola* drove *Arſellani* out of *Placentia*, but was unable to take the citadel. *Lancelot Beccari* was beſieged and taken in *Seravalla*; and being carried priſoner to *Pavia*, he was there executed on a gibbet. Thus all who had an actual concern in the death of *Philip*'s mother or brother, came to condign puniſhment. *Philip* after that took *Gavi*, and thereby opened a road for himſelf into the *Genoeſe* dominions. *Carmagnola*, upon this, left the ſiege of the caſtle of *Placentia*, and went to put himſelf at the head of the *Genoeſe* exiles; ſo that *Pandolfo Malateſta* was at liberty to join *Arſellani* in the citadel of *Placentia*. *Philip* hearing this, and that the city was likely to fall into the hands of *Malateſta*, ſent a ſquadron of ſhips to carry off the inhabitants under *George Valperg*, who tranſported them to *Pavia*, *Lodi*, and other places; and *Placentia* accordingly fell into *Pandolfo*'s hands, but without any inhabitants. This occaſioned a debate whether they ought not to burn the city; but it was ſpared.

and againſt Genoa.

CAR-

A. D. 1421.

He reduces Placentia.

CARMAGNOLA was all this time preſſing the *Genoeſe*, and had even driven them within the walls of their city, by attacking them on the weſtern *Riviera*, while *Guido Torelli* kept them blocked up in another quarter. The *Arſellani*, and their confederates, endeavoured to relieve the *Genoeſe*, and advanced through the ſtraits of the mountains; but being ignorant of the ways, they were ſhut up by the *Genoeſe* mountaineers, and all of them were either killed or made priſoners; but afterwards the ſurvivors were diſmiſſed, excepting a few of the *Arſellani* and the *Malateſta* family, who were detained as pledges for the rendition of *Placentia*. *Fulgoſo* hearing of this diſaſter, offered to capitulate with *Philip*, who underſtanding that *Malateſta* was ſtill powerful, entered into a negociation with him. The *Arſellani*, however, and the other priſoners, ſtill refuſed to deliver up *Placentia*, which coſt the unhappy youths their lives, being executed on gibbets in ſight of their relations. This barbarity was thought to be owing to the perſonal reſentment of *Carmagnola* againſt the *Arſellani* and the *Malateſti*, and gave *Philip* great diſquiet, though from his natural diſſimulation he concealed it. One of the youths was much regretted by all *Italy*, on account of his excellent endowments and fine perſon. His mother beheld his execution from a window of the caſtle of *Placentia*, and was almoſt frantic with grief, pouring out the moſt bitter curſes againſt her huſband, for his obſtinacy and rebellion. The father, ſtung with remorſe, and finding the caſtle to be untenable, abandoned it next day, and fled to *Treviſo*, in the *Venetian* territories, where he died a miſerable exile. He is allowed to have been a man of great parts and courage, but was ruined by ambition. It was thought that *Philip* intended, if he had ſurrendered *Placentia*, to have ſubſtituted him in the place of *Carmagnola*, who was now declining in his favour.

The ſurrender of the caſtle of *Placentia*, was followed by the ſubmiſſion of *Borgo di San Domino*, which was held by *Orlando Pallavicini*; and moſt of the noble families in the *Parmeſan*, declared themſelves *Gibelins*, and choſe *Philip* either for their maſter or protector; ſo that it was with difficulty that *Nicholas* of *Ferrara* prevented the city of *Parma* itſelf from following their example. This revolution was brought about by a moſt ſingular mixture of juſtice, treachery, and barbarity, and requires to be particularly related. *Facino* had driven *Otho*, who is called *Otho* III. and who pretended to be duke of *Parma*, out of *Milan*; upon which he returned to *Parma*, where he fell, in the moſt inhuman manner, upon the *Gibelins*, and all whom he looked upon to be his enemies.

His ſpite was more particularly levelled againſt the family of *Rubeis*, and he ordered all of them that could be found to be maſſacred, not excepting children in the cradle, whoſe brains he daſhed out with his own hands againſt the wall. He then intended to butcher the *Pallavicini* in the ſame manner, and had laid ſiege to *Borgo di San Domino*; but the inhabitants ſtanding to their defence, he marched to *Reggio*, then in poſſeſſion of the houſe of *Eſti*, and took it. As *Otho* had no money by which he could ſubſiſt his army, he was obliged to do it by plunder, which made him formidable almoſt equally to friends as foes. The famous *Sforza* the elder, was at the ſame time a ſoldier of fortune in *Italy*; and the marquis of *Eſte* applied to him for aſſiſtance, which he readily granted, with the conſent of the *Florentines* his maſters.

The death of Otho *of* Parma.

OTHO was very powerful in cavalry, having been joined by above four thouſand horſe, who choſe to live upon plunder rather than pay, and therefore he endeavoured to intercept *Sforza* in his march out of *Tuſcany*. For that purpoſe he attempted to ſurpriſe *Modena*; but was repulſed after a ſharp conflict, and *Sforza* effected his junction with the marquis of *Eſte*'s army. *Sforza* then marched to *Rubiera*, every day producing new ſkirmiſhes between him and *Otho* [a]. At laſt, according to *Sforza*'s hiſtorians, though the matter is not mentioned by others, *Sforza*, in endeavouring to ſurpriſe a convoy, defeated *Otho*, and took him priſoner; but being unable to detain him, *Otho* eſcaped out of his hands, and in his turn made ſome of *Sforza*'s principal officers priſoners, amongſt whom was *Attendula*, a near relation to *Sforza*, all whom he treated with the greateſt inhumanity. They eſcaped from his hands with great difficulty; and *Otho*, after continuing the war for ſome time, perceiving that the marquis and *Sforza*, in conjunction, over-matched him, pretended a great deſire to enter into a negociation. According to the authority laſt quoted, *Otho*'s view was to ſeparate the marquis from *Sforza*, in which caſe he was in hopes they muſt both of them, in the end, fall his prey. His deſign was diſcovered to the marquis by the officer who was ſent to appoint the interview; and the marquis diſſembling, agreed that it ſhould be at a little cell near *Modena*. In the mean while *Sforza* concealed himſelf in the neighbourhood with a choſen body of friends, and the marquis refuſing to appear, *Otho* was attacked, and killed by the hand of *Attendula*, without almoſt any reſiſtance; he being ſo much hated, that a woman, whoſe huſband he had put to death, plucked the heart out of his body, and eat part of it.

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[a] LEONARDUS CRIBELLIUS de vita Sfortiæ, apud MURAT. tom. 19. p. 644.

THE death of *Otho* was a fortunate event for *Philip*. His army immediately ſeparated, ſome of them taking ſervice under him, and ſome of them under the marquis of *Ferrara*; and though *Otho* left a young ſon, whoſe title was for ſome time recognized by the *Parmeſans*, his party was quickly driven out, and the marquis was received as lord of *Parma*, where he governed for ſeveral years; till he, in his turn, was expelled by *Philip*, who maintained himſelf in the government to the day of his death. He would likewiſe have reduced *Reggio*, had not the *Venetians* interpoſed. He then marched to the *Bergamaſco* againſt *Pandolfo Malateſta*, who was but ill provided for a defence, becauſe his communication was cut off from *Milan*. Moſt of the forts, therefore, in that country, fell into his hands one by one; and *Malateſta* was obliged to call in to his aſſiſtance *Nicholas* of *Faenza*, the *Venetian* general, who could do no more than guard the ſtrong paſſes, and garriſon the forts.

ABOUT this time *Martin* V. was choſen pope at the council of *Conſtance*, and arriving in the *Milaneſe*, he met with a moſt magnificent reception from *Philip*, and reconſecrated the great church, that had been contaminated by interdicts. The war ſtill continuing between *Philip* and *Pandolfo Malateſta*, a compromiſe was now entered into on both ſides, chiefly with a view of facilitating *Philip*'s conqueſt of *Florence*. This accommodation is ſaid to have been effected by the mediation of pope *Martin*, which made him no welcome gueſt at *Florence*, to which city he repaired after he left *Milan*. *Philip* agreed to take *Malateſta*'s troops into his pay, and to give him an annual ſubſidy, on condition that upon *Malateſta*'s death, the poſſeſſion of *Breſcia* ſhould revert to *Philip*.

WE are now come to an incident in *Philip*'s life, that repreſents him in a very different light from that in which we have hitherto conſidered him. The death of a mother and a brother, and the diſmemberment of ſo many cities and ſtates, juſtified ſome ſeverity againſt the authors; but his behaviour to his wife was barbarous, ungrateful, and wicked, to the laſt degree. We have already taken notice of the diſproportion there was between their ages, which had diſguſted *Philip* ſo much, that he had abſtained from her bed. It does not appear that the lady reſented this provocation in any indecent, or indeed paſſionate manner; and ſhe had even ſubmitted to ſerve him in the moſt menial offices. Unfortunately for her, ſhe entertained as an attendant one *Orombelli*, a young man

Tragical death of the ducheſs of Milan.

accompliſhed in the arts of muſic, dancing, and the other embelliſhments that are moſt acceptable at a court. *Philip*, conſidering her life as an obſtacle to his pleaſure, accuſed her of criminal converſation with this youth; and though nothing could be worſe founded than the charge, certain enchanted utenſils were pretended to be found under her bed. Upon this villainous pretext the ducheſs was ſeized, and confined priſoner in the caſtle of *Binaſco*. The youth was impriſoned at the ſame time; and, according to common report, both of them were put to the torture. Whatever might be in this, it is certain that he was tortured; and unable to withſtand the force of the pain, he confeſſed the criminality, for which both of them were condemned to death, after being confronted with each other. On this occaſion the ducheſs ſhewed an invincible conſtancy. She reproached *Orombelli* with his weakneſs, in yielding to tortures to confeſs a falſhood, and, in the moſt ſolemn and affecting manner, ſhe called God to witneſs for her innocency; only ſhe implored his pardon for having yielded to the archbiſhop of *Milan*, in perſuading her to ſo unequal a match. She declared, ſhe never had reſented the duke's abſtaining from her bed; and ſhe mentioned the great fortune and acquiſitions ſhe had brought *Philip*; concluding, that ſhe the leſs regretted her death, becauſe ſhe had preſerved her innocence.

HAVING finiſhed the pathetic declaration, *Orombelli* was put to death before her eyes, and ſhe followed him with the moſt heroic conſtancy. By the accounts of all hiſtorians, ſhe was a woman of a very exalted character, and no reproach remains upon her memory, but the inequality of her match with *Philip*. The young man was ſo perfectly conſcious of his own innocence, that he might have eſcaped when ſhe was made priſoner; but inſtead of that, he came as uſual to court, and declared, he knew nothing of the matter, tho' his friends told him of his danger. Soon after the execution of the ducheſs, the duke brought to his court a young *Milaneſe* lady, whom he had raviſhed ſome time before. As to the ducheſs, her unjuſt death was thought to be partly owing to the vindictive temper of *Philip*, who reſented her having been the wife of *Facino*, and the partner of his victories.

Philip *becomes maſter of* Genoa.

PHILIP by this time had become maſter of *Genoa*, in the manner related in the hiſtory of that city; and to his other generals, he had added *Agnolo* of *Pergola*, who was known by the name of *Tartalia*. After that, his great aim was to ſubdue *Florence*, which he endeavoured to do in the manner deſcribed in the hiſtory of that city; after reducing *Imola*, and a number of other places in the *Romagna*. But though it muſt be acknowledged, that all *Philip*'s ſchemes and operations, both in peace and war, were conducted with the utmoſt judgment, yet it is certain that he was apt to carry his refinements too far. He had too deep a diſtruſt of mankind, to render his generals and ſtateſmen ſo uſeful as they might have been in his ſervice. But that was not the only misfortune he lay under. Though he had the beſt generals at that time in *Italy* in his ſervice, yet they were all of them mercenaries or foreigners, and it was their intereſt to protract the war; ſo that he could never do any thing deciſive; and the indetermined ſtate of his affairs often involved him in unforeſeen difficulties. Though he had again and again defeated the *Florentines*, and even reduced them to the loweſt ebb; and though he had been proſperous in almoſt all his undertakings, yet freſh wars ſtarted up againſt him on all hands; and at laſt, when the *Florentines* ſeemed to be upon the brink of perdition by a new league, in which *Philip* included the *Genoeſe*, (though they were in fact his ſubjects) and the *Sienneſe*, they found means to counter-ballance it by another league with the *Venetians*, which was favoured by the pope, and ſaved *Florence*. *Philip*'s ſuſpicious temper was, in other reſpects, of infinite prejudice to him. The particulars of the wars he carried on by *Sforza*, *Braccio*, *Picinino*, and his other generals, are to be found in the hiſtory of *Florence*, and other parts of this work. As his years increaſed, ſo did his diſtruſt of mankind, which ſometimes proceeded to the moſt ſhocking cruelties; and his growing love of pleaſure led him at laſt to ſequeſter himſelf, in a great meaſure, from the world, and to ſhut himſelf up with the inſtruments of his lewdneſs, which ſome hiſtorians ſay, was of an infamous nature. By this time, he abandoned the care of his affairs to thoſe who had neither honeſty nor capacity to manage them. Beſides all the above conſiderations, *Philip* was now become ſordidly covetous.

THE main inſtrument of *Philip*'s greatneſs hitherto had been *Carmagnola*, who, we may ſay, was the only man of virtue about his court. He had lately conducted a war againſt the pope and the *Neapolitans* (upon whoſe crown *Philip* had an eye) with great abilities; but his command being given to *Torelli* by *Philip*, he came in ſome paſſion to *Milan*, where he loudly complained of his treatment. *Philip* being beſet with flatterers, conceived a deep prepoſſeſſion againſt *Carmagnola*, who was not of a temper to remove it by patience and obſequiouſneſs. He was ſtill governor of *Genoa* under *Philip*, who demanded him to retrench the expence of his government; upon which *Carmagnola* applied for a diſmiſſion from

He is deſerted by Carmagnola,

his ſervice. The duke was, at this time, at one of his country-ſeats; and *Carmagnola*, who had received no expreſs anſwer, repaired to it with a few attendants; but was denied admittance to *Philip*'s perſon, being deſired to apply for audience to *Henrico*, *Philip*'s great minion, and *Carmagnola*'s principal enemy. *Carmagnola* inſiſted again and again to ſee the duke; but was at laſt flatly refuſed admittance. Upon this, perceiving *Philip* in a window at a diſtance, he loudly upbraided him with his ſervices, and the ingratitude with which he was repaid. He rode off, but was purſued by *Lampugnani*, another of *Philip*'s favourites, who endeavoured to intercept his retreat; but failed, through cowardice, in his attempt. *Carmagnola* therefore continued his journey, and reached the dominions of the duke of *Savoy*, who received him in perſon with all the diſtinctions due to his great name and merits, being himſelf born a ſubject of *Savoy*. Having related the injuries he had received at the court of *Philip*, whom he repreſented as being entirely immerſed in pleaſures, and equally weak and vicious; the duke upon this propoſed to *Carmagnola*, that he ſhould be general of the confederacy that had been lately formed between the *Venetians* and the *Florentines*, in which himſelf was a party. *Carmagnola* agreed to the propoſal, and being invited to *Venice*, he there received the command of the ſea and land forces of both republics.

who enters into the Venetian *ſervice.*

IT is remarkable, that notwithſtanding *Philip*'s voluptuous retirement, he had employed ſpies, who traced every ſtep *Carmagnola* went, though he travelled incognito, for fear of the *Swiſſes*, from the duke of *Savoy*'s territories to thoſe of *Venice*, and was informed of every deſign he laid down. Perceiving that he had irretrievably loſt his ſervice, he confiſcated to his own uſe all *Carmagnola*'s eſtate, effects, and money, beſides his annual revenues, which amounted to above forty thouſand crowns of gold. This defection of *Carmagnola* turned the ſcale of *Philip*'s fortunes, which ever after that declined. At this juncture, *Gabrinio Funduli* was living very peaceably at *Caſtiglione*, near *Cremona*. *Philip* ſuſpected that he was a friend to the *Venetians*, and that he would betray *Cremona* to them; at the ſame time he knew his verſatility, and that he was one of the moſt artful men of that age. *Oldrati*, brother-in law to *Gabrinio*, undertook to have a watchful eye over him, and went with a few attendants to *Cremona*, where he pretended that his horſe was pricked with a nail in his foot, and ſent to *Caſtello* for a farrier. *Gabrinio* invited him to his houſe; but *Oldrati*, pretending he could not proceed farther, *Gabrinio* went out to meet him, and was ſeized by *Oldrati*, who, at the ſame time, found means to enter *Caſtello*, where he was made priſoner, together with his two ſons, and ſent to *Pavia*, where all of them were executed; and thus an immenſe booty, which was found in *Caſtello*, fell to *Philip*.

Treaty between Philip *and* Sforza.

OLDRATI after this was ſent with a magnificent equipage to *Venice*, in order to negotiate a peace with that republic. *Foſcari* was then doge of *Venice*, and was entirely in the intereſt of the *Florentines*, whoſe affairs were managed by *Rodolfo*, an able miniſter, who defeated *Oldrati* in all his applications. By this time *Philip* had loſt *Breſcia* and *Bergamo*; but having got the younger *Picinino* into his ſervice, ſoon recovered his affairs; but was afterwards himſelf defeated at *Anghiera*[d]. After this loſs, *Philip* was obliged to retreat to *Cremona*; and his affairs, by this time, had fallen into ſuch diſorder, that he had no recourſe but that of applying to *Sforza*; who, next to *Carmagnola*, was then the moſt ſucceſsful general in *Italy*. For this purpoſe he employed *Nicholas de Eſte*, who remonſtrated to *Sforza* the danger which both he and the inferior ſtates of *Italy* muſt be expoſed to if the *Florentines* and *Venetians* ſhould prevail. *Sforza* knew the truth of all this; and *Philip* had, for ſome time before, tempted him with an offer of his natural daughter in marriage, and of leaving him all the *Milaneſe*. *Sforza* in anſwer to *de Eſte's* repreſentations, ſaid, he had been ſo long amuſed by *Philip* with that propoſal of marriage, that he could not truſt him. He adviſed *Philip*, however, before he gave any definitive anſwer, to endeavour to make up matters with the *Venetians* and the *Florentines*.

ACCORDING to all accounts, *Sforza* was in love with the lady who was propoſed to him for his bride, and would have readily agreed to the overture of marriage, had he not been convinced that *Philip* made uſe of it as a bait to draw him into his terms, and then to deceive him. But, in fact, another obſtacle ſtood in the way; for *Sforza*, as the lady was a baſtard, could have very little dependence upon the ſucceſſion continuing in his family. It is certain, however, that *Sforza* was inclined to cloſe with the propoſal, provided he could do it conſiſtently with his honour to the *Venetians* and the *Florentines*, in whoſe ſervice he then was.

Offer of the people of Milan *to* Philip

IN the mean while, *Carmagnola* continued ſtill at the head of the *Venetian* army; and *Philip* was ſo jealous of his abilities, that he had found inſtruments to adminiſter poiſon to him; of which, however, he recovered, and carried on the war ſo briſkly, that *Philip*, being now broken both in mind and fortune, declared that he was reſolved, at all events, to conclude a peace. *Milan* was, at this time, immenſely rich, by the former ſucceſſes of *Philip*; and the inhabitants were afraid of falling under the power of the pope, the *Venetians*, or the *Florentines*, and offered, if their duke would give them leave, to carry on the war at their own expence, without any aſſiſtance from him. Notwithſtanding all his miſfortunes, he had ſtill on foot a noble army; and his ſubjects, ſeeing he was now wholly immerſed in pleaſure and indolence, requeſted him to lay aſide all thoughts of war and buſineſs, and truſt to them for ſucceſs, being reſolved to live and die under the *Viſconti* family. As a proof of their loyalty, they offered to maintain for him ten thouſand horſe and ten thouſand foot, without any other conſideration than that of having the benefit of the revenues of the city of *Milan* itſelf, without the intervention of any of his blood-ſucking courtiers. But they agreed to leave him in full poſſeſſion of all the reſt of his dominions and their revenues.

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[d] Univ. Hiſt. vol. xxxvi. p. 272.

rejected.

THIS propoſal was ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by *Philip*'s courtiers, who repreſented to him the diſgrace of ſuffering his dukedom to fall under a republican adminiſtration. Thoſe arguments prevailed. *Philip* refuſed to admit the deputies into his preſence, but referred them to *Hericio*; and thus the propoſal was dropt. Notwithſtanding that, *Philip* reſolved to avail himſelf ſo far of their offer, as to oblige them to furniſh all the expences of the war, and to carry it on at their charge. He, therefore, ranſomed all the ſoldiers that had been taken at the battle of *Anghiera*, broke off all conferences for peace with the *Venetians*, and the war was recommenced.

New wars break out in Italy.

PHILIP being ſtill rich in ready money, ſoon got together a greater army than ever. During the conferences for peace, the *Venetians* had thought proper to diſmiſs ſome of their ſoldiers; and they all entered into *Philip*'s pay. The extraordinary encouragement he gave them exaſperated the *Venetians*; and they called upon their allies for the performance of their engagements. Theſe were, the *Florentines*, the duke of *Savoy*, the marquis of *Montferrat*, who was promiſed to be put in poſſeſſion of *Aleſſandria*, as ſoon as it could be conquered, and the *Genoeſe* exiles, who were in hopes of returning to their city. *Philip*, on the other hand, made head againſt this powerful confederacy both by land and water. He recalled *Picinino* from *Bologna*, and marched a ſtrong army into the *Breſſann*, where, at firſt, his ſucceſs was ſo rapid, that it promiſed to reinſtate him in *Breſcia*, and all its dependencies. It happened fortunately for *Philip*, that

Sforza the *Venetian* general, at this time, had ſtill a deſire to the match with *Philip*'s daughter; aud though he had too much honour to betray his maſters, yet he certainly did not act ſo deciſively as he might have done, had he been free from that paſſion. The reader, in the hiſtory of *Florence*, will ſee all the turns which this war took. The life of *Philip* was the moſt miſerable that can be ſuppoſed; for he was in perpetual ſuſpenſe. He was paſſionately fond of quiet, but not of peace, all his aim being to keep war and diſturbance from his own perſon. He never negotiated but with a deſign to over-reach others; and he imagined that all mankind were in a confederacy againſt himſelf. Thus his days were one continued chequer of fighting and treating. One day his affairs appeared to be irretrievable, and the next he was victorious in every quarter. He made the greateſt ſacrifices for tranquility of any prince in his time, and broke it upon the moſt frivolous occaſions. He was by nature the moſt intereſted man alive; and yet none was ever known to do more magnanimous generous actions. This was proved in his treatment of *Alphonſo* of *Arragon*. That prince had laid claim to the crown of *Naples*, in oppoſition to *Regnier* of *Anjou*. *Gaeta* being then beſieged by *Alphonſo*, *Philip*, who, as we have already hinted, had himſelf an eye to the crown of *Naples*, ordered the *Genoeſe* to fit out a fleet for its relief. According to ſome authors, who perhaps refine too much upon *Philip*'s hiſtory, he was at that time jealous of the *Genoeſe*, and obliged them to fit out that fleet, in hopes that it would be deſtroyed by *Alphonſo*. They even go ſo far as to pretend, that there was a ſecret correſpondence between him and *Alphonſo* for that purpoſe. Be that as it will, though it is extremely improbable, it is certain that *Alphonſo* was appriſed of the approach of the *Genoeſe* fleet, went out and engaged it, was defeated, and he himſelf, with two of his brothers, were made priſoners; as were many of his chief nobility and followers. Every one gave up *Alphonſo* as being now utterly ruined; and he was carried from *Genoa* to *Milan*, where he was nobly received and entertained by *Philip*, who diſmiſſed him and all his friends without ranſom. But this generoſity was attributed to intereſted motives; and the *Genoeſe*, not imagining that it was poſſible for *Philip* to perform any virtuous action, but with wicked views, reſolved to revolt from him. They were the more ripe for this, as *Philip* had behaved with great haughtineſs towards them; and though he knew they hated *Alphonſo* worſe than they did any man in the world, he compelled them to fit out a new ſquadron, which carried *Alphonſo* to *Milan*, rather as a conqueror than

Generoſity of Philip *towards* Alphonſo, *whom he takes priſoner.*

a captive. *Philip* trembled at the apprehenſions of the revolt of the *Genoeſe*; and to appeaſe them, he pretended that he had given *Alphonſo* his liberty, only on condition that he ſhould deliver up *Corſica* to their republic. This pretext amuſed the *Genoeſe*, till they ſaw two thouſand freſh troops, ſent by *Philip*, arrive in their city; and then their conſpiracy broke out all at once.

Philip *loſes* Genoa.

A. D. 1437.

THEY were headed by one of their own number, *Francis Spinola*, who had acquired a reputation in war. They killed *Philip*'s governor, and obliged his garriſon to ſurrender. The next care of the conſpirators, was to new-model the conſtitution of their city, which they did by chuſing eight perſons, who had the government in the mean time, till it could return to its former channel. *Philip*, in hopes to prevent the conſequences of this revolt, ordered *Picinino* his general to march againſt the city, while the inſurgents beſieged and took the citadel; ſo that *Picinino* could do nothing effectual againſt the city, and was obliged to march to the *Weſtern Riviera*, where he beſieged *Albenga*, which was relieved by *Fulgoſo*, who again got the government of *Genoa*; and recovered ſeveral towns belonging to their dominions. Next year *Fulgoſo* renewed his league with the *Venetians* and *Florentines*; and the inteſtine diviſions of *Genoa* reviving, *Philip* applied to *Baptiſt Fulgoſo*, brother to the doge; and, by making him great promiſes, engaged him in a party for raiſing himſelf to the dogeſhip; but in this he failed, and was taken priſoner. He was, however, pardoned by his brother, and ſent with ſeven gallies to aſſiſt the duke of *Anjou*, in making good his claim upon the crown of *Naples*. The progreſs and particulars of that war, is to be found in our hiſtory of *Genoa*. All that regards *Philip* is, that *Fulgoſo* was in his turn expelled by *Fliſco*, a new competitor for that government; and *Peter Fulgoſo* put himſelf under the protection of *Philip*, who gave him *Novi*, which enabled him to make great depredations upon the *Genoeſe*. But *Philip* himſelf, during all his life-time, never regained his footing in *Genoa*.

HIS affairs in other parts of *Lombardy* were, however, in a proſperous condition. His generals defeated the *Venetians* under *Carmagnola*; and it is ſaid, that he had ſo much intereſt even in *Venice*, as to make a party againſt that general, who had behaved againſt him with vaſt rancour, and had been the chief obſtacle of all his ſchemes. *Carmagnola* had in his compoſition violent reſentments and great haughtineſs, and was proud of having more than once humbled *Philip*, and forced him to accept law from *Venice*; but upon the loſs of a battle, his death had been reſolved on by that ſenate, for many months before it happened: ſo that *Carmagnola* knew nothing of what was intended againſt him, and was living familiarly with the doge, and thoſe who had pronounced his ſentence, when all of a ſudden he was arreſted, and a few hours after, undergoing the torture, his head was ſtruck off. As to his crimes, they do not clearly appear. The pretext for putting him to death, was his entering into a ſecret correſpondence with the enemies of *Venice*; an allegation that never was proved.

He marries the duke of Savoy's *ſiſter.*

PHILIP, ever ſince the death of his firſt wife *Beatrix*, had continued a widower. But his minions and flatterers, perceiving his health, through his vices, to be on the decline, became now importunate with him to marry; and the archbiſhop of *Milan* undertook to make a match between him and the daughter of *Amadeo* duke of *Savoy*. *Philip* at firſt was averſe to the propoſal; but his creatures being in hopes, in caſe of a minority, to obtain the government for themſelves, applied not only to his friends and relations, but to the neighbouring princes, who all of them joined in their ſollicitations for the ſame purpoſe. *Philip*, however, would have continued deaf to all their remonſtrances, had they not engaged in their party one *Stephen*, a reputed aſtrologer, whoſe prognoſtications by the ſtars were held ſacred by *Philip*, who was then at his retreat of *Abbiati*. *Stephen* no ſooner pronounced the ſtars to have a favourable aſpect, than he agreed that the lady ſhould be ſent for. Her friends, afraid of his fickle fantaſtical temper, had already brought her to *Rebecca*, which lies within three miles of *Abbiati*, where ſhe was attended by her brother and a noble train of *Savoyards*. The ceremonial of the meeting being ſettled, the bride appeared mounted on a palfrey behind her brother, and *Philip* met her on horſeback likewiſe, on a certain ſpot in the fields, that had been marked out for their firſt interview. The compliments that paſſed between them were few; and *Philip*, after producing a ring, eſpouſed her and mounted her behind himſelf, took leave of her attendants, and returned to *Abbiati* to conſummate the marriage. He was ſo well pleaſed with his bride, that he ordered vaſt rejoicings to be made on account of the marriage, and not only refuſed to receive any thing with her in dowry, but even relinquiſhed to her brother the duke, the quiet poſſeſſion of *Vercelli*; a generoſity which was owing, perhaps, not more to love than to policy, as he thereby made *Amadeo* his friend.

PHILIP, after his marriage, had a ſhort reſpite from war; but he was ſoon obliged to march his troops againſt the inhabitants of the *Appennines*, the *Placentine* rebels, and ſome other free-booters in thoſe parts. There is reaſon to believe, that *Philip* had no motive for this expedition, but revenge for thoſe people having ſhewn diſpoſitions to take part with the *Venetians* in the late war; and all mention of them having been omitted in the pacification, *Philip* pretended that he had a right to treat them as robbers and traitors; and he proceeded accordingly, by hanging ſuch of them as fell into his hands. The reſt of *Philip*'s life and actions, which have not been recounted in the preceding parts of this hiſtory, were perfectly deteſtable. *Sforza*, notwithſtanding his paſſion for *Philip*'s daughter, knew him too well to preſs the celebration of the nuptials, though *Philip* himſelf had again and again offered to conclude it; but at laſt a mere accident brought it about. The *Venetians* were ever intent on their own intereſts, without regarding thoſe of their confederates, and that made them withdraw their confidence from *Sforza*, whom they would not truſt, but could not diſcharge. The palm of war was, at this time, divided ſo equally between him and *Picinino*, that it was hard to ſay which had the beſt right to wear it, though the advantage of magnanimity, generoſity, and the other civil virtues, lay on *Sforza*'s ſide. Add to this, that he had at his devotion a body of troops, the beſt diſciplined of any then in *Italy*; and they were always ready to follow him, without making any queſtions whatever party he took. Being extremely careful of his honour, he ſerved every ſtate and maſter who paid him, with great fidelity, as he conſidered that the want of ſucceſs, in their eyes, was the want of merit. He was therefore the more vexed, that the *Venetians* did not enable him to carry on the war in *Lombardy*, with the ſame vigour as before, and went to *Venice*, where he cleared himſelf of all ſuſpicions ſo effectually, that the *Venetians* ordered their troops to withdraw from *Tuſcany* to join him. But before that could be effected, *Picinino*, who was well ſupported by *Philip*, had obtained ſo many advantages in the field, that there was a probability that *Sforza* and his army muſt ſurrender priſoners of war. *Picinino*, who had nothing to depend upon for his ſubſiſtance but his ſword, thought himſelf ſo ſure of that, that having made his diſpoſitions, he ſent to demand of *Philip* the city and territory of *Piacenza*, becauſe, as he ſaid, he was not maſter of ſo much earth as would bury him. *Philip* no ſooner received this meſſage, than, either out of caprice or policy, but moſt probably the former, he reſolved to purchaſe peace at any rate. He accordingly ſent *Antony Fortona* to *Sforza*, to make an end of all difficulties, and to conclude the marriage without farther delay. The intereſt of the *Venetians*, *Sforza*'s maſters, was

Other wars break out.

not forgot; for *Philip* gave up to them all his claims upon the *Breſſan* and the *Bergameſe*, with other cities and forts that had been conquered from him; and matters were made up at the ſame time with the *Florentines*. As to *Sforza*, he obtained the lady in marriage, and with her the city of *Cremona*. According to ſome authors, this peace was mediated by *Sforza* alone; but others ſay, that *Philip* diſpatched a meſſenger to ſound the diſpoſitions of the *Venetian* ſenate, who were as deſirous of it as himſelf; for he obtained *Martinengo*, and all the forts and places upon the *Ghiaradadda*; and the claims of the *Gonzaga* family upon the *Mantuan*, were ſettled at the ſame time.

A. D. 1441.

Sforza *marries* Philip's *natural daughter*;

THIS peace, which in itſelf was equitable, pleaſed all *Italy*, excepting the pope and *Picinino*. The nuncio of the former, when it was concluded, left *Venice* in a rage, breathing fury againſt the contracting parties, for having, he ſaid, betrayed the intereſts of the church. As to *Picinino*, *Philip* (A), the moment the articles were agreed upon, ſent him a peremptory order to make a truce with *Sforza* for a year. This command came upon him like a thunder-bolt. He refuſed to obey it, till *Philip* gave him to underſtand, that, if he did not comply, he would give him up to his enemies, from whom he knew he could expect no quarter; upon which *Picinino* was, with the utmoſt reluctance, forced to ſubmit. The marriage between *Sforza* and *Philip*'s daughter, was celebrated at *Cremona*. According to *Paul Jovius*, *Philip* was long in ſuſpenſe, whether to give the preference of his ſucceſſion to *Alphonſo* king of *Naples*, or to *Sforza*. The former was befriended in his councils by *Brocard Paſſico* and *Francis Landriani*; and the latter by *Andrew Birago* and *Peter Puſterla*. The matter remained long doubtful; but *Philip*'s affection for his daughter prevailed in *Sforza*'s favour, though, as we ſhall have occaſion to obſerve, he retained ſtill a ſtrong inclination for *Alphonſo*.

THOUGH *Philip* had every motive, both of intereſt and inclination, to cheriſh the peace he had juſt obtained; yet

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(A) Whatever hiſtorians in general may ſay, this peace ſeems not to have been ſo haſtily concluded as they repreſent, and it was in fact owing to the ſecret jealouſy which all parties had of the pope, as well as the reſentment of *Philip* againſt *Picinino*. That it had been for ſome time in agitation appears pretty plain, from the uncertainty of its date, ſome placing it in 1440, and ſome in 1441; whereas the truth is, the chief terms of it were concluded in the former year, but it was not ratified till the latter.

it ſcarcely was concluded, when, by his own impatience and ſuſpicious temper, it was diſturbed. *Alphonſo*, the king of *Naples*, having got the advantage of his competitor *Regnier*, who held nothing in that kingdom but the capital, had ſeized *Benevento*, and other great poſſeſſions belonging to *Sforza*, that had been granted to his father for his ſervices in that kingdom. *Sforza*, who, after the celebration of his marriage, had retired to *Venice*, immediately formed connexions in favour of *Regnier*, who was joined likewiſe by the pope, the *Florentines*, and the *Genoeſe*; all of whom were jealous of *Alphonſo*'s power. He, on the other hand, had recourſe to *Philip*, with whom he had ſo much reaſon to be ſatisfied; and *Philip*, having nothing to apprehend on the ſide of *Naples*, readily came into his views, and even perſuaded his holineſs to join againſt *Sforza*, moſt of whoſe eſtates had formerly belonged to the church. At the ſame time, *Philip* offered to ſend *Picinino*, who continued ſtill in his ſervice, to his aſſiſtance, which he actually did; and *Picinino* entering the marquiſate of *Ancona*, ſtripped *Sforza* of almoſt all he poſſeſſed there. In the mean while, *Alphonſo* drove his competitor *Regnier* out of *Naples*, and took that capital; while *Antony Bentivoglio* of *Bologna*, the *Venetians*, and the *Florentines*, prepared to aſſiſt *Sforza*. *Philip*, according to the myſterious manner in which he conducted all his actions, ſeeing *Alphonſo* in poſſeſſion of the throne of *Naples*, was ſecretly glad of the confederacy that had been formed in favour of his ſon-in-law; but ſtill proceeded in a way peculiar to himſelf. He would not give *Picinino* orders to return with his army to the *Milaneſe*, and agreed with *Alphonſo* in ſuffering *Sforza* and the pope to fight it out between themſelves. Though *Picinino*'s army was paid by himſelf, yet he was afraid of the entire dependence they had upon their general; and thus *Picinino* had only himſelf, and the valour of his ſoldiers, to depend upon; while *Sforza*, receiving freſh reinforcements, defeated *Picinino*, and obliged him to take refuge in *Montecchio*. This reverſe of fortune intereſted the pope and *Alphonſo*, who were afraid of *Sforza*'s progreſs, in favour of *Picinino*, whom they enabled to take the field with a ſtronger army than before, which turned the tide of war once more againſt *Sforza*. When *Picinino* was on the point of victory, *Philip*, under a plauſible pretext, ordered *Picinino* to repair to *Milan*, which he did, leaving the command of his army to his ſon. *Sforza* laid hold of that opportunity to attack young *Picinino*, whom he entirely defeated, and took priſoner; and the father, perceiving that he had been deceived and abandoned by *Philip*, died of grief in the year 1445. *Sforza*, by

but continues in the Venetian *ſervice.*

his late victory, regained his eſtates in *Ancona*, and came to an accommodation with his holineſs.

We have already ſeen the revolution which, at this time, happened in the *Bologneſe*, in which *Philip* had ſo great concern[a]. Notwithſtanding *Sforza*'s late accommodation with the pope, he never had been able to prevail with *Philip* to give him the command of his army, who ſent for *Ciarpellone*, a general officer who had deſerted from the *Venetian* ſervice, to ſucceed *Picinino*. *Ciarpellone* was then in *Sforza*'s army; but upon his receiving *Philip*'s order, he was arreſted and put to death, though it does not clearly appear upon what pretext. We are informed, that *Philip*, before this, had given an eſtate to *Ciarpellone* in the *Milaneſe*. This outrage upon *Philip*'s dignity, produced another war in *Ancona* and *Lombardy*[b]. *Philip* was joined, in ſupporting *Giſmond Malateſta* of *Rimini*, by the pope and the king of *Naples*; as was *Sforza* in ſtripping him of his eſtates, by the *Venetians* and the *Florentines*. *Philip*, upon the death of *Ciarpellone*, had given the command of his army to young *Picinino*, whom *Sforza* had ſet at liberty. But he was totally defeated at *Caſal* by the *Venetians*, who purſued their advantages to the very heart of the *Milaneſe*, and the gates of that capital; while *Sforza* baffled two attempts formed by his father-in-law upon *Cremona* and *Pontremoli*[c]. The ſucceſſes of the *Venetians* produced a reconciliation between *Philip* and his ſon-in-law *Sforza*. Both of them were perfectly ſenſible that the *Venetians* aimed at becoming maſters of the *Milaneſe*. The duke could immediately receive no aſſiſtance from his ally *Alphonſo* king of *Naples*, who however promiſed to ſend it to him; and being now diſpirited, blind, and neglected by his ſubjects, he found himſelf obliged, after all his fine ſpun politics, to apply for relief to his ſon-in-law *Sforza*.

The latter had a difficult game to manage. He was ſtill commander in chief of the *Venetian* army, though his kinſman *Attendula*, an able and brave officer, was the acting general, and had entirely broken the power of *Philip*'s arms under *Picinino*, and therefore was extremely cautious in his anſwer to *Philip*. The *Venetians* were not inſenſible of the views of his father-in-law, and endeavoured to outbid him, by offering him a power over their armies, little inferior to that of a perpetual dictator. *Sforza*'s indeciſion ſtill continued; and the *Venetians* thought themſelves, through their late ſucceſſes, powerful enough to force him into their meaſures.

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[a] Univ. Hiſt. vol. xxxvi. p. 278. [b] Ibid. p. 180.
[c] Vol. xxii. p. 177.

ſures. They impriſoned an envoy he ſent to their ſenate. They cancelled all the public acts they had paſſed in his favour; and at laſt they attempted to ſurpriſe *Cremona*, in which they failed. In the mean while, *Philip* had loſt almoſt all his towns upon the *Adda*; and *Brandolino* erected the *Venetian* ſtandard under the walls of *Milan*, inviting the inhabitants to ſhake off *Philip*'s yoke, and to aſſert their liberty. It was now high time for *Sforza* to determine on the part he was to act; and his deciſion was in favour of his father-in-law. He accordingly ſet out to his relief; but when he was upon his march, he received accounts of *Philip*'s death, which happened in *Auguſt* 1448, when he was ſixty years of age, from a violent fever.

Philip's *death and character.*

PHILIP's character is one of the moſt difficult to draw of any in hiſtory. Though he is allowed, by all writers, to have been one of the beſt ſoldiers and completeſt ſtateſmen of his age; yet diſtruſt and ſuperſtition had weakened him to a degree of the loweſt contempt with his friends, as well as his enemies. He naturally was expenſive, magnificent, and voluptuous; yet he ſeldom enjoyed quiet, and more than once brought his dominions to the brink of ruin by his parſimony. *Paul Jovius*, who was the beſt acquainted with his character of any other writer, is of opinion, that the unexampled generoſity he ſhewed to *Alphonſo* king of *Naples*, was the reſult of his own magnanimity; that he excelled all his anceſtors in the ſplendor of living; that the magnificence of his hoſpitality was inexpreſſible; and other writers agree in celebrating the politeneſs of his addreſs, and the ſprightlineſs of his converſation: while all allow, that he bore the moſt mortifying reverſes of fortune with the greateſt calmneſs and intrepidity. The ſame authors who cloathe him with this noble character, admit that he was naturally ſo timid, that he trembled at hearing a ſmall clap of thunder; and that on ſuch occaſions he fled like one diſtracted to dark ſubterraneous receſſes. When at home he generally lived in a ſmall cloſet that could receive but very little company. The acceſs to his perſon was very difficult. He commonly managed his buſineſs at ſecond hand, and ſhewed great averſion to company. In the latter part of his life, he pretended that his eye-ſight had failed him, and that he could not diſcern one perſon from another; while thoſe who were better acquainted with him, thought that this defect proceeded only from affectation and diſtruſt; and that the frequent uſe he made of interpreters and monitors proceeded from diſſimulation. He took great delight in reading hiſtory; and, according to *Paul Jovius*, who lived near the time, he uſed a ſpying or magnifying glaſs [e], to look at the young men belonging to his court, as they were playing at tennis, or exerciſing themſelves in wreſtling; and when he ſaw any who pleaſed him by their addreſs, vigour, or beauty, he commonly took them into his ſervice about his perſon; a circumſtance that has borne hard upon his memory, though *Paul Jovius* attempts to vindicate him from any ſuſpicions of unnaturality.

After the murder of his wife, and ſeveral wanton executions he ordered, it would be difficult to clear him from the charge of being perſonally cruel; but *Jovius* lays the blame of many of his failings upon bad adviſers, particularly upon *Oldrati Lampugnani*, who had been bred up with him from his youth, and had obtained an entire ſway over his affections, by depreciating all but his own merits, and thoſe of his favourites. *Philip*'s failings grew with his age; and *Jovius* himſelf acknowledges, that towards the end of his life, his bad qualities encreaſed, particularly his inconſtancy and cruelty. He is accuſed, while he was fickle and variable in his friendſhip, to have been determined and inexorable in his hatred, and that, however he might ſeem to overlook it, he never pardoned an offence that had been once given him.

His irreſolution made him unhappy at the time of his death; for though he had nothing but the aſſiſtance of *Sforza* to depend on, and though he doated on his daughter *Blanche*, yet he could not bear the thoughts of *Sforza*, who, as we have already ſaid, was a baſtard, ſucceeding him in his dominions, and ſtill turned his thoughts towards *Alphonſo*. That prince had nobly repaid the generoſity which had been ſhewn him by *Philip*, whoſe partiality towards him went ſo far, as it is ſaid, to make a will in his favour, which never was ſigned, *Philip* being deterred by the univerſal averſion that prevailed amongſt his ſubjects againſt the *Neapolitans*. *Alphonſo* III. of *Naples*, however, hearing that this will had been deſtroyed, put in his claim to the *Milaneſe* ſucceſſion.

Affairs of Milan.

By *Philip*'s death, the legitimate male line of the *Viſconti* family was at an end, and the next lawful heir was *Valentina* his ſiſter, who had married the duke of *Orleans*, ſon to *Charles* V. of *France*. By the contract of that marriage, the lawful progeny of it was to ſucceed to the duchy of *Milan*, in failure of the heirs male. But this proviſion was diſputed by the emperor, who pretended that it could not be valid without his conſent, which it never had obtained. Notwithſtanding this objection, neither *Sforza* nor the *French* court regarded the imperial authority, and the people of *Milan* regarded it leſs than either. *Sforza* had great difficulties to conquer before he could make good his claim. By his difference with the *Venetians* he had not been able to pay his troops; and he knew that moſt of the powers of *Italy* were his enemies. Though he had a great party in the *Milaneſe*, yet that city was far from being united. Many of its inhabitants inclined to a republican government, and ſome to *Alphonſo*; but the republicans proved the moſt powerful. *Sforza*, to give them as little time as poſſible for deliberation, moved with his army towards *Milan*, and offered its inhabitants his ſervices. By this time, they had eſtabliſhed themſelves into a kind of republican government; and we are now to conſider the houſe of *Viſconti* to be entirely at an end. The great figure which they had for ſome ages made in the affairs of *Italy*; the prodigious magnificence of their buildings and public works, and their ſtrength, eſpecially under *Barnabo*, compared to their power ever ſince, makes it plain that the *Viſconti* on the whole were a generous and a wiſe family.

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[e] Obducto ad feneſtram ſpeculari vitro. Paulus Jovius, pag. 186.

SFORZA received an anſwer to his application, that the people of *Milan* were ready to take him into their pay upon the ſame terms on which he had ſerved the late duke; and that in the mean time they were willing to relinquiſh to him *Breſcia* and *Verona*, as ſoon as he could conquer them. It would be diſguſting the reader, ſhould we proceed in the hiſtory of the *Sforza* family, which we were unavoidably obliged to inſert in the foregoing parts of this work, particularly in our hiſtory of *Florence*, where he will find a full account of *Lewis Sforza*, who made ſo great a figure in the hiſtory of *Italy*, and who fell a ſacrifice to his own cunning. It is certain, that if a legal title by birth lay to the ſucceſſion of the *Milaneſe*, it was veſted in the houſe of *Orleans* and the kings of *France*. *Lewis* XII. accordingly put in his claim to the ſame, as being grandſon of *John Galeazzo*; and for ſome time he was ſucceſsful; but the inſolence of the *French* was ſuch, that they were driven out of the *Milaneſe* by the *Swiſs* and *Maximilian Sforza*; and *Francis* I. of *France*, in his turn, defeated the *Swiſs* and *Milaneſe*, and obliged the deſcendants of the *Sforza* family to relinquiſh the government for a penſion of thirty thouſand ducats a year. *Francis Sforza*, the ſon of *Maximilian*, however, being aſſiſted by the emperor and the pope, regained the poſſeſſion of the *Milaneſe* about the year 1521; and eight years after, the *French* king, by the treaty of *Cambray*, gave up his claim upon that duchy.

BUT, in fact, the emperors of *Germany* had, perhaps, the faireſt title to the *Milaneſe*, in right of their being formerly ſovereigns of *Italy*. Upon the death of *Francis Sforza*, therefore, in the year 1536, the emperor *Charles* V. declared the *Milaneſe* to be an imperial fief, and granted the inveſtiture of it to his ſon *Philip* II. king of *Spain*, in whoſe family it continued till the year 1706, when the *French* and *Spaniards* were driven out of it by the imperialiſts, and the emperor again took poſſeſſion of it as a fief. It was confirmed to his houſe by the treaty of *Baden* in 1714, by the quadruple alliance in 1718, and by the peace of *Aix-la-Chapelle* in 1748. This fine duchy, however, has undergone prodigious diſmemberments, as we ſhall have occaſion to obſerve in the hiſtory of *Savoy*; though her imperial majeſty, as heireſs of the houſe of *Auſtria*, never has relinquiſhed the *dominium directum*; which, however, ſeems more properly to belong to her huſband, as head of the empire, than to her. The duke of *Modena*, who is in high favour with the imperial court, was appointed, in 1753, imperial vicar-general and governor of the *Milaneſe*, during the minority of the archduke of *Auſtria*, *Peter Leopold*, who is declared governor-general of the *Auſtrian Lombardy*.

END of the HISTORY *of* MILAN.

The HISTORY of MODENA *and* FERRARA.

SECT. I.

Containing a Geographical Deſcription of Modena. *Hiſtory of the* Modeneſe *to the Year* 1762.

Deſcription of Modena, *and its territory.*

WE have, in the ſeveral parts of this work, been ſo full on the hiſtory of the different parts of *Italy*, as occaſion preſented, that it would be repeating the ſame thing over, ſhould we particularize all the facts in which *Modena* was concerned in common with the other *Italian* ſtates. We ſhall therefore, in conformity with our propoſed brevity, touch upon a general deſcription of the duchy, and the hiſtory of its dukes, in their order of ſucceſſion, which we had no opportunity of introducing before.

MODENA is ſurrounded by the duchies of *Parma* and *Mantua*, the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, the duchy of *Florence*, and the republic of *Lucca*. It is from ſouth to north fifty-ſix *Engliſh* miles, and from weſt to eaſt between twenty-four and thirty-ſix. The ſoil is reckoned generally good, and is full of natural medicines, which are famous for curing particular diſeaſes. *Modena* is the capital of the duchy; and though not celebrated for its lofty buildings and ſpacious ſtreets, it contains ſeveral objects worthy the curioſity of a traveller. The new city, however, is tolerable, and viſited for its fine pictures, particularly the famous night piece of *Correggio*, repreſenting the birth of Chriſt, and the adoration of the ſhepherds, which is reckoned to be one of the fineſt in the world. The moſt celebrated churches, are thoſe of the *Jeſuits*, the *Theatines*, and the *Dominicans*. In the college founded by *St. Borromeo*, ſeventy or eighty young noblemen are maintained and inſtructed. The ducal palace is magnificent, and full of excellent pictures. *Reggio*, anciently called *Rhegium Lepidi*, is the next town of note in the duchy, and a biſhop's ſee, under the archbiſhop of *Bologna*. It lies in a healthy ſituation, and deſerves, more than *Modena* does, to be the capital of the duchy. It is tolerably well fortified, and inhabited by people of faſhion. The city of *Reggio* paſſed through a vaſt number of hands, before it came to the houſe of *Eſte*. The manner of living here is licentious, through the formality and ſtrictneſs of devotion that prevails amongſt the fair ſex, and which gives them great liberties.

CARPI, is of itſelf a principality, though a ſmall one, and lies about four leagues from *Modena*. It formerly belonged to the houſe of *Pio*; the elder ſons of which bore the title of princes of *St. Gregory*. In the beginning of the fourteenth century, *Manfroy* was the firſt prince of *Carpi*; but in the ſixteenth *Albert Pio*, after ſerving the emperors *Maximilian* and *Charles* V. entered into the ſervice of *Francis* I. of *France*, and was his ambaſſador to pope *Clement* VII. on which account, being found at *Rome* at the ſack of that city, the emperor *Charles* V. gave his principality to *Alfonzo*, duke of *Ferrara*, in whoſe hands great part of it was before, having been obliged to ſurrender it to defend himſelf from his own couſins and kinſmen. The duke of *Ferrara*, in recompence, gave to the family the town of *Saſſuolo*, and ſome other lands. *Albert* was, however, at laſt obliged to retire to *Paris*, where being ſtripped of all his eſtates, he died in 1538, with the reputation of one of the beſt and braveſt men of his age. The family of *Pio* is yet in being, and continues attached to the *French* court. Some of them have been even raiſed to the purple, and ſtill make a figure in *Europe*. *Correggio* is another principality of this duchy, but its heads forfeited their eſtate by taking part in the wars of *Italy* againſt the emperor, who conferred it on the duke of *Modena*. The princes of that houſe now live at *Parma*, and pretend to be deſcended of a natural ſon of the houſe of *Auſtria*. *Berſelli* is another territory, lying in the ſame duchy, and was formerly celebrated both in the *Roman* and the *Longobardic* hiſtory. It is now dwindled down to an inconſiderable place, compared to what it was. In 1702 the fortifications were blown up; the place itſelf having been bombarded by the duke of *Vendoſme*. It is at *Berſelli* that the *Po* divides the *Modeneſe* and the *Mantuan*, and thoſe two dukes jointly contributed in fitting out and maintaining a veſſel on that river, for collecting their duties, and preventing all illicit commerce. But the imperial court gave orders, upon a quarrel with the duke of *Mantua*, for deſtroying this cuſtom-houſe yacht (as we may call it) which was accordingly done; and the dukes of *Modena* have ever ſince been endeavouring to repair *Berſelli*, which would be of vaſt advantage to the navigation of the river on their ſide.

RUBIERA is a fortreſs lying between *Modena* and *Reggio*, but is by no means ſtrong, and ſerves at preſent to confine ſtate priſoners. *Final* of the *Modeneſe*, ſo called to diſtinguiſh it from the *Final* of the *Genoeſe*, is a pretty little town, lying on the river *Panaro*, five leagues from *Modena*, towards *Ferrara*. By its ſituation, it is greatly expoſed to the ravages of war; and during the two laſt wars in *Italy*, it was frequently the theatre of action, and obliged to obey both ſides, as each prevailed. *Saſſuolo* formerly belonged to the princes of *Carpi*, and at preſent is a palace belonging to the duke of *Modena*. *Nouantola* is the rich and famous abbey we have taken notice of ſo often in the hiſtory of *Bologna*. The remains of it are ſtill magnificent; but the few monks who repair to it, are miſerably poor, while the revenues of the abbey are pocketted either by the duke of *Modena*, or ſome of his family. According to ſome authors, this monaſtery was founded by the famous counteſs *Matilda*; others ſay, by *Anſelm*, a religious *Lombard* prince, who himſelf led a life of devotion, and ſettled in that, and other religious houſes, in the neighbourhood, upwards of one thouſand monks. *Canoſa* is the celebrated caſtle, lying on the top of a mountain, and giving title to an earl, where the counteſs *Matilda*, and her gallant pope *Gregory*, obliged the emperor *Henry* IV. to wait for three days ſucceſſively bare-footed (though he was a very high-ſpirited prince) in 1076, in a coarſe woollen penitential habit, without eating or drinking, during very ſevere weather, and with tears to implore to be re-admitted into the boſom of the church. It appears that *Canoſa* was, at that time, the ſtrongeſt place in all the counteſs's extended dominions. Its counts were ſometimes maſters of *Reggio*. *Garfagno* is a mountainous diſtrict, without any thing remarkable to diſtinguiſh it, excepting great plenty of wild bears.

MIRANDOLA is part of *Modena*, and formerly was governed by dukes of the name of *Pico*. It lies ſurrounded by *Modena*, *Mantua*, and *Ferrara*, and has, by turns, been ſubject to all three. In the beginning of this century, at the death of *Charles* II. of *Spain*, the duke, who was then a minor, under the guardianſhip of his mother, applied conjointly with her to the emperor *Leopold* for aſſiſtance, to maintain herſelf in the regency; but ſoon after, upon the acceſſion of the duke of *Anjou* to the *Spaniſh* monarchy, they ſlighted the emperor's protection, and joined with the *French* and *Spaniards*, in recognizing *Mirandola* as part of the *Milaneſe*. The imperialiſts, who were then in *Italy*, immediately ſtripped the dutcheſs dowager of all her power, and entered *Mirandola*. The *French* beſieged and took the place in 1705; upon which the young duke threw himſelf upon their protection; but ſoon after the *French* being expelled from that part of *Italy*, the duke loſt all his eſtates, which were given to one of the duke of *Modena*'s ſons. He was, at the ſame time, put under the ban of the empire, but obtained, in 1711, an offer of a million of gilders, which were accordingly paid him; and the poſſeſſion of *Mirandola* was confirmed to the duke of *Modena*, by the peace of *Aix la Chapelle*, in 1748. *Mirandola* itſelf is a ſtrong city, with a citadel, and is a biſhop's ſee, and was of infinite ſervice, during the laſt war in *Italy*, to the *French*. The laſt city in the *Modeneſe*, to be ſpoken of, is *Cento*: this is a little town, and was taken by pope *Alexander* VI. from the biſhop of *Bologna*, who was indemnified by other lands, and given with his natural daughter *Lucrece Borgia*, in dowry to *Alphonſo*, the firſt duke of *Ferrara*. Pope *Julius* II. cancelled this deed, and reſtored *Cento* to the biſhops of *Bologna*; but upon the death of *Leo* X. duke *Alphonſo* again took poſſeſſion of it, and the houſe of *Eſte* has ever ſince held it in fealty of the holy ſee. We have been the more explicit on the hiſtory of thoſe ſeveral little principalities, becauſe they were in fact formerly ſo many ſovereign princes, though holding nominally only of the emperor or the pope.

Original of the houſe of Eſte.

THE houſe of *Eſte*, from which the dukes of *Modena* are deſcended, originally came from *Germany*, along with the emperor *Charlemagne*. They take the name of *Eſte* from a ſmall, but handſome, city in the *Paduan*, where they remained after the return of that great prince to *Germany*. The firſt of the family we have any preciſe knowledge of, was *Azo*, who ſeems to have been a commiſſary or chamberlain for the imperial intereſt. In progreſs of time the emperor's reſidence being confined to *Germany* or *France*, his title and perſon was ſcarcely remembered; and the ſucceſſes of thoſe who had been imperial lieutenants in *Italy*, were ſuch, that though they did not declare themſelves independent upon the imperial power, yet acted as if they had been ſo. Each ſeized upon the portion of territory or power that had been allotted him or his anceſtors; and their commiſſions, from being only temporary and limited, became hereditary, it being very difficult to retrace the tenures on which they originally held them. Notwithſtanding this, it is generally agreed, that all *Lombardy* and *Tuſcany*, and even the *Romagna* held of the empire.

Azo I.

AZO, the firſt count or marquis of *Eſte*, like the other imperial ſubſtitutes there, kept his reſidence ſometimes in one place, ſometimes in another, and aſſumed the title of lord over the places he held. The truth is, he ſeems to have been one of the moſt early feodaries in *Italy*. At firſt, thoſe ſubſtitutes had no pretext to any hereditary power; but the troubles of the empire, that immediately ſucceeded the reign of *Charles the Great*, not ſuffering the emperors to ſend new ones, their poſſeſſions and governments deſcended to their ſons. *Eſte*, from which *Azo* took his name, was very probably a place of conſequence. The dominions annexed to it, reached over great part of *Lombardy*, and the towns on both ſides the *Po*, amongſt which were *Cremona*, *Mantua*, *Ferrara*, *Guaſtalla*, and others, of which he had the ſuperintendency or government. He is ſaid to have died in the year 970. He was ſucceeded by his ſon *Theodald*, and according to others by *Boniface*. This *Theodald* had married a natural daughter of the emperor *Otho* II. and added to his paternal government the city of *Lucca*, then one of the moſt conſiderable in *Italy*, and, according to ſome, the government of all *Tuſcany*. It's pretended, that in virtue of this power he aſſumed the title of imperial vicar; and that, as ſuch, he exerciſed the moſt extenſive authority over the greateſt part of *Italy*, though his dominions were inconteſtably ſubject to the empire; for the independent claims of ſovereignty were not yet ſet up; nor in ſo ſmall a diſtance of time was the power of *Charles the Great* forgotten. Its remembrance, however, began to be weakened; for *Theodald* was ſucceeded by his ſon, though others ſay his brother *Boniface*. He likewiſe married a daughter of the emperor *Conrade* II. ſiſter to *Henry* III. Her name was *Beatrix*, and ſhe was mother to the famous counteſs *Matilda*. The wars between the popes and the emperors had, by this time, broken out, and all *Italy* then groaned under the yoke of the *Normans*. *Boniface*, who is ſometimes called marquis of *Mantua*, and ſometimes of *Modena*, was aſſaſſinated at *Spinetta*, and left two children, *Boniface* and *Matilda*. But *Boniface* dying, *Matilda*, became the heireſs of that great eſtate. She inherited her mother's averſion to the emperors of *Germany*, and found a fit tool to work upon her paſſions in the perſon of the famous *Hildebrand*, afterwards pope *Gregory* VII. He was by birth a *Tuſcan*, of a mean extraction; and being brought up at *Rome*, he was admitted a monk of *Cluni*. Being of an active, turbulent diſpoſition, and an enthuſiaſt for the papal power, he was employed by the court of *Rome*, in the numerous intrigues and diſputes between it and the emperors. But, at that time, the popes generally received their confirmation from the emperor, and ſometimes the latter nominated the very perſon whom they were to chuſe. In other parts of this hiſtory, we have been very full on the tranſactions of thoſe times. It is certain that *Gregory* arrived at the pitch of inſolence and power he attained to, by getting the intire management of the eſtates belonging to *Matilda*; and, according to ſome, the poſſeſſion of her perſon. Having found means to imbroil the princes of *Germany*

Hiſtory of the counteſs Matilda.

with

one another, he repaired, as the arbiter of their diſputes,
ugſburgh, attended by *Matilda*. Having proceeded ſuc-
ully there, and ſufficiently humbled the emperor *Henry*
he returned to *Italy*. During his abſence from *Germany*,
emperor recovered his power ſo far, that all of a ſudden
roke into *Italy*, with a deſign to depoſe the pope, who
that intelligence retired with *Matilda* to the caſtle of
oſa, of which we have already ſpoken. But nothing could
ble the ſpirit of *Gregory*, while ſupported by *Matilda*,
, in right of her mother, pretended to be an independent
reign; and in ſome hiſtories, they are termed queens of
. The emperor, who was not then above twenty-five,
got a deciſive victory over the *Saxons*, and yet he was ex-
municated by *Gregory*. Upon a frivolous pretence, he
ed the king of *France* in the ſame manner as he did the
mans, and ſeveral other princes both in *Germany* and *Italy*.
this he effected by playing one power againſt another,
ugh the aſſiſtance of *Matilda*. He was likewiſe greatly
ed by ſome attemps that had been made upon his life by
ſſian, one *Syneſius*, who was employed by the emperor to
ſinate him, and by the diviſions which then reigned in
nany; thro' which he gained almoſt all the prelates and
y, and one half of the lay power, to his intereſt. This
d him to ſuch a pitch of arrogance, that he ſet at nought
imperial power, and at laſt he preſumed to depoſe the
eror himſelf.

HUS the emperor, inſtead of humbling the pope, was
ſelf reduced to the danger of being himſelf actually de-
d, and obliged to come to the diſgraceful reſolution of
iring to *Canoſa*, and ſubmit himſelf in the moſt abject
ner to his holineſs. It is ſaid, that at firſt he inſiſted
Henry's ſurrendering into his hands his crown, and all
adges of his authority, and acknowledging himſelf un-
thy to wear them. This ſentence was mitigated by *Henry*
ining an interview with his couſin the counteſs *Matilda*;
upon her return to *Canoſa*, ſhe was attended by ſome of the
f princes in *Italy*, who were friends to *Henry*, for whom
all interceded. It is probable, that the whole of this
ociation was a piece of management contrived by the
teſs and his holineſs, who, with great ſeeming difficulty,
at laſt prevailed upon to ſuffer *Henry* to repair to *Canoſa*.
accordingly left his army at *Vercelli*, and went with a few
ndants to *Canoſa*. That town, or rather fort, had three
oſures. *Henry* was ſtopped when he paſſed the firſt, and
retinue was prohibited from proceeding farther; ſo that he
admitted by himſelf alone into the ſecond incloſure, where

*The empe-
ror hum-
bled by the
pope.*

being

being ſtripped of his robes, he was dreſſed in a hair cloth, and obliged to wait and faſt for three days, notwithſtanding the extremity of the weather. As laſt he gained admiſſion to the pope, to whom he made all the ſubmiſſions that his haughtineſs could require; and after the moſt humiliating behaviour, he received pardon and abſolution from his holineſs, though upon very hard terms.

After this, the counteſs *Matilda*, who ſeems to have been a weak brained enthuſiaſt for the ſee of *Rome*, but in other reſpects not deſtitute of ſpirit and prudence, made a gift to the pope of all her eſtates in *Italy*; and this gift laid the foundation of all the differences between the *Guelphs* and *Gibelins*. As to *Matilda*, though ſhe was twice married, ſhe left no children: and the haughtineſs of the pope had almoſt proved his and her ruin. The *Italians* and *Germans* could not bear to reflect upon the ſhameful part *Henry* had acted, and, obliged him to break the compromiſe he had entered into with his holineſs. After remaining for ſome time near *Canoſa*, he formed a deſign for ſeizing both the pope and *Matilda*; but receiving timely notice of it, they remained upon their guard within *Canoſa*, which diſconcerted all the emperor's ſchemes. The reſt of *Matilda*'s hiſtory belongs properly to the general hiſtory of *Italy*, and may be found in the other parts of this work.

Azo II. of Eſte.

The next marquis of *Eſte* we meet with on record, was *Azo* II. the ſon of *Albert*, or *Sigibert*, a younger ſon of *Thedald*, and brother to *Boniface*, father to the counteſs *Matilda*. Her ill-adviſed donation had cut all the blood of *Eſte* out of their patrimonial inheritance; but *Azo* II. found means, however, to retain ſome eſtates that had been purchaſed, or conquered, by his father. By prudence and abilities he rendered himſelf neceſſary to the popes who ſucceeded *Gregory* VII. and thereby he gradually enlarged his poſſeſſions, even during the life-time of *Matilda*, whoſe heir in blood was the emperor *Henry* IV. There was no queſtion as to *Matilda*'s title to her eſtates; but the emperor pretended that ſhe could not alienate the feudatory rights from the empire. For this reaſon he made light of his kinſwoman's donation: but this proved a matter of more importance than he had foreſeen. The *Italian* princes, or, as they were called, vicars, in general were much better pleaſed with their ſubjection to the pope, than to the emperor, and could be of little conſequence but by maintaining the papal power. The weakneſs of the times contributed greatly to the prejudices that prevailed againſt the emperor, on account of his oppoſing the pope.

But notwithſtanding all thoſe circumſtances, many of the ſtates that had recognized *Matilda*'s authority, during her life-time, ſtuck to the emperor. Amongſt thoſe were *Cremona*, *Mantua*, *Guaſtalla*, *Lucca*, and a great part of *Tuſcany*. *Azo* II. kept himſelf as neutral as poſſibly he could, and became at laſt the head of that branch of the *Eſte* family, that came to the poſſeſſion of the *Ferrareſe*; ſo that he is generally reckoned in the *Guelph* intereſt. *Hugh*, who was earl of *Maine* by his mother, ſucceeded *Azo* II. and was himſelf ſucceeded by *Obizo*, the firſt marquis of *Eſte*, lord of *Verona*, and other places, to which pope *Celeſtine*, in 1194, added the lordſhip of *Ancona*. It happened to be a fortunate circumſtance for the *Guelph* intereſt, that many inferior magiſtrates at this time held deputations from the pope, over particular cities and places, under the denomination of podeſtas, in which they maintained themſelves without acknowledging the imperial power, but in a nominal, rather than a real, dependence upon the popes. Thoſe podeſtates, ſuch as *Fermo*, *Senegaglia*, and *Peſaro*, were not hereditary; and, as they fell, were by degrees conferred by the popes upon the princes of *Ferrara*, whom they looked upon to be their chief bulwark in *Italy*. *Azo* II. died in 1212, as his ſon *Azo* III. did in 1264. His ſon *Rinaldo* died in his father's life-time, as did his brother *Obizo* II. About the end of the thirteenth century, the houſe of *Eſte* became very powerful, through the devolution of many ſtates or podeſtates that were joined to it. The next head of that houſe was *Azo* IV. whoſe ſon *Francis*, by a former marriage, being afraid to be diſinherited, if his father ſhould leave children by his ſecond wife, who was daughter to *Charles* II. king of *Naples*, put him to death, and by the aſſiſtance of the *Venetians*, made himſelf maſter of *Ferrara*, which he fortified, but was obliged to reſign his rights to the *Venetians*. This *Francis* is repreſented as being a monſter of cruelty; and for ſome time, by the aſſiſtance of the *Venetians*, he kept himſelf in poſſeſſion of *Ferrara*, till his crimes became ſo odious, that pope *Clement* V. publiſhed a cruſade againſt the *Venetians*, leaving every man at liberty to ſeize upon their goods, and to kill their perſons wherever they could be found. *Platina* pretends, that *Francis*, by his cruelties in the *Ferrareſe*, where he had reduced half that city to aſhes, obliged the ſubjects to invite the *Venetians* to protect them from his fury. Notwithſtanding this, they were involved in the cruſade now publiſhed againſt them; and the riches they had acquired by merchandize being immenſe, a vaſt many hands were found to execute it. Cardinal *Pelegrue* was ſent by his holineſs, with full powers, to take care of the

A. D. 1212.

which houſe increaſes in its power and reputation.

the papal intereſt in *Ferrara*; and by help of the *Florentines*, he retook that city in the name of his holineſs, and gave the government of it to *Robert*, ſon to the king of *Naples*. That prince being ſoon after obliged, on account of his father's death, to return to his paternal dominions, he left the government of the *Ferrareſe* to one *Diego*, a *Catalan*, with orders to preſerve the ſubjects in their obedience to the holy ſee. But their affections being fixed on the family of *Eſte*, they rebelled againſt their new governor, which obliged him to draw the garriſon out of the citadel, and to hang twenty-eight of the chief partizans of the *Eſte* family. This brought the popes to conſider what the conſequences might be, if they ſhould perſiſt in their endeavours to reannex the ſovereignty of the *Ferrareſe* to the ſee of *Rome*. For this reaſon *Benedict* XII. gave the inveſtiture of the *Ferrareſe* to *Obizo* III. brother to *Francis*, who died in the year 1309. This *Obizo* married *Jacqueline Pepoli*, by whom he had no children, but by his miſtreſs, *Lippa Arioſta*, he had eleven, whom he publickly owned; and having married her before his death, they ſucceeded him in his eſtates without oppoſition. The eldeſt ſon was *Aldobrandin*, who, by the ſage advice of his mother, who had been, in a manner, aſſociated by his father in the government, ruled his dominions with great prudence. *Aldobrandin* died without children, and was ſucceeded by his brother *Albert*, who had a miſtreſs named *Iſotta*, whom he married ſome time before his death, and by her he left iſſue *Nicholas*, ſurnamed *The Lame*. His ſucceſſion was diſputed, on account of his illegitimacy by *Azo*, a deſcendant from the firſt marquis of *Eſte*; but *Nicholas* maintained his ground againſt all oppoſition; and being accounted a prince equally magnanimous and politic, he was termed the arbiter of *Italy*, and courted by moſt of the *Italian* princes of his age. He poſſeſſed himſelf of *Ferrara* and *Modena*, *Parma*, *Reggio*, and other cities, and left behind him two legitimate, and two natural ſons. *Leonel*, the eldeſt of the natural ſons, in right of ſeniority, took poſſeſſion of his eſtates in prejudice of the legitimate heirs, whom he ſent to be educated at the court of *Alphonſo* of *Arragon*, king of *Naples*, as being the moſt proper ſchool where they could learn the art of reigning. During their abſence, his government was ſo mild and beneficent, that he reconciled all the *Ferrareſe* to his allegiance. He rebuilt the walls of *Ferrara*, and enlarged the ſtreets; he embelliſhed the buildings; he founded churches and monaſteries, and behaved with exceſſive prudence and affability towards all who approached him. He married a princeſs of the houſe of *Gonzaga*, and by her he had a ſon named *Nicholas*, whom on his death-bed he recommended to the care of his brother *Borſo*, who accordingly put him in poſſeſſion of his eſtates, when he became of age fit for governing. This *Leonel* died in 1450. Some hiſtorians have, with great probability, aſſigned him another wife, a daughter of *Alphonſo*, king of *Naples*. They pretend that *Alphonſo* the more readily complied with this match, in hopes that his daughter's children might ſucceed to the duchies of *Modena* and *Ferrara*: and, indeed, when we conſider the litle difference that was paid to legitimacy in this family, we cannot well be ſurprized at the fact. The *Neapolitan* princeſs, however, having no ſon, *Borſo* became adminiſtrator of the duchies, but ſeems to have ſerved his brother's ſon, as his brother had ſerved the legitimate offspring of his father; for he acted as adminiſtrator for full twenty-one years, but behaved with ſo much wiſdom, liberality, and magnificence, that the defects of his title were over-looked; ſo that it is remarkable in this family, that the princes of it ſupplied their defect of title, by the exerciſe of thoſe virtues which ought to have given them title. In ſhort, when the emperor *Frederic* III. came into *Italy*, *Borſo* performed ſo many eminent ſervices to him, and received him with ſo much politeneſs and magnificence, that he created him, as a mark of his regard, duke of *Modena* and *Reggio*, in the year 1451. Pope *Paul* II. in imitation of the emperor, when *Borſo* came to viſit the holy places about *Rome*, created him duke of *Ferrara*, a title which he ſaid depended immediately upon the holy *ſee*. *Borſo* ſhewed himſelf more worthy to reign, than his brother *Leonel*, with all his good qualities had done; for he never married: and, at the beginning of his adminiſtration, he recalled from their exile at the court of *Naples*, his brothers *Hercules* and *Sigiſmond*, the ſons of *Nicholas the Lame*; and he treated his nephew *Nicholas*, the ſon of *Leonel*, with all the regard and affection that was due to his blood, except placing him in the government of the *Ferrareſe*, which we do not find he ever offered to do. Some authors affect to be ſurprized that pope *Paul* II. who could not be ignorant of the defeat of *Borſo*'s title, never made any objection to his legitimacy, but rather ſeemed to give it a ſanction. This is eaſily accounted for, when we conſider that it was the maxim of the popes to weaken the right of ſucceſſion, by primogeniture or legitimacy, all that they could. They, as well as the emperors, pretended to the full diſpoſal of every ſucceſſion that held of them; and to obviate the danger of going out of the line of *Eſte*, they conferred it upon *Borſo*.

Borſo, *duke of* Modena.

BOR-

Hercules I. *duke of* Modena.

BORSO was ſucceeded by his brother *Hercules* I. who, as we have ſeen, was bred up at the *Neapolitan* court, and was forty-five years of age when he came to govern. He had married *Eleanor* of *Arragon*, daughter to the king of *Naples*, of whom he had a numerous progeny. His title, however, was diſputed by *Nicholas*, the ſon of *Leonel*, who had formed ſome intrigues to ſeize upon the regency; but he was ſurprized in his attempts, and his head was cut off without any orders from his uncle, and even without conſulting him; for which reaſon *Hercules* baniſhed the offenders. He was one of the greateſt princes of his time, both in the field and the cabinet. His differences with the *Venetians*, have been repeatedly taken notice of in this hiſtory, as alſo thoſe with pope *Sixtus* IV. and he acquitted himſelf, on all occaſions, with the greateſt honour and credit, both as to his valour and wiſdom. He was much befriended by the other princes of *Italy*, and aggrandized *Ferrara*, both in its fortifications and buildings. He left behind him four ſons and two daughters; one of whom, *Beatrix*, was married to *Lewis Sforza*, duke of *Milan*; and the other to *Francis Gonzaga*, marquis of *Mantua*. His brother *Sigiſmond*, was the author of the *de Eſtes* of *St. Martin*, which, we are told, are ſtill in being. One of his ſons, *Hippolito*, was raiſed to the purple by *Alexander* VI. and made a conſiderable figure amongſt the ſcholars and politicians of that age.

Alphonſo, *duke of* Modena.

ALPHONSO, the eldeſt ſon, ſucceeded his father in his duchy in 1505, and, like him, was a great general, and deeply involved in war. Upon the expulſion of the houſe of *Medici* from *Florence*, the *Florentines* gave him the command of their troops, for which the popes *Julius* II. and *Leo* X. conceived an invincible averſion to him, and his intereſt. He married *Lucretia Borgia*, daughter to pope *Alexander* VI. but upon the death of that pontiff, and his ſucceſſor *Pius* III. pope *Julius* II. ſtripped him of *Modena*, *Reggio*, *Rubiera*, and other places he held beyond the *Po*. Upon the death of *Leo* X. he availed himſelf of the vacancy or interregnum of the holy ſee, to repoſſeſs himſelf of *Reggio*, *Rubiera*, and other ſtates: but, as we have ſeen in the preceding parts of this work, he was ſo uſeful to the emperor *Charles* V. that he took him into his particular protection, and continued his friend againſt all the power and machinations of his enemies. Under *Adrian* VI. who was a wiſe and pacific pontiff, he obtained ſome time to breathe; and it is ſaid to have been owing to his counſels, that the duke of *Bourbon* marched againſt *Rome*. As the uſe of artillery was now become frequent in *Europe*, he ſhewed ſo great a genius for the improvement of guns, cannons, and other warlike machines, that he is ſaid to have been the beſt engineer of his age. He was almoſt in perpetual wars, till the treaty between the pope and the emperor, in 1526, reinſtated him in his dominions. One of the articles of that treaty was, that pope *Clement* ſhould give him the inveſtiture of *Ferrara*, which his holineſs never really intended to do; and that the duke ſhould retain poſſeſſion of *Modena*, *Reggio*, and *Carpi*, for which he was to become ſubject to the emperor only. The ſame emperor promiſed him likewiſe the poſſeſſion of *Novi*, and to give him one of his daughters in marriage. The inſincerity of the pope, and the cautious mercenary diſpoſition of the emperor, once more brought matters into confuſion. When the emperor, in 1530, came to receive the imperial crown at *Bologna*, *Alphonſo* attended him; and there it was agreed, that *Charles* ſhould take into his own hand the city of *Modena*, as a depoſit, till he ſhould pronounce ſentence between them, which he did at *Ghent* in 1532. By his award the duke, in conſideration of peaceably poſſeſſing his dominions, was to pay to his holineſs one hundred and forty thouſand golden ducats, and an annual ſubſidy of ſeven thouſand, as a quit rent for the duchy of *Ferrara*. His holineſs, who was perfectly well ſkilled in all the arts of cunning and procraſtination, refuſed to ratify this award, which did not take place during his life-time. This *Alphonſo* was three times married. His firſt wife was *Anne Sforza*, daughter to the duke of *Milan*; and by her he had no iſſue. By his ſecond wife, *Lucretia Borgia*, whom he married for intereſt and conveniency, he had *Hercules* II. who ſucceeded him; *Hippolito*, who was a cardinal, archbiſhop of *Milan*, and one of the richeſt eccleſiaſtics of his age; *Francis*, marquis of *Maſſa*, who left behind him only one daughter. The third marriage of *Alphonſo* I. was with a lady of *Ferrara*, whom he had ſecretly, for ſome time, kept as his miſtreſs. Her name was *Laura Euſtochia*; and upon the death of *Lucretia Borgia*, he eſpouſed her, and legitimated her ſon Don *Alphonſo*, prince of *Montecchio*; which legitimation was afterwards diſputed.

HERCULES II. before his father's death, which happened in 1554, married *Rene* of *France*, daughter to *Lewis* XII. and he ſerved in the *French* armies as lieutenant-general under *Henry* II. to whom he proved a brave and an uſeful ally. His brother, the cardinal archbiſhop of *Milan*, having vaſt preferments in *France*, was the means of his being attached to that ſervice; and indeed thoſe connexions continued for many years. His ducheſs was ſecretly of the reformed religion; and it is confidently reported, that ſhe had Hercules II.

an interview on that head at *Ferrara*, with the famous *Calvin*. Her converſion gave great diſquiet to her huſband, and it was during his life time kept ſecret; but upon his death, which happened in 1559, the ducheſs returned to *France*, where ſhe made profeſſion of the reformed religion, and died in the ſame.

HERCULES II. left by his wife *Rene*, his ſon and ſucceſſor *Alphonſo* II. and *Lewis*, who was afterwards a cardinal, and ſucceeded to ſome of his uncle's great benefices in *France*, and was one of the brighteſt ornaments in the *Romiſh* church in thoſe days[a]. *Alphonſo* II. was educated in *France*; but ſerved againſt the *Turks* in the imperial armies. He married, firſt, *Lucretia de Medici*, daughter to the grand duke of *Tuſcany*. His ſecond wife was *Barbara* of *Auſtria*, daughter to the emperor *Frederick*; and he had a third wife, *Margaret Gonzaga*, daughter of *William* marquis of *Mantua*; but left behind him no children by either of thoſe marriages. He therefore adopted as his heir and ſucceſſor *Ceſar de Eſte*, who was the ſon of *Alphonſo* prince of *Montecchio*, whoſe mother was the *Ferrareſe* lady we have mentioned. *Alphonſo* II. took all the means he could to render this adoption valid, by procuring it to be ratified by the emperor *Rodolph* II. But when pope *Clement* VIII. mounted the papal throne, he declared that Don *Ceſar* could not, as he was illegitimate at the time of his birth, ſucceed to the dutchy of *Ferrara*, which he not only annexed to the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, but prepared to take poſſeſſion of it by main force. The *Ferrareſe*, who doated on *Ceſar*, complained of the injuſtice done both him and them, as no objection had been made in times paſt to the legitimacy of their dukes, though not born in wedlock; but all was to no purpoſe. Don *Ceſar* pleaded the teſtament of the late duke; but was unable to ſupport his title. His holineſs put himſelf in armour, and marched at the head of a body of troops into *Ferrara*, from whence he drove Don *Ceſar* out of one gate, while he himſelf entered at the head of his army by another. The armour in which the pope was dreſt, is to be ſtill ſeen in the vatican; and to take from Don *Ceſar* all hopes of being reinſtated in *Ferrara*, he ordered the gate through which he had eſcaped, to be walled up.

Ceſar.

The pope takes poſſeſſion of Ferrara.

Don *Ceſar* I. was now obliged to be contented with the title of duke of *Modena* and *Reggio*, which dominions he held for about thirty years; and he died in 1628. He married *Anne Virginia de Medici*, daughter to *Coſmo* I. duke of *Tuſcany*; and by her he had two ſons, *Alphonſo* III. who ſucceeded him, and *Aloiſio de Eſte*, marquis of *Montecchio* and *Scandiano*, whoſe only daughter and child *Hippolita* married *Borſo de Eſte*. He had likewiſe *Laura*, who was married to *Alexander* duke of *Mirandola*. This houſe of *Scandiano*, or *Montecchio*, was extinct in the year 1713.

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[a] De Thou, ad Ann 1586.

Alphonſo III.

Francis I.

ALPHONSO III. had, in his father's life time, married *Iſabella*, daughter to duke *Charles Emanuel* of *Savoy*, and *Catherine Michel* of *Auſtria*, daughter to *Philip* II. of *Spain*. *Alphonſo* III. reigned only about twelve months, when his ducheſs, a woman of exemplary piety, dying in 1626, he was ſo affected with her death, that he reſigned his dominions to his eldeſt ſon *Francis* I. and retired from the world, taking upon him the habit of a capuchin, and practiſing all the ſeverities of that order to the time of his death in 1644, in the fifty-third year of his age. His religious name was, brother *John Baptiſt*. *Francis* I. eſpouſed the cauſe of *France*, which raiſed him many troubles. He was in his perſon a brave and accompliſhed prince; but could not be ſaid to have been fortunate in war. He commanded the army of the *Italian* princes in 1643, and in 1656 he commanded the *French* army which laid ſiege to *Valence* upon the *Po*. The reader here is to obſerve, that there is ſome confuſion in the denominations of thoſe dukes. Moſt of the *Italian* princes do not admit the progeny of *Alphonſo*, ſon to *Laura Euſtochia*, to be the deſcendants of the ancient dukes of *Modena*; and therefore they reckon *Alphonſo* III. to be only the firſt of that name. Duke *Francis* I. attempted to take *Cremona*; but failing in his deſign, the marquis of *Caracena*, the *Spaniſh* governor of *Milan*, invaded his dominions, and obliged him to renounce his alliance with *France*. He was three times married. His firſt wife was *Mary Farneſe*, daughter to *Ranuccio* duke of *Parma*. By her he had *Alphonſo* II. or IV. who ſucceeded him; two daughters, *Iſabel* and *Mary*, who were ſucceſſively married to *Ranuccio* II. duke of *Parma*; *Amauri*, who died at the ſiege of *Candia*; and *Eleanor*, who betook herſelf to a monaſtery. His ſecond wife was *Victoria Farneſe*, the ſiſter of his firſt wife; by whom he had only a daughter, who died in her infancy. His third wife was *Lucretia Barbarini*, daughter to *Thaddeo* prince of *Paleſtrine*, brother to pope *Urban* VIII. who gave, on that account, a cardinal's hat to the duke's brother *Rinaldo*. This cardinal proved afterwards a great ſupport of the *French* intereſt, and was, for about thirty years, the protector of that nation. *Alphonſo* II. or IV. the ſon of duke *Francis*, was like his anceſtors, a warrior. He commanded ſeveral times the *French* armies in *Italy*, and died of the gout in his ſtomach in 1662. He married *Laura Mar-*

tinozzi, the daughter of *Jerome Martinozzi*, a *Roman* nobleman, and of *Margaret Mazarine*, eldeſt ſiſter to the famous cardinal of that name. Their iſſue was *Mary Beatrix Eleanor*, who was married to the duke of *York*, afterwards *James* II. of *England*; and *Francis* II. who ſucceeded to the duchy of *Modena*, when he was no more than two years of age. He was therefore brought up under the guardianſhip of his mother; and in the year 1692, he married *Margaret Maria Frances Farneſe*, daughter of *Ranuccio* II.

Francis II. *duke of* **Modena.**

THE ducheſs dowager being in *England* at the time of her ſon's death, the government was adminiſtered by Don *Ceſar* marquis of *Montecchio*, who behaved with great haughtineſs towards the ducheſs, and entirely governed the young duke to the time of his death. The ducheſs reſented this ſo much, that ſhe complained to the king of *France* of Don *Ceſar*, who was obliged to retire into the *Romagna*. The young duke, however, was ſo fond of him, that he prevailed with his moſt Chriſtian majeſty, and his mother, to ſuffer Don *Ceſar* to return to *Modena*, where he behaved with the ſame haughtineſs as ever towards the ducheſs. Upon this ſhe repaired to *Rome*; and though the duke her ſon was very earneſt for her return, ſhe could not be perſuaded to ſee him. The duke went in perſon to *Rome*, to endeavour to mollify her; but happening to be attended by Don *Ceſar*, the negociation had no effect; and the duke's attachment to him was ſo great, that it was thought he employed ſome ſupernatural means over his mind. The duke, however, was at laſt once more obliged to give up his favourite, who was obnoxious to almoſt all the courts of *Italy*; not only for his inſolence towards his prince, but for the oppreſſive practices he introduced into the government to enrich himſelf.

Rinaldo *duke of* Modena.

FRANCIS II. died without iſſue in 1694, and was ſucceeded by his uncle *Rinaldo*, who immediately ſent his cardinal's hat to *Rome*, and laid down a new plan of conduct, by attaching himſelf to the imperial court, and married the princeſs *Charlotta Felicita* of *Brunſwick*, daughter to *John Frederick* duke of *Brunſwick Hanover*, who was a *Roman* Catholic, and ſiſter to the princeſs *Wilhelmina Amelia*, who, three years after, married the king of the *Romans*, who was afterwards the emperor *Joſeph*. It is thought, that he was the more inclined to this match, becauſe the family of *Eſte* is ſuppoſed to be deſcended from that of *Brunſwick*. Others think, that he had conceived a diſguſt, while he was cardinal, againſt the *French* king, who had refuſed him the protectorſhip of the *French* nation, and ſome other favours. His match with a *German* family, and his putting the imperialiſts in poſſeſſion of *Bercello*, ſo greatly diſobliged the court of *France*, that in 1703, the *French* king ordered his army to enter the *Modeneſe*, which it did, and obliged all the duke's ſubjects to take an oath of fidelity to his moſt Chriſtian majeſty. The duke upon this, being in no condition to recover his duchy, went to *Bologna*, and from thence to *Rome*, to ſolicit the pope's mediation at the court of *France*. He accordingly had ſeveral conferences with cardinal *Janſſon*, the *French* miniſter at *Rome*, and was amuſed by his holineſs, with the hopes of receiving an annuity out of his eſtate of forty thouſand crowns a year; but the negociation proved of no effect. The duke refuſed to diſavow his miniſter's recognizing the archduke *Charles* for king of *Spain*, or to break off his connexions with the imperialiſts; and *Lewis* was ſo exaſperated, that he annexed *Modena* to the duchy of *Milan* and the eſtates in *Italy*, upon which his grandſon had pretenſions, as belonging to the *Spaniſh* ſucceſſion. *Lewis* took this ſtep, that he might not alarm the jealouſy of the *Italian* courts, by ſeeming to keep in his own hands ſo conſiderable a dominion in that country. *Rinaldo*, being thus diſappointed, retired once more to *Bologna*, where he waited with patience till the imperialiſts entered *Italy*, under prince *Eugene*, in 1706. That great general, during the night between the 19th and 20th of *November*, that ſame year, recovered *Modena* by ſtorm, and put all the *French*, who had not ſaved themſelves in the citadel, to the ſword. Soon after, notwithſtanding the ſeverity of the ſeaſon, he beſieged and took the citadel likewiſe; and the *French* being thus driven out of *Milan*, *Mantua*, and *Modena*, *Rinaldo* returned from *Bologna*, and again took poſſeſſion of his capital. After this he applied himſelf to repair the waſte that war had made in his dominions, by cultivating the arts of peace; but, in the mean time, he carried on a correſpondence with *England*, *Germany*, and other parties of the grand alliance, to which he continued always firm. In 1710, he was ſo rich that he purchaſed the duchy of *Mirandola*, and received the inveſtiture of it from the emperor. In 1726, his imperial majeſty granted him a principality in *Hungary*, in conſideration of that of *Comacchio*, which the emperor had yielded to the pope. At laſt he died, on the 26th of *October*, 1737, eighty-three years of age, after going through a variety of fortunes. By his wife, he had *Benedicta Erneſtina Mary*, born in 1697, and married to prince *Antony* of *Parma* in 1715; *Francis Mary*, hereditary prince of *Modena*, born in 1698, who married the ſecond daughter of the late duke of *Orleans*, by whom he had two ſons; *Amelia Joſepha*, born in 1699; and *John Frederick Erneſt*, born in 1700.

Francis Mary de Eſte *duke of Modena.*

FRANCIS MARY DE ESTE, in 1720, married *Charlotte Æglé de Valois*, daughter to the duke of *Orleans*, regent of *France*. This match, in its conſequences, created a miſunderſtanding between the prince and his father; and when the late war broke out again between the houſes of *Bourbon* and *Auſtria*, in *Italy*, the duke of *Modena*, taking part with the former, loſt all his dominions. His conduct during that period, has been ſufficiently deſcribed in other parts of this work. It is enough here to ſay, that he had a ſon by his wife, *Hercules Renaud*, born *November* 22, 1727, and married *September* 29, 1741, to *Mary Thereſa*, princeſs of *Maſſa Carrara*, born *June* 29, 1725; and by this marriage there is likewiſe iſſue. By the peace of *Aix-la-Chapelle*, the duke of *Modena* was reinſtated in all his dominions. He ſoon after paid a viſit to king *George* II. in *England*, where, though incognito, he met with great marks of reſpect from the court; and upon his return to *Italy*, he was, as we have already ſaid, appointed vicar-general, field-mareſchal, and governor of the *Milaneſe*, during the minority of the archduke *Peter Leopold*, who was declared governor-general of the *Auſtrian Lombardy*. As the imperial court has given him ſeveral poſſeſſions in the neighbourhood of his duchy, in lieu of his *Hungarian* eſtates, he is now looked upon as a very conſiderable *Italian* prince.

END *of the* HISTORY *of* MODENA *and* FERRARA.

The HISTORY of MANTUA.

SECT. I.

Contains a Deſcription of Mantua; *with the Hiſtory of the Family of* Gonzaga, *Dukes of* Mantua, *till their Extinction.*

Situation and Deſcription of the duchy

THE duchy of *Mantua* is but fifty-ſix *Engliſh* miles in length, and forty in breadth; but it claims a place here on account of the great figure its heads have made in the affairs of *Europe*, and particularly in thoſe of *Italy*. It is ſurrounded by the *Milaneſe*, the *Modeneſe*, the eccleſiaſtical, and the *Venetian* territories. The *Po*, which runs through the midſt of it, receives the *Oglio*, *Minſio*, *Secchia*, and other rivers. The ſoil of the *Mantuan*, like moſt of the provinces of *Italy*, is very delectable; and its chief towns are *Mantua*, *Borgoforte*, *Governolo*, *Oſtiglia*, *Gonzaga*, *Goito*, *Luzara*, *Viadana*, *Guaſtalla*, *Novellara*, *Sabionetta*, *Bozzolo*, *Caſtiglione della Stivere*, and *Solferino*.

and of its capital.

MANTUA, the capital, ſtands in a very undeſirable ſituation, in the middle of a lake, or rather a moraſs, formed by the *Mincio*, about fourſcore miles to the eaſtward of *Milan*, and the ſame diſtance to the ſouth-weſtward of *Venice*. It is joined to the continent by ſeveral bridges, or cauſeways, which are ſtrongly fortified. The city itſelf was reckoned to contain about fifty thouſand inhabitants; but now, it is ſaid, they are dwindled down to fewer than twenty thouſand, four or five thouſand of whom are Jews, and live in a ſeparate quarter; and it is above four miles in circumference. Notwithſtanding the unwholeſomeneſs of its ſituation, its ſtreets in general are long, broad, and ſtrait, interſperſed with noble palaces, ſquares, and churches; and, upon the whole, the moraſs renders it very ſtrong. It contains about eighteen pariſh churches, others ſay, twenty-one; four collegiate, beſides other churches and alms-houſes, eleven oratories, and forty convents. Its ſuburbs were formerly adorned with noble buildings, particularly the ſamous palace of *The*, which is now reduced to the appearance of a ſtable. The cathedral is a work of the famous *Julio Romano*, and contains ſome of the fineſt paintings in *Italy*. The church of *St. Antony* is celebrated for relics, particularly a quantity of our Saviour's blood, which is preſerved with the greateſt veneration. The inſide of the *Franciſcan* church is very elegant; and all that can be ſaid of the ducal palace is, that it is very large. In the palace church are the two famous pictures, the baptiſm of *Conſtantine*, and the martyrdom of *St. Andrew*. In *Mantua* was formerly a celebrated muſeum, which was deſtroyed by the imperialiſts in 1630. In ſhort, this city, which was once ſo renowned for magnificence and manufactures, particularly of ſilk, can now ſhew only the ruins of the one, and ſcarcely any remains of the other. This duchy, however, will be for ever reſpected, as having been the birth place of *Virgil* the poet, who was born at *Andes*, now *Pietolo*; and a ducal palace, called *La Virgiliana* is ſtill to be ſeen near the place of his birth. The other towns, or, as they were termed, cities, of this duchy, deſerve no particular deſcription, being remarkable for nothing but for battles and the trumpery of relics, all the gold and ſilver they contain being confined to ſhrines and ſtatues in their churches.

Mantua's *different maſters.*

THE reader will find the old hiſtory of *Mantua* in the ancient hiſtory of *Italy*, where it once made a capital figure. It followed the fate of the other cities of *Lombardy*, when *Charles the Great* invaded that country; for all its boaſted antiquity could not ſave it from ſubjection to the *Goths* and *Lombards*, and afterwards to *Charles*. The emperor *Otho* II. as we have ſeen in the hiſtory of *Modena*, gave the lordſhip of *Mantua*, and other cities, to *Theodald*; and notwithſtanding the hiſtory of thoſe times are very uncertain, *Theodald*'s ſon *Boniface*, and the famous counteſs *Matilda*, daughter to the latter, held the government of *Mantua* as vicars to the empire, though *Matilda* pretended to poſſeſs them in her own right[a]. It may, perhaps, be difficult to prove her right to an undoubted fief of the empire. It appears, however, from hiſtorians, who lived in or near her time, that *Boniface* eloped with her mother, the emperor *Henry* IIId's daughter, and married her; but her father is ſaid to have been afterwards reconciled to both, and to have beſtowed upon them the great poſſeſſions in *Italy*, inherited by *Matilda*. Upon the quarrel between that lady and her couſin the emperor *Henry* IV. he took *Mantua*, and ſhe retook it in 1114, the year before her death. For ſome years after, the emperors of *Germany* ſuffered *Mantua*, and other fiefs of the empire in *Italy*, to live under free governments of their own, with only a very diſtant acknowledgment of their imperial power. *Mantua*, in *Matilda*'s time, was ſo very important a city, that it gave her the chief title ſhe affected; but though ſhe conveyed it with her other lands to the holy ſee, we do not find that the popes ever exerciſed, or indeed claimed any juriſdiction over it.

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[a] RICOB. FERRARIENSIS apud MURAT. tom. ix. p. 242.

Sordello.

Bonacurſi *and* Zenachalli *podeſtas of* Mantua.

In 1220 *Sordello*, viſcount or lord of *Goito*, which ſtill retains its name, had the government of that city and territory; and it was, in all probability, confirmed to him by the emperor *Frederick* II. when he came that year to *Italy*, and was recognized as ſovereign by its ſeveral ſtates. We know very little of *Mantua* for ſome years after this, only we are told by *Ricobaldus Ferrarienſis*, that in 1273, there was a great diſturbance at *Mantua*; and the party that favoured the marquis was driven out of the city. Upon their expulſion, the inhabitants choſe two magiſtrates, or podeſtas, with equal power to manage their government. One was *Pinamonte Bonacurſi*, and the other *Ottonello Zenachalli*. This new form of government took place in the ſecond year of the emperor *Rodolph* I. who, having no deſire to viſit *Italy* in perſon, left the *Mantuans*, as well as other ſtates there, in poſſeſſion of their form of government, upon their paying him a ſum of money. It even ſeems probable, that he encreaſed their privileges. Soon after this *Pinamonte* found means to put his colleague to death; and he governed by himſelf for eighteen years with great cruelty. He died in 1212, and was ſucceeded by his ſon *Bardellone* (A), who, treading in the footſteps of his father's tyranny, was expelled in leſs than a year. The Chronicle of *Parma*, however, informs us, that *Bardellone*, in his father's life-time, drove out his brother *Carpio*, and impriſoned, or put to death, moſt of his party; but the account of *Ferretus* of *Vicenza* ſeems the moſt probable[b]. He ſays, that *Bardellone* governed tolerably well after his brother's expulſion; but that his nephew *Bottexella* aroſe againſt him, and engaged *Albert Scaliger* of *Verona* to aſſiſt him. Upon his return from *Verona* to *Mantua*, he diſſembled ſo well, that his uncle had no ſuſpicion of his deſign, and brought a great number of the *Mantuans* to his party, who admitted the *Veroneſe* into the city, ſo that it was with difficulty that *Bardellone* eſcaped with ſafety; and he repaired, in his turn, for aſſiſtance to *Azo* of *Ferrara*, and from thence to *Venice*, every where ſoliciting aid, but meeting with nothing but contempt and hatred; till at laſt he died at *Padua*. After his death, *Bottexella* met with little trouble in ſeizing the government, which he held till the time of his death, in 1308. He was ſucceeded by his brother *Paſſerino*, of whoſe actions the *Italian* hiſtories are full, but each different from another. This *Paſſerino* was an artful, turbulent, and ambitious man, and filled all about him with wars and confuſion. He was more than once expelled from *Mantua*; but ſtill found means to return by the emperor's favour, which he won by gold and great promiſes. At laſt he ſurpriſed the city of *Modena*, which was poſſeſſed by *Francis Pico* of *Mirandola*, who, with two of his ſons, was killed in the attack. He then made himſelf maſter of *Mirandola* likewiſe; but drew upon himſelf the reſentment of the emperor's general *Lewis Gonzaga*; who extirpated his family, and took *Mantua*, under the protection of *Lewis* of *Bavaria*, for whom he ruled it as imperial vicar about the year 1328.

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[b] Ferreti Vicentini apud Murat. tom. ix. p. 982.

(A) The Chronicle of *Parma*, apud *Murat.* tome ix. page 786, ſays, that in 1292, *Guido* and *Matthew de Correggio* were expelled by the *Bonacurſi* out of *Mantua*.

THIS *Lewis Gonzaga* was originally a *German*; and, as other *Germans* had done, his father obtained preferment from the emperor in *Italy*, and ſettled in *Mantua*, where his ſon made a great figure. His family being noble, and himſelf very rich, he married a *Mantuan* lady of moſt exquiſite beauty. *Paſſerino*, who was at once luſtful, ambitious, and cruel, fell in love with her; and finding all his advances ineffectual, he threatened to employ force. The lady informed her huſband of this; and before *Paſſerino* could complete his execrable deſign, *Gonzaga* killed him by a ſingle blow of his fiſt, which ſtruck him on the temples. *Paſſerino* was ſo much deteſted, that his body was embalmed; and being a ſquat little man, it was expoſed as an object of public ridicule and deteſtation, in *Gonzaga*'s gallery, where it long remained. *Gonzaga*, ſoon after, impriſoned all *Paſſerino*'s deſcendants and relations; and gave up his brother *Butironi* to *Nicholas Pico*, the ſon of that *Francis Pico* whom *Paſſerino* had treacherouſly killed in taking *Modena*; and he was by him put to death. As the emperor *Lewis* of *Bavaria* was, at that time in *Italy*, it is more than probable that *Gonzaga* had the imperial authority for what he did, and that he gave *Gonzaga* the inveſtiture of *Mantua*. Pope *John* XXII. however, being then at *Avignon*, refuſed to acknowledge the legality of that inveſtiture, and excommunicated both the emperor and *Gonzaga*. His anathemas were diſregarded by the latter, who lived to the age of eighty-three, and died in the year 1360. He had four ſons; *Guy*, who ſucceeded him in his dignity of captain, or marquis (for thoſe titles are not well aſcertained) of *Mantua*. His ſecond ſon was *Philippin*, or *Philip*, one of the greateſt generals of his age, and whom we have often mentioned. His third ſon was *Feltrin*, who was the founder of the houſe of *Novellara*. His fourth ſon was *Conrade*, who had a numerous poſterity.

GUY GONZAGA ſucceeded his father in his government of *Mantua*, and the imperial vicariate. He was a religious and moderate prince, and extremely punctual in fulfilling all his engagements. His chief failing was a too great indulgence for his three ſons, *Ugolin*, *Francis*, and *Lewis*. The firſt being his favourite, and by him employed and truſted with the management of all his affairs, the two younger brothers formed a conſpiracy againſt him, and without any regard to the paternal authority, aſſaſſinated him. It does not appear that either of them were puniſhed; for *Francis* died in the life-time of his father, who adminiſtered the government nine years; and upon his death it devolved upon *Lewis* II. He governed twelve years, but with a very indifferent character. Guy.

HIS ſon *Francis* I. ſucceeded him in 1382, when he was no more than thirteen years of age, and grew to be a great prince. He defended *Mantua* againſt all the intrigues and power of *John Galeazzo*, firſt duke of *Milan*. According to *Leander Alberti*, he had many private, as well as public, virtues. He knew how to preſerve his authority to the utmoſt. He underſtood hiſtory; was a lover of learning, and learned men; winning and witty in converſation; but liberal and ſplendid in his court. He died in 1407, and was ſucceeded by his ſon *John Francis*. This prince equalled, if not exceeded, all the virtues of his father. He was but twelve years of age when he came to the government; but he acquired ſuch a character for wiſdom, that he was diſtinguiſhed by the title of *Arbiter of Italy*. To repeat all the noble actions of his life, would be to repeat great part of this hiſtory, particularly in his conduct when he was general of the eccleſiaſtical and *Venetian* troops againſt the duke of *Milan*. In the year 1433, the emperor *Sigiſmund*, being at *Mantua*, on his road to *Rome*, in gratitude for the ſervices performed to him, created *John Francis* marquis of *Mantua*, and honoured him with a very noble coat of arms, which was ever after worn by the family till it was extinct. The ceremony of his creation was extremely magnificent. It was performed upon a ſumptuous theatre, erected in the Grand Square of *Mantua*, where the emperor *Sigiſmund* crowned him with his own hand. Francis I. John Francis.

THIS firſt marquis was a very powerful prince; and having ſeveral children, he gave them all great fortunes. He beſtowed upon his eldeſt ſon *Lewis*, the city of *Mantua*, and a large eſtate belonging to it. He gave to his ſecond ſon *Charles*, *Reggiolo*, *Gonzaga*, *Luzzara*, *Iſola*, *Rivarolo*, *Bozzolo*,

zolo, *S. Martino*, *Sabioneta*, *Gazzolo*, *Viadana*, and *Suzzara*, together with a noble palace in *Mantua*. He left to his third ſon *Alexander*, another palace in the ſame city, with *Caneto*, *Redondeſco*, *Caſtel Giuffé Medola*, *Caſtello della Stivere*, and *Uſtiniano*. To his youngeſt ſon *John Lewis*, though dedicated to an eccleſiaſtical life, he bequeathed *Rovigo*, *Volta Capriana*, *Cereſara*, *Pinboca*, and *Caſtellaro*. It is remarkable, that all thoſe places were either cities or large towns, and that they lie in the moſt fertile parts of *Italy*. The marquis, towards the latter end of his life, inclined ſo much to religion, that he endeavoured all he could to withdraw himſelf from the world, and died in 1444.

Lewis III. HIS eldeſt ſon, *Lewis* III. ſucceeded him in the marquiſate. He began his government by quarrelling with his brothers about the eſtates left them by their father; and he forced *Charles* to recognize him as his ſuperior, and lord paramount of all the lands he held. Having great experience in war, the *Florentines*, the *Venetians*, and the duke of *Milan*, gave him ſucceſſively the command of their armies; and he was ſo excellent and ſo ſucceſsful a politician, that, like his predeceſſor *John Francis*, he was called the Arbiter of *Italy*. After the *Turks* had rendered themſelves maſters of *Conſtantinople*, pope *Pius* II. indicted a council at *Mantua*, to conſult on the means of retaking that city, or to check their progreſs; and he was entertained by *Lewis* with the utmoſt ſplendor. *Lewis* behaved in like manner to the emperor *Frederick* III. *Chriſtiern* I. king of *Denmark*, and ſeveral other princes who viſited him at *Mantua*. He embelliſhed that city with many ſumptuous buildings; and by introducing a cut from the *Mincio*, he fertilized great part of his dominions. The church of *St. Andrew*, which is the cathedral of *Mantua*, owes its foundation to him; and he died at *Goito*, in 1478. He married *Barbe*, or *Barbara* of *Brandenburgh*, the daughter of the margrave *John*, ſurnamed *the Chemiſt*; and by her had five ſons and two daughters. The ſons were, firſt, *Frederick* I. who ſucceeded him; ſecond, *Francis Gonzaga*, who was made a cardinal in 1464, and died in 1483; third, *Lewis Gonzaga*, who was biſhop of *Mantua* in 1483, and died in 1511; fourth, *Barbara*, married to *Everard* I. duke of *Wirtemberg*; fifth, *Dorothy*, married to *Galeazzo Maria* duke of *Milan*; ſixth, *John Francis Gonzaga*, the founder of the houſe of *Sabionetta* and *Bozzolo*, which was extinct in the year 1703, in the perſon of *John Francis*; ſeventh, *Rodolph Gonzaga*, from whom are deſcended the princes of *Caſtiglione*, which houſe ſtill remains.

FREDERICK I. of *Mantua* has the glory of not ſhining in hiſtory as a warrior; but he was a wiſe, generous, elegant prince, and brought the ſciences to great perfection in his dominions. The arts of poetry, painting, and ſculpture owed more to his patronage than to that of any prince of his time; but the love of his people was his chief paſſion. He had a maxim, that no ſubject ought to be idle, and therefore he aſſiſted with money, in their reſpective employments and callings, all the poor of his dominions who were unable to aſſiſt themſelves. Like ſome of his predeceſſors, he was endued with that hereditary policy which put into his hands the balance of power in *Italy*; and the tranquility it enjoyed during his government, was in a great meaſure owing to him. He married *Margaret*, daughter to *Albert* III. duke of *Bavaria*. By her he had three ſons, beſides daughters, who were all of them married into great families. The ſons were, *Francis* II. who ſucceeded him; *Sigiſmund*, cardinal and biſhop of *Mantua*, who died in 1525; and *John Gonzaga*, who left behind him a numerous poſterity. This *Frederick* I. died in 1484. Frederick I.

To write the particular hiſtory of *Francis* II. of *Mantua*, would be only a repetition of what is to be found in the preceding parts of this work. He was one of the moſt illuſtrious generals of his age; but there is ſomewhat very particular in the manner of his acceſſion to the government; for though it was generally thought to be hereditary, yet he was formally created marquis by a ceremonious act. A theatre being erected in the Great Square of the city before the caſtle, he received the inveſtiture of his government from one of his public officers, who put into his hand a ſcepter or rod. This particular proves, that the ſubjects of the *Italian* ſtates ſtill retained ideas of the municipal rights, which they enjoyed under the ſanction of the empire; and that they conſidered their ſovereigns only as truſtees for defending the community and its liberties. When very young, he commanded the *Venetian* and the confederate troops againſt thoſe of *France*, under *Charles* the *French* king, at the famous battle of *Taro*, where his perſonal valour, and good conduct, baffled the attempts of *Charles* to paſs that river. He afterwards went into the ſervice of *Lewis* XII. of *France*; and he commanded againſt *Gonſalvo*, commonly called the Great Captain. But, the *French* ſuſpecting him as being too good an *Italian* to act in earneſt on their ſide, he ſaw ſuch viſible marks of their diſtruſt, as made it neceſſary for him to pretend ſickneſs, by Francis II.

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[b] Vol. xxviii. p. 223.

which he got quit of their ſervice; but was followed by all the *Italian* cavalry, which occaſioned the total loſs of *Naples* to the *French*. He afterwards commanded the troops of the emperor *Maximilian*; thoſe of *Lewis the Moor*, duke of *Milan*; and thoſe of pope *Julius* II. He had the misfortune to be taken priſoner in a battle by the *Venetians*, who thought themſelves victorious in having him their captive. He was delivered by the treaty that ſucceeded; and the pope had ſo high an eſteem of his abilities, that he made him grand gonfalonier of the church; and the *Venetians* again placed him at the head of their armies. The great actions he performed for all the princes and ſtates he ſerved, make a conſiderable figure in the preceding part of this hiſtory. He is particularly noted for his affability, and humane treatment of his ſoldiers. According to ſome modern authors, he was the firſt of the *Italian* princes who wore a beard; but that muſt be a miſtake, as appears from what we have ſaid of the dukes of *Milan*; though perhaps it may be true, that he was one of thoſe great men who have thought that the largeneſs of a beard drew reſpect upon a perſon. His death happened in 1519. His wife was *Iſabella*, daughter of *Hercules* I. duke of *Ferrara* and *Modena*; and by her he had three ſons and three daughters. The former were, firſt, his ſucceſſor *Frederick* II. ſecond, *Hercules*, who was made a cardinal in 1527; third, *Ferdinand*, who was duke of *Malfi*, and the founder of the houſe of *Guaſtalla*, which failed in the year 1746; but by the treaty of *Aix-la-Chapelle*, in 1748, it was, by the empreſs queen, given up to the infant Don *Philip* of *Spain*.

Frederick II.

FREDERICK II. of *Mantua*, was but nineteen years of age when he ſucceeded his father, and was inaugurated in the ſame manner as he was; but with greater pomp; for at the ceremony, he created ſeveral knights, and made a proceſſion at the head of his court, from the cathedral through his capital, to be recognized by his people. Young as he was, he ſhewed an extraordinary impatience to imitate the military virtues of his father. He commanded the troops of *Leo* X. and entered into the confederacy for delivering pope *Clement* VII. from his impriſonment in the caſtle of *St. Angelo*, in 1526. He afterwards made up matters with the emperor *Charles* V. and that monarch having received the imperial crown at *Bologna*, from the ſame pope, paid *Frederick* a viſit in his return to *Germany*, at *Mantua*, where he was entertained with extraordinary magnificence, and received from the emperor the ducal crown, by which he was created the firſt duke of *Mantua*.

Frederick II.

FREDERICK II. married *Margaret*, daughter to *William* VIII. marquis of *Montferrat*, who died in the year 1518, leaving a ſon, *Boniface*, who died in 1530, without iſſue; but left his eſtate to his uncle *John George*. He, though an eccleſiaſtic, quitted that profeſſion; but though eſpouſed to *Julia*, daughter to *Frederick* king of *Naples*, he died in three years without iſſue. Upon this the houſe of *Savoy* claimed the ſucceſſion; but the emperor marched his troops into *Montferrat*, and gave the inveſtiture of it to *Frederick* duke of *Mantua*, who after performing many glorious actions, both in war and peace, died in 1540, leaving three ſons; firſt, *Francis* III. ſecond, *William*; third, *Lewis Gonzaga*, duke of *Nevers*, in *France*. The fourth ſon *Frederic*, was poſthumous, and was afterwards biſhop of *Mantua*, and a cardinal.

Francis III.

FRANCIS III. though but ſix years of age at the time of his father's death, was inaugurated in the ſame manner as his predeceſſors had been. His tutor was his uncle *Hercules*, the cardinal, who was a man of great probity and prudence, and managed all the affairs of his nephew, without the intervention of his mother. *Francis* married *Catherine* of *Auſtria*, daughter to the emperor *Ferdinand* I. but had no iſſue by her, and died in 1550. He was ſucceeded by his brother *William*. This prince, being but fifteen years of age, at the time of his brother's death, the government of *Mantua* continued in the hands of the cardinal. The moſt remarkable affair that happened to this prince, was a family diſpute which he was obliged to maintain, and which makes it neceſſary for us to ſpeak of the third brother.

William.

He had entered very young into the ſervice of *France*, where he became ſo agreeable to the *French* king, that he was made governor of *Champagne*. He then courted the princeſs *Henrietta* of *Cleves*, though ſhe was homely in her perſon, and had three brothers, and two ſiſters, all of them elder than her, alive. The match between a prince who had his fortune to make, and ſuch a princeſs, was not very promiſing; but he courted her without having a rival for ſeveral years, without being able to gain her. At laſt, her three brothers and her two ſiſters died, and leaving her heireſs to an immenſe fortune, ſhe was courted by numbers of the firſt rank and quality in *Europe*. To prevent any bad conſequences from their rivalſhip, *Charles* IX. of *France*, who was her ſovereign, took her under his protection, and gave her leave to take any of her ſuitors for a huſband that ſhe pleaſed; and her choice generouſly fell upon her conſtant admirer *Lewis Gonzaga*, whom ſhe married in 1562; and by that match he became duke of *Nevers* and *Rethelois*, and conſequently one of the moſt conſiderable noblemen in *France*. This duke, two years after his marriage, went into *Italy*, to raiſe troops for his maſter *Charles*, and claimed from his brother the ſhare of his father's and mothers ſucceſſion, which had been uſually given to the younger brothers of the family, and particularly ſome eſtates belonging to *Montferrat*.

Diſpute between two brothers.

DUKE *William*, who was naturally very ſuſpicious, thought that his brother's raiſing men for the *French* king, was only a pretext; that his true deſign was to ſupport, by force, the people of *Caſal*, the capital of *Montferrat*, who had rebelled, and to ſeize the places he had demanded in *Montferrat*. The duke of *Nevers* juſtified himſelf; but it was with ſome difficulty he ſucceeded, and the diſpute had very diſagreeable conſequences in the family. In favour of this duke *William*, the emperor *Maximilian* II. in 1572, erected *Montferrat* into a duchy. We have little or nothing more to add, than that in 1574, *Henry* III. of *France* paid him a viſit, in his journey from *Poland*, to take upon him the *French* crown. Duke *William* was married to the princeſs *Eleanor* of *Auſtria*, youngeſt daughter to the emperor *Ferdinand* I. and by her had a ſon, *Vincent*, and two daughters; of whom *Margaret*, the eldeſt, married *Alphonſo* II. duke of *Ferrara*; and *Catherine* was the wife of *Frederick* of *Auſtria*, her uncle.

Vincent I.

VINCENT I. was a pacific prince, and ſo very religious, that he inſtituted the order of the Precious Blood, the *Mantuans* being fully perſuaded that they are in poſſeſſion of the ſpunge which was wet with the blood of our Saviour, and which *Longinus*, the ſoldier who pierced his ſide, but was afterwards a great ſaint, carried to *Mantua*, where he preached the Chriſtian religion. This ſtory, and many ſuch abſurdities, are received as certain truths, not only at *Mantua*, but all over *Italy*; ſo that pope *Leo* III. came in perſon to *Mantua* to adore the holy relic; and it continues to this day in high veneration, and gave occaſion to the inſtitution we have ſpoken of, which took its riſe in 1608. *Vincent* was more deſervedly famous for the vaſt encouragement and patronage he extended to learned men, and perſons of genius in the fine arts; all of whom, eſpecially thoſe who celebrated him in their works, he encouraged to profuſion. He died in 1612. He married firſt, *Margaret*, daughter to *Alexander* duke of *Parma*; and ſecondly, *Eleanor*, daughter to *Francis* duke of *Tuſcany*; and by her he had three ſons; firſt, *Francis* IV. ſecond, *Ferdinand*; and third, *Vincent* II. who were ſucceſſively dukes of *Mantua*; and two daughters, of whom the firſt was married to *Henry* duke of *Lorrain*; and the other, *Eleanor*, was the ſecond wife to the emperor *Ferdinand* II.

FRANCIS IV. died in the firſt year of his government. He married *Margaret* of *Savoy*, daughter to *Charles Emanuel*, and *Catharine Michel* of *Auſtria*, by whom he left only a daughter. This circumſtance created ſome difficulty. The young lady's uncle, cardinal *Ferdinand*, upon this, claimed to be duke of *Mantua*, but was oppoſed by her grandfather, the duke of *Savoy*; ſo that a quarrel enſued, in which not only the *Italian* ſtates, but *Auſtria*, *Spain*, and *France*, were engaged; but after a variety of negociations and expedients, the affair was rather huſhed up than adjuſted. *Ferdinand* having thrown up his cardinal's hat, kept poſſeſſion of the duchy of *Mantua*, and died in 1626, without leaving any iſſue by his wife *Catharine de Medici*. Francis IV.

HE was ſucceeded by his brother *Vincent* II. who was likewiſe a cardinal, but reſigned his hat, and married *Iſabella Gonzaga*, daughter to *Ferdinand*, duke of *Bozzolo*. As it was likely that his government might be diſputed by his niece *Mary*, he applied to the pope to be divorced from *Iſabella de Bozzolo*, on account of her youth, and to be enabled to marry his niece. But while he was in the proſecution of this affair, in which he was diſappointed, and for which he was but ill qualified by his health and habit of body, he died without any iſſue in 1628, and by his death the male line of the eldeſt branch of the *Gonzaga* family, became extinct; an event which created great troubles in *Italy*. Vincent II.

THE princeſs *Mary*, daughter to *Francis* IV. now revived her pretenſions, ſhe being the undoubted female heir of that line. The duke *de Nevers*, in *France*, claimed to be the next male ſucceſſor. His name was *Charles*, and he had ſucceeded his father *Lewis*, and both of them were great favourites at the *French* court; but he ſet up another title beſides that of his paternal deſcent. The *French* king, who thought himſelf intereſted in the ſucceſſion of *Mantua*, conſtantly kept a reſident at that court, who gained ſo far upon *Vincent* II. that he dropped his deſign of marrying his neice, and procured his conſent that ſhe ſhould be married to the eldeſt ſon of the duke *de Nevers*. The marriage was accordingly performed by proxy, the very day before the death of duke *Vincent* II. At this time the duke of *Nevers* was the *French* ambaſſador at *Rome*; and hearing of *Vincent*'s death, he came to *Mantua*, and took poſſeſſion of that duchy, as well as that of *Montferrat*, by a double title, his own right, and that of his daughter-in-law. The reader, in the courſe of this hiſtory, may all along perceive, that the emperors of *Germany* had conſidered *Mantua*, and the other *Italian* duchies and ſtates, as being fiefs of the empire, and that they had a right to *Diſpute about the ſucceſſion.*

Charles *the firſt duke of* Nevers *ſucceeds.*

diſpoſe of their ſucceſſion, eſpecially if there was any doubt as to the claims of the competitors. Beſides the duke of *Nevers*, the duke of *Guaſtalla*, and other princes of the *Gonzaga* family, had all ſet up pretenſions; and therefore the emperor inſiſted that the duchies ſhould be put under ſequeſtration, till the ſeveral claims were adjuſted. At the ſame time he intimated to the duke of *Nevers*, that he was diſpoſed to give his claim the preference.

Supported by the French.

LEWIS XIII. was then king of *France*; and being fond of every opportunity to humble the emperor, he prevailed with the duke not to ſubmit to the ſequeſtration, but to do himſelf juſtice by arms. The duke following that advice, the emperor conſidered it as ſuch an infringement of his authority, that he put the duke to the ban of the empire, and made the governor of *Milan* the executor of the ban; and he accordingly laid ſiege to *Caſal*, for refuſing to ſubmit to the ſequeſtration. *Lewis*, at that time, had got rid of his civil wars with the Proteſtants, and was at leiſure to employ his troops in *Italy*. He accordingly paſſed the mountains, and raiſed the ſiege of *Caſal*; but ſoon after returned to *France*. Upon his return, the imperial troops under general *Collalto*, poured into *Italy*, and the war became very furious. *Spain* joined with the emperor, and the *Venetians* with the duke, who was ſo infatuated, as to give no ear to his beſt friends, when they repreſented that *France* had nothing but her own ends in view, and that though he ſhould even force the emperor to grant him the inveſtiture, yet he muſt receive it with the ruin and depopulation of his eſtates, after a bloody war; not to mention, that his ſubjects were extremely averſe to live under any prince who had not the imperial ſanction. By this time *Spain* had declared herſelf in favour of the emperor; but neither the *French* nor the *Venetians* thought proper to declare againſt her, becauſe of her connexions with the duke of *Savoy*, who was a capital party in the diſpute, and whoſe ſituation enabled him to check the march of the *French* armies. Cardinal *Richlieu* was then the firſt miniſter of *France*, and in his high impetuous manner he put himſelf at the head of her troops, and marched into *Savoy*. There he endeavoured to over-reach that duke, ſometimes by treachery, ſometimes by negociating, and was ſo near ſucceeding, that it was with difficulty that he eſcaped to *Turin*; but *Pignerole* fell into *Richlieu*'s hands, and that conqueſt laid the firſt foundations of the *French* power on the ſide of *Italy*. The war ſtill went on between the emperor and the *Venetians*, with various ſucceſs, but with ſo many mortifying events to the duke of *Nevers*, that he began to think of accommodating matters

with the emperor, but was diverted from it by the marſhal A. D.
d'Etree, the *French* ambaſſador and general in the *Mantuan*, 1630.
and by the *Venetians*, who promiſed to ſupport him with all their power. The plague, at that time, raged in the *Mantuan*, and made ſuch havock in that capital, that it was in great danger of being taken by the imperialiſts, who had beſieged it. The *Venetians* endeavoured to ſuccour the place, and a large body of troops were put in motion for that purpoſe. *Collalto*, the imperial general, hearing of their approach, and having a correſpondence with ſome of the beſieged officers, ſurprized and ſcaled the walls; and thus the imperialiſts became maſters of the place, where they commited the moſt cruel ravages. The duke, and the marſhal *d'Etree*, were then in the city, and had juſt time to retire to one of the caſtles, which they no ſooner entered, than its fortifications were blown up; ſo that they were obliged to ſurrender themſelves priſoners to the imperial general, who ſent the marquis and his family to *Melara*, a place in the *Mantuan*, where the *Venetians* furniſhed them with the means of ſubſiſtence.

In the mean while, the *French* troops were maſters of *Caſal*, *Peace of*
and the emperor was ſo intent upon their quitting *Italy*, that, Quevaſ-
at the diet of *Ratiſbon*, he offered the duke the inveſtiture of que.
Mantua. The cardinal being, at that time, afraid of his maſter's death, at laſt lent an ear to the accommodation; but *Lewis* recovering from his dangerous illneſs, the war was continued, eſpecially in *Montferrat*, where he endeavoured to eſtabliſh a footing for the *French*. The ſcene of war being transferred to *Germany*, the treaty of *Quevaſque*, which was concluded in 1631, gave peace to *Mantua*, and the emperor beſtowed the formal inveſtiture of it upon duke *Charles*, who held it peaceably till the time of his death, which happened in 1637; but he had the mortification of ſeeing great part of *Montſerrat* torn from his family by the treaty of *Quevaſque*, and ſettled on the houſe of *Savoy*, to ſatisfy that duke's pretenſions upon the *Mantuan*.

CHARLES, eldeſt ſon to *Charles* I. who had married Charles II
Mary, only daughter of duke *Francis* II. died in 1631, and *and* III.
left a ſon of his own name with two princeſſes; the eldeſt of whom, who is renowned for virtue and beauty, was the third wife of the emperor *Ferdinand* III. *Charles* III. for ſo he is called, his father being conſidered as duke of *Mantua*, on account of his marriage, was educated under his father till he was eight years of age. He was deformed in his perſon, but his mind was active, and his ſpirit penetrating. He married, in 1649, *Iſabella Clara* of *Auſtria*, daughter to the archduke *Leopold* of *Inſpruck*, which was one of the moſt unfortunate ſteps

of his life; for their perſons being diſagreeable to one another, the duke fell into many amorous irregularities, which he purſued at *Venice*. Being, at the time of his grandfather's death, deſtitute of any uncle, or near relation, his education, which was left to the emperor *Ferdinand* III. was intirely neglected. *Mantua*, however, continued in peace, by the friendſhip and alliance of the emperor; ſo that *Charles* had no buſineſs to divert him from the purſuit of pleaſure, which he indulged to the full, and even ordered it to be inſinuated to his ducheſs, that ſhe might do the ſame. His adventures at *Venice* were ſuch, as cannot decently be recorded by hiſtory, but his excellent ſiſter the empreſs, employed all her credit with her huſband, in favour of the houſe of *Gonzaga*. *Charles* III. died in 1665.

Charles IV.

His ſon and ſucceſſor *Charles* IV. was but ſeven years of age when his father died, and his mother, who had the care of his education, being a *German*, was hated and calumniated by the *Mantuans*, which made her life very uneaſy. The emperor *Leopold* took the ſame concern in the affairs of *Mantua*, that his father had done; and hearing certain reports to the diſadvantage of the ducheſs dowager, he ſent count *Windigratz* to *Mantua*, with a private commiſſion narrowly to inſpect her conduct, and the affairs of the duchy. The count, though he pretended to have no buſineſs but to pay the emperor's compliments to the ducheſs, and the young duke, who, about the time we ſpeak of, was about thirteen or fourteen years of age, ſuſpected the real motive of the viſit, and did all he could to come at the truth; but the envoy ſtill kept to general terms, and eluded all their inquiries. At laſt, the young duke flatly demanded to know his real buſineſs; and the count no longer finding means to evade an anſwer, informed him, by way of ſecret, that there was a perſon about the court of *Mantua* whom the emperor diſliked, and whom he had orders to ſecure. The duke imparting this anſwer to his mother, ſhe immediately retired to a religious houſe, and a count, who was ſuppoſed to be her gallant, took the habit of *St. Dominic*. The emperor getting intelligence of this, appointed a council to manage the affairs of the duchy till the duke was of age.

his advantageous marriage,

In the year 1670, the empreſs *Eleanora*, his aunt, brought about a marriage between him and the princeſs *Iſabella* of *Guaſtalla*. This match was highly advantageous to the duke, as by the preference which the emperor gave him, he was put in poſſeſſion of the valuable duchy of *Guaſtalla*, though many of the male line of that family claimd it. This preſent, however, was underſtood by both parties to be the price of the duke's intire attachment to the imperial intereſt; and an expreſs condition was inſerted in the articles of marriage, that *Guaſtalla*, the capital of that duchy, ſhould remain in the condition it then was, that is, without fortifications. The duke forgot all obligations of that kind, and precipitately entered into all the meaſures of *France*.

and character.

THIS duke *Charles* IV. was, if poſſible, more neglected in his education than his father had been, and was without his wit and penetration. Though his wife, the princeſs of *Guaſtalla*, was a moſt amiable lady, he conceived an averſion to her perſon ſoon after their marriage, and refrained from her bed. As he had never been contradicted in any thing by his mother, he neglected buſineſs ſo much, that one day when he had occaſion to ſign his name, neither pen nor ink was to be found in all his palace; and he gave one of his courtiers a hundred piſtoles a year to attend him on all occaſions with thoſe implements. The court of *France*, knowing the invincible propenſity he had to pleaſure, encouraged him in all his exceſſes, and in his averſion to his ducheſs; and at length he was deſpiſed even by the *Venetians*, and all the friends of the houſe of *Auſtria*, who before had treated him with the higheſt reſpect and eſteem. When the *French* had got ſome aſcendency over him, cardinal *Mazarine* propoſed, under pretence that his moſt Chriſtian majeſty was his proper guardian againſt the power and ambition of the houſe of *Auſtria*, that he ſhould receive a *French* garriſon into *Caſal*; but the duke having then large appointments from the court of *Vienna*, the negociation miſcarried. His extravagances, however, ſoon bringing him into neceſſities, the *French* king reſumed his hopes of ſucceeding with regard to *Caſal*. For that purpoſe he ſent the abbot *Morel* to *Mantua*. His inſtructions were to offer to the duke an equivalent for *Caſal*, either in ready money, or in eſtates in *France*; but, at the ſame time, to inforce the great advantage it would be for the duke of *Mantna*, to be free from the expence of maintaining the numerous garriſon which that place required. The duke was reduced to a proper pitch of poverty, not to reſent this propoſal. He ſeemed, however, at firſt to be ſo averſe to it, that the abbot retired from *Mantua* with ſome apparent diſguſt. The duke was far from being in earneſt in his refuſal; but, in fact, his ſituation was ſuch, with the houſe of *Auſtria*, amongſt the neighbouring powers, that he durſt not at firſt comply. He at laſt ſent the marquis *de Guerrier*, as his ambaſſador to *Paris*, to teſtify to his moſt Chriſtian majeſty, the extreme deſire he had to remain in his good graces, and his willingneſs to do every thing in his power

Gained over by the French.

to oblige him. *Lewis* underſtood this compliment as a proof of the duke's being willing to part with *Caſal*, and ſent the abbot *Morel* back to *Mantua*. The abbot, in his firſt audience with the duke, put him in mind of what his ambaſſador had declared to *Lewis*. According to ſome writers, the duke was ſo incautious, that he immediately ſigned his name on a blank ſheet of paper, which he delivered to the abbot, and the latter filled up the blank, with an expreſs order for the governor of *Caſal* to yield up the place to the *French* troops. The duke, in excuſe, pretended that the commiſſion he had charged *Guerrier* with, was no more than a general compliment, and that the *carte blanche* ſignified no more, than his readineſs to gratify his moſt Chriſtian majeſty, in whatever was conſiſtent with his intereſt and honour. Be this as it will, if the fact of the *carte blanche* is true, it is more than probable that the *French* made the duke a preſent of a conſiderable ſum of money; for *Caſal* was actually given up to them.

and gives unto them Caſal.

THE emperor highly reſented this ceſſion, as belonging to an imperial fief; and the *Venetians* reproaching the duke for having ſold it to the *French*, he went to *Venice*, and there ſolemnly ſwore upon the hoſt, that he never had touched a farthing of *French* money on that account. This aſſeveration, however, did not ſatisfy either the *Venetians* or the imperial court; and the duke found himſelf obliged to put *Guerrier* under an arreſt, when he returned to *Mantua*; but no conſequences happening from his impriſonment, the *Venetians* broke with the duke, and, without declaring war, cut off all communication between him and their ſenate and nobility. They were even ſo exaſperated with him, that they hanged a painter who was one of his dependents, and afterwards broke open and read the letters which the duke, ſome time before, had ſent in his favour. This is what the *French* had foreſeen, and wiſhed for; and the duke, in order to repair his decayed intereſt in *Italy*, took the reſolution, ſome ſay by the advice of the *French* themſelves, to fortify *Guaſtalla*, tho' in a direct violation of his marriage contract. Having no money of his own, for his exceſſes always kept him poor, he was obliged to borrow for that purpoſe forty thouſand *louis d'ors* from the *French* king, who lent it him, becauſe he thought that his neceſſities would oblige him to part with *Guaſtalla*, in the ſame manner as he had done with *Caſal*. *Lewis* even ſent him architects and engineers to expedite the fortifications.

but is obliged to deſtroy the fort of Guaſtalla.

THE emperor thought himſelf very ill treated in all this; and, by his miniſters, repreſented to the duke, in the warmeſt terms, that by his connexions with *France*, he was not only forfeiting the conditions of his inveſtiture, but laying a foundation for the *French* becoming maſters of all *Italy*. The king of *Spain* ſeconded the remonſtrances of the emperor; but the *French* had infatuated the duke to ſuch a degree, that the operations ſtill went on, and their engineers and workmen were daily repairing to the *Mantuan*, in pilgrim, or other diſguiſes. Upon this, the king of *Spain* ordered count *Fuenſalida*, then governor of the *Milaneſe*, to advance with a body of troops to *Caſal Maggiore*, where he embarked them and his artillery, and proceeded till he came oppoſite to *Guaſtalla*. He then ſent the count de *Louvigny* to reaſon with the duke of *Mantua*, who at firſt appeared reſolute; but perceiving that count *Fuenſalida* was making diſpoſitions to land his men, he was perſuaded not only to ſuffer the works to be demoliſhed, but to order his ſubjects to join in the demolition. This was a labour of ſeveral months; the fortifications being built in the form of a pentagon, and, if completed, it would have been one of the ſtrongeſt places in *Europe*.

Makes a campaign againſt the Turks.

THE duke, notwithſtanding the coldneſs of the *Venetians* towards him, reſided moſtly in that city, where he could indulge his pleaſures with greater freedom than he could do in the *Mantuan*. His exceſſes, however, ſometimes brought him into inconveniences, and, on account of a love affair, he ſent a challenge to the elector of *Bavaria*, who happened to be there at the ſame time, but declined to fight the duke, but at the head of an army. Soon after the duke took a reſolution to ſerve a campaign againſt the *Turks*, who were then threatening to beſiege *Vienna*; and having raiſed a troop of three hundred men, he ſet out for *Hungary*, attended by a number of his own and other *Italian* nobility. It does not appear, that in this expedition he was wanting either in courage or conduct. His little troop made a noble appearance; and notwithſtanding all he had done to provoke the emperor, he preſented himſelf before him at *Vienna*; and *Leopold*, far from reproaching or confining him, as he had a right to do, extolled his generous reſolution, and thanked him for his aſſiſtance; while the duke, in return, promiſed to abandon his connections with the *French*. He then became a public favourite with *Leopold*, and his general the duke of *Lorrain*, under whom he ſerved at the ſecond ſiege of *Buda*; and when that was over he returned to *Italy*. The war between the *French* and the emperor ſoon breaking out there, in 1695, *Caſal* was beſieged and taken by the duke of *Savoy*. The duke of *Man-*

tua was now ſo great a favourite with the emperor, that the latter not chuſing to ſuffer *Caſal* to remain in the duke of *Savoy*'s hands, he gave it back to its former maſter, after the fortifications had been demoliſhed, according to the capitulation. It was even thought, if the duke of *Mantua* had not relapſed into his connections with *France*, that he would have been made generaliſſimo of the imperial and *Spaniſh* armies. It is certain that the ſucceſs of the war, in a great meaſure, depended upon the part he ſhould take. The imperialiſts made him very great offers, if he would give them up *Mantua* for a place of arms, and the pope, the *Venetians*, and *Swiſs*, offered to place a garriſon in it at their own expence.

Again joins the French,

SUCH was the ſtate of the duke's affairs, when the *Spaniſh* ſucceſſion threw all *Europe* again into a combuſtion. But the duke had ſecretly determined himſelf in favour of *France*. He took care, however, as uſual, to have ſome pretext for his conduct, and to clear himſelf from the imputation of rebellion, and ingratitude towards the emperor. He had hitherto refuſed to admit into his dominions either *French* or neutral troops; but prince *Vaudemont* having delivered up the *Milaneſe* to the *French*, and made himſelf maſter of *Mirandola*, in the beginning of *April* 1701; ſent a letter by a trumpet, deſiring the duke to give up his capital to his troops, and threatening, in caſe of non-compliance, to reduce it to aſhes in a few hours. It was generally believed that this was a pre-concert between the duke and the *French* court; for a body of fifteen thouſand men appeared in the neighbourhood of *Mantua*. Upon this, the duke aſſembled his council, where it was reſolved to comply with the ſummons; and the gates of the city being opened, *Teſſe*, the *French* general, took poſſeſſion of it with three thouſand *French* and two thouſand *Spaniards*. This event alarmed all *Europe*, and it was publickly given out, that the duke had received fifty thouſand *louis d'ors* for the ſurrender, and his miniſter ten thouſand for making the bargain. The duke had a reſident at *Rome*, the marquis of *Berretta*, who had, ſome time before, applied to his holineſs for a body of his troops to garriſon *Mantua*; but the pope being ſlow in ſending them, the *French* got the ſtart of them. The marquis preſented a letter to the pope, excuſing himſelf for what had happened, and laying it upon his own inability to prevent it. To this letter the pope returned no anſwer; but the marquis, ſoon after, appearing at the imperial reſident's houſe, the latter threattened to throw him out of his window.

AT *Vienna*, that court was ſo thoroughly convinced of a colluſion between the duke and the *French*, that in *July* after the ſurrender of *Mantua*, the baron *de Seyler*, the emperor's miniſter at *Ratiſbon*, gave notice to the diet, that the duke of *Mantua*, and the counts of *Berera* and *Fiani*, his miniſters, had been cited by the council of the empire to appear, and ſhew cauſe, why they ſurrendered to the *French* the city of *Mantua*; and to hear pronounced againſt them the ſentence of confiſcation of their eſtates and goods, for encouraging and promoting the cruel war which is like to be kindled in *Italy*. He alſo imparted to the diet, another ordinance of the ſame council, by which all the officers and vaſſals of the duke of *Mantua*, are diſcharged from their obedience which they owe him: together with certain circulatory letters, by which all the princes of *Italy*, feodaries of the empire, with their vaſſals, are exhorted to continue faithful to the empire.

His ſecond marriage,

THE duke, thus finding himſelf ruined at the imperial court, ſhut himſelf up in *Mantua*, and entered intirely into the *French* ſchemes both of pleaſure and buſineſs. His ducheſs, *Iſabella* of *Guaſtalla*, dying, the *French* perſuaded him to make a journey into *France*, where he was received by *Lewis* with vaſt careſſes; and the better to fix him in his intereſt, he gave him in marriage the princeſs *d'Elbeuf*, with the title of general of the *French* armies in *Italy*. This dignity gratified the duke's paſſion for ſhew; and when he returned, he took poſſeſſion of his new poſt in the duke of *Vendoſme*'s army, to the great ridicule of the ſoldiers, and indeed of all *Europe*. But while he was thus exerciſing his generalſhip, the war in *Italy* took a new turn, and the *French*, in 1707, were driven out of *Mantua* itſelf, without being able to make any ſtipulation in favour of the duke, or his ducheſs. Upon this, he retired to the remainder of his eſtate in the *Venetian* territories, and died at *Pavia* on the 5th of *July*, 1708, a few days after he had been put to the ban of the empire. Dying without lawful iſſue, many claimants of the houſes of *Guaſtalla* and *Lorrain*, applied for the inveſtiture of *Mantua*; but the emperor refuſed it to them all, and kept poſſeſſion of it himſelf, but gave the duchy of *Montferrat* to the duke of *Savoy*. It is not our deſign to diſcuſs the pretenſions of the ſeveral parties who claimed this ſucceſſion; but it was generally thought that the houſe of *Lorrain* had the beſt right to it; and it has, ever ſince the death of the laſt duke, been annexed to the duchy of *Milan*.

and death.

END of the HISTORY *of* MANTUA.

HISTORY of the Houſe of SAVOY. Containing the Hiſtory of *Savoy*, *Piedmont*, and the other Eſtates of his *Sardinian* Majeſty.

SECT. I.

Containing a general Deſcription of the King of Sardinia'*s Dominions; and the Hiſtory of that Houſe from the Year* 1000.

Deſcription of Savoy,

SAVOY, the *Sabaudia* of the ancients, borders upon *France* to the Weſt; upon *France* and *Piedmont* to the South; upon *Piedmont*, the *Milaneſe*, and *Swiſſerland* to the Eaſt; and is bounded on the North by the lake of *Geneva*. According to its preſent dimenſions, it is no more than eighty-eight *Engliſh* miles from Weſt to Eaſt, and from South to North ſeventy-ſix. The face of the country is rugged, and wretched to the laſt degree, being mountainous, or rather rocky; between the hills, in a few contemptible vallies, the inhabitants, with the utmoſt efforts of induſtry and labour, pick up a miſerable ſubſiſtence. There are, however, a few exceptions to this wretchedneſs. Grain grows in ſome of the vallies, and vines near the lake of *Geneva*, *Montmelian*, and *St. Jean de Maurienne*; and *Ripaille* preſents romantic but beautiful proſpects. Mount *Cenis* is famous for its height, and the difficulty of its paſſage, being the road between *Savoy* and *Piedmont*; but has of late years been rendered more practicable by incredible labour. The chief river of *Savoy* is the *Rhone*, which flows out of the lake of *Geneva*, and on that ſide ſeparates it from *France*. Into it run the following rivers: the *Arve*, which riſes in *Faucigny*, has a mixture of gold in its ſand, and near *Geneva* empties itſelf into the *Rhone*: *Les Suſſes* and *Siers*; the ſources of which are in the *Genevois*, and fall into the *Rhone* not far from *Seiſel*, the latter being increaſed by the *Seran*: the *Iſeree*, which riſes in the *Tarantaiſe*, at the foot of the mount *Iſeran*; among others it receives the river *Arc*, the head of which is in *Maurienne*, and beyond *Valence* loſes itſelf in the *Rhone*. The *Arc*, having a great many falls, is very rapid and full of foam. The chief lakes are thoſe of *Anicy* in the *Genevois*, and *Bourget* in *Savoy*[a];

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[a] BUSCHING's Geography, vol. iii. pag. 16.

and its inhabitants.

and both of them abound with excellent fiſh, particularly trouts. The inhabitants are generally ſo miſerably poor, that one-third of the men ſeek their bread in foreign countries by the loweſt occupations, ſuch as puppet-ſhew men, chimney ſweepers, and ſhoe blackers. They who remain at home labour very hard for their living, particularly in carrying ſtrangers and travellers over their mountains, which are often impaſſable for mules, though it is amazing with what art and ſecurity they walk. But neither this employment, nor the moſt laborious drudgeries, prevents many of the inhabitants from begging alms on the high roads, from every traveller who makes a tolerable appearance. Yet, after all, the miſeries of the *Savoyards* are not ſo much owing to the barrenneſs of the ſoil, as to the tyranny of the landlords, who diſcourage all cultivation of the ground by their haughtineſs and rigour. Many ſpots of *Savoy* are capable of producing corn; and the few that do produce it, are ſuperior to thoſe that do not, only in the cultivation.

THE people, who are naturally ſubmiſſive, chearful, and contented, are ſhut out by their ſituation from knowing any thing of the other parts of the world, and bear all their miſeries with patience. A farmer, who has a yoke of oxen, two horſes, four cows, and a few goats and ſheep, is looked upon as being a wealthy man. Moſt of their bread is made of oats, but a few amongſt the richeſt of them have wheat. The fare of the lower ſort is extremely poor: their higheſt luxury conſiſting in milk and water for drink; and for food, in cheeſe, butter, wallnuts, and garden ſtuff, and even thoſe in very ſcanty quantities. Fleſh meat is ſeldom known, even amongſt the more wealthy of them. The reigning king of *Sardinia*, and his father, have gone far towards aboliſhing many of the oppreſſive tenures and uſages, under which the ſubjects groaned from their landlords. Nobility and genealogy, and armorial bearings, are in *Savoy* ſo many civil diſeaſes, which are encouraged, becauſe they bring in a conſiderable revenue to the crown; titles here being a mercantile commodity. The language of the *Savoyards* is *French*; but they retain amongſt them, a great deal of the old *German* plainneſs and honeſty. Their religion is popery, to which they are no great bigots. Hunting is one of the privileges of the noble *Savoyards*; and the lives of the poorer people might be much more comfortable, if they were indulged in the exerciſe either of that or of fiſhing, many of their woods and plains, being ſtored with excellent game.

CHAMBERRY, properly ſpeaking, is the capital of *Savoy*, and is ſituated on the river *Leiſe*, in a fine valley; but nothing worth mentioning is to be ſeen there. It is, however, the place where the ſtates or parliament of *Savoy* aſſemble, and ſome veſtiges of the ancient feodal conſtitution are ſtill diſcernable there. *Monmelian* is a very ſtrong town of *Savoy*, and *Ripaille* is famous for its delightful retirements. The reſt of its towns have nothing in them remarkable. We cannot cloſe this general account of *Savoy*, without taking notice, that vaſt numbers of the inhabitants have large wens and excreſcences upon their throats, which is thought to be owing to their drinking ſnow water.

Piedmont

PIEDMONT, ſo called from its being ſituated at the foot of the mountains, is a part of the ancient *Lombardy*, and northward, borders on *Savoy* and *Italy*; weſtward, on *France*; ſouthward, on the *Mediterranean*, and the republic of *Genoa*; and eaſtward, on the duchies of *Montferrat* and *Milan*. From ſouth to north it is about thirty *German*, or one hundred and fifty *Engliſh* miles, but much leſs from weſt to eaſt. The ſoil of it is a great deal more fruitful, and leſs rugged, than that of *Savoy*. Its hills produce great plenty of excellent wine, and *Turin*, its capital, is famous for fine fruits, and noble walks of cheſnut and mulberry trees. Cheſnuts and truffles of an excellent kind, are found here in great plenty[b]. They have a particular kind of dogs, that by their ſcent find out the truffles; nor do they loſe that quality when carried to other countries. It is ſaid that the cattle of *Piedmont*, brings into the country above one hundred and fifty thouſand pounds a year; but the chief commodity of the inhabitants is ſilk, which is the beſt in *Italy*. The country, from *Turin* to *Coni*, is delightful; and *Rochemelon* is the higheſt of all the *Italian Alps*, it requiring a whole day to reach its ſummit, from whence there is a noble proſpect all over the *Milaneſe*, *Venice*, and the neighbouring countries. The *Po*, into which ſeveral other rivers run, and the *Var*, are its chief rivers.

As to its inhabitants, they are lively, ingenious, and witty. The nobility live under the like conſtitutions, and much after the ſame manner as thoſe of *Savoy*; and in *Piedmont* there are about fifty earldoms, fifteen marquiſates, a great number of lordſhips, and twenty abbeys. The language of the *Piedmonteſe*, is a mixture of *French* and *Italian*; but they have the misfortune to be equally ſlaves to their kings, and to their religion, which is popery, and which cramps all the efforts of their natural genius[c]. In this duchy, however, amidſt the vallies of *Lucerne*, *Peyrouſe*, and *St. Martin*, bordering on *Dauphiné*, live the celebrated *Waldenſes*; which appellation

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[b] Busching, vol. iii. p. 24. [c] Ibid, p. 26.

tion is not derived from a perſon of the name of *Waldus*, but the place of their abode, namely, the vallies, the *Italians* calling them *Waldeſi*, that is, the people of the vallies. Thoſe people profeſs a kind of primitive Chriſtianity, and have always oppoſed the ſuperſtitions of the church of *Rome*, which has often drawn upon them moſt inhuman perſecutions. The king of *Sardinia*, by the ſituation of his dominions, has been juſtly termed the jailor of the *Alps*, as it is extremely difficult for the *French*, or any other people, to force their way into *Italy* without his conſent. This renders his friendſhip of infinite conſequence to all the powers of *Europe*, who are concerned in any quarrel relating to the *Italian* ſtates. As he is an abſolute ſovereign within his own ſtate in civil matters, and for the moſt part in eccleſiaſtic, his ordinary revenues amount to almoſt what he pleaſes; and though they cannot be calculated, muſt be very conſiderable, as he keeps a very ſplendid court, and an army of fifteen thouſand men in time of peace, though he can bring into the field forty thouſand men on occaſion.

The capital city of *Piedmont* is *Turin*, the ancient *Auguſta Taurinorum*. It is one of the fineſt cities in *Europe* for its dimenſions, being of a quadrangular form, and above four miles and a half in circumference. It is ſituated in a delightful country, on the confluence of the *Po* and the *Doria*; and nothing can be more pleaſant than the hills that ſurround it, which are covered with villas, convents, and magnificent buildings. Its inhabitants at preſent are between fifty and ſixty thouſand, and it contains forty-eight churches and convents, and ſeventeen more may be ſeen from its ramparts. Its high, or principal ſtreet, is remarkable for its regularity, breadth, and the loftineſs of its buildings, which are decorated with fine ſpacious piazzas, and balconies to every ſtory, but diſfigured by the uſe of paper lattices. The king's palace is built of free ſtone, and moſt ſplendidly adorned with pillars, ſtatues, and a grand ſtair caſe, where there is a braſs figure of *Victor Amadeus*, the late king, on a horſe of white marble. It muſt, however, be acknowledged that the old town of *Turin* (for hitherto we have only ſpoken of the new one) does not at all anſwer to this magnificent deſcription. The houſes in both are built of brick, and many of the ſtreets are narrow, crooked, and incommodious. To make amends for this, they are interſperſed with grand palaces, and ſome of them contain beautiful ſquares.

BESIDES the king's palace, which can be matched by few in *Europe*, *Turin* contains a great number of fine public buildings both religious and civil. The opera-houſe, the record-office, the univerſity, the royal printing-office, and the arſenal, are all of them maſter-pieces, in their ſeveral kinds. The king's cabinet of curioſities is allowed to be invaluable, and the univerſity library, beſides twenty-thouſand printed volumes, is ſtocked with an immenſe collection of manuſcripts. The hoſpitals for the ſick, the poor, and the lunatics, are anſwerable to the other magnificent works of this city; and its fortifications render it extremely ſtrong. A cut from the *Doria*, which is communicated by ſluices to all the ſtreets of *Turin*, every night, renders it ſweet and wholeſome. The inhabitants, in their manner and way of living, greatly reſemble the *French*; but they are not without their religious weakneſſes, witneſs the holy handkerchief, which is moſt ſacredly preſerved in *Turin*, within a chapel of black marble of moſt curious architecture. *Turin* is the ſee of an archbiſhop, and it has an univerſity, which was erected in the year 1405. The academies here, for riding, dancing, and warlike exerciſes, are reckoned to be the beſt of any in the world, and are greatly encouraged by that king, whoſe courtiers, in time of peace, are formed out of the officers of his army. The court itſelf is polite and agreeable, and is thought to be free from that inſincerity which prevails in *France*, and the diſſimulation that characterizes the other courts of *Italy*. There are, however, inconveniences, that render *Turin* leſs agreeable to a ſtranger than it would otherwiſe be. The air is thick and moiſt, its water is bad, and the accommodations of inns are very paltry. Upon the whole, the city is grand and beautiful; curious pieces of antiquity are placed in many parts of its walls; and the preſent king has omitted nothing to complete the fortifications of the city, and to render it the ſtrongeſt perhaps of any in *Europe*.

Deſcription of its neighbourhood,

THE neighbourhood of *Turin* is full of magnificent palaces, many of which belong to the king. *La Vigne de la Reine*, is famous for its delightful proſpect. *La Venerie* has a fine garden, and near it the king's guards are quartered. *Montcallier*, and *Stupinice*, are two royal palaces, neither of them four miles from *Turin*, and each adorned with peculiar beauties of painting, gardening, and ſituation. *Superga* is a religious foundation, the original of which is connected with our hiſtory. The high hill upon which it is built, was the place from whence the duke of *Savoy*, his preſent *Sardinian* majeſty's father, together with prince *Eugene*, reconnoitred the *French* army, which beſieged *Turin* in 1706, and had gone far towards laying it in aſhes by red hot bullets; the *French* king having a particular reſentment againſt his royal highneſs. The awful proſpect of this ſcene of miſery and diſtreſs, inſpired

ſpired his royal highneſs with ſuch ſentiments, that he made a vow to erect a charitable foundation, if he ſhould ſucceed in delivering his crown and capital from their enemies, and which he accordingly performed[d]. This building, which is ſix ſtories high, forms a parallelogram, one of the ſmaller ſides of which is taken up by the pompous church, where, over the main entrance, is ſeen the following inſcription; "*Virgini genetrici Victor Amadeus, Sardiniæ rex, bello Gallico vovit, pulſis hoſtibus, extruxit dedicavitque.*" *Victor Amadeus*, king of *Sardinia*, during his war with *France*, vowed this houſe; and having defeated his enemies, he has built and dedicated the ſame to the Virgin Mother." Under the church is built the new burial-place for the royal family. This foundation has a yearly appointment of eighteen thouſand *Piedmonteſe* livres in ſpecie, whereby twelve young eccleſiaſtics, of the better perſons of quality, are maintained under the direction of a prior, and completely qualified for the higheſt eccleſiaſtical preferments. The proſpect from this eminence is exceedingly delightful. The only water here for drinking is the rain, of which it is ſaid, in caſe of neceſſity, to be provided with a ſufficiency, at leaſt for three years.

IT would take up too much room here, to deſcribe the other enchanting palaces and ſpots with which *Piedmont* abounds. It may be called the country of fortifications, as its ſituation is equally fit for erecting forts, and inviting invaſions. We ſhall, therefore, confine ourſelves to a deſcription of thoſe cities and ſtrong places, that have made the greateſt figure in war for theſe three hundred years paſt, and tend to illuſtrate hiſtory by deſcribing them.

CHIVAS, or *Chizazzo*, ſtands on the *Po*, about twelve miles northward of *Turin*. It is a ſtrong place, and was retaken by the duke of *Savoy*. *Mondovi* is a fine city, and a diſtrict. It is reckoned the ſecond city of *Piedmont*, and a place of ſtrength, and lies forty miles to the ſouthward of *Turin*. *Coni* lies about thirty, and, during the late wars of *Savoy*, it was reckoned to be impregnable, having baffled the *French* and *Spaniards* who beſieged it. *Pignerole* is famous, in the hiſtories of *France* and *Savoy*, for being the object of perpetual wars. It is ſituated on the river *Chieſe*, and being very ſtrong, underwent various fates; but at laſt it was returned to the poſſeſſion of the houſe of *Savoy*, by the treaty of *Utrecht* in 1713, but on condition that it ſhould not be refortified by his *Sardinian* majeſty. Fort *Brunette* lies on one of the entrances of *Savoy* from *France*. It conſiſts of eight

Chivas.

Mondovi.

Coni.

Pignerole.

Fort Brunette.

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[d] BUSCHING, vol. iii. p. 29.

baſtions, which, with their out-works, are all cut out of the rocks. Not a ſingle building is to be ſeen amongſt them; and the men are ſo covered, that not a ſoldier is to be perceived, excepting a few centinels on proper poſts. The communication between the baſtions and other works, are under the rocks, and of ſuch a breadth, that large carriages, and heavy cannon, with ſeveral horſes, can, with the greateſt conveniency and ſafety, go from one place to the other. Thoſe baſtions are generally guarded by three thouſand men; and the deſperate attacks that have been at various times made upon them by the *French*, particularly during the laſt war, exceed all belief.

Suſa. *SUSA* lies in another paſs between *France* and *Piedmont*, to which it is of the utmoſt importance. It ſtands on the river *Doria*, twenty miles northward of *Turin*. After being often in the poſſeſſion of the *French*, and demoliſhed by them, it returned to the houſe of *Savoy* by the treaty of *Utrecht*; but it is ſtronger by its garriſon, than by its fortifications or ſituation. Here is to be ſeen a marble triumphal arch, erected by king *Cottius*, in honour of *Auguſtus Cæſar*.

Feneſtrelles. Exilles. *Feneſtrelles* and *Exilles*, are likewiſe famous for their ſtrength and ſituation, and for the noble defence they made againſt the *French*, when the latter invaded *Italy* in favour of the infants of *Spain*.

Aſti. *Aſti* is the capital of a county. It lies twenty-five miles to the eaſtward of *Turin*, and is a biſhop's ſee. It is large, ſtrong, and populous, and few cities in *Lombardy* are ſaid to exceed it in its palaces and public buildings. Great remains of antiquity, ſuch as a triumphal arch, an amphitheatre, and the like, are ſtill to be ſeen here, it being a favourite town with *Auguſtus Cæſar*, and other emperors.

Saluzzo. *Saluzzo* is the capital of a marquiſate of the ſame name, and ſtands on an eminence at the foot of the *Alps*. It has undergone various revolutions; but it is now remarkable for little more than the magnificence of its cathedral, and its being a biſhop's ſeat.

Chateau Dauphin. *Chateau Dauphin* is another fort, lying in the *Piedmonteſe* vallies.

Valley of Lucerne. THE chief of theſe is commonly called the vale of *Lucerne*, which is fifteen miles in length, but of an unequal breadth. It contains twelve pariſhes: that of *Roras*, which is the ſmalleſt, is remarkably fruitful in wine, grain, and vegetables, the very dreadful hills, which every where ſurround it, being improved. The pariſh of *Angrogne*, in which lies the famous barricade, is perhaps one of the ſtrongeſt ſpots in the world; for it lies amongſt ſtupendous mountains, and the entrances into it require to be defended by a very few men, to render it inacceſſible. It was here that the famous *Waldenſes*, the pious confeſſors for true Chriſtianity, we have already mentioned, held out againſt all their enemies, who were powerful, keen, and numerous; and here their paſtors uſed to preach without obſtruction before the reformation, and to fit young men for the purpoſes of the miniſtry. The reader is to obſerve, that it is with ſome difficulty we can account for the propriety of calling thoſe ſpots vallies, as there is in ſome of them little or no level ground, though they are in general ſo exceſſively fruitful, that it has been commonly ſaid, if *Italy* was a ſheep, *Piedmont* might be conſidered as its kidney.

Verue. *VERUE*, a fortreſs ſituated on a rock near the *Po*, and of prodigious ſtrength. It has been known to hold out the ſiege of a *French* army for ſix months. Verceil. *Verceil*, ſo called from a barony of that name, has been often mentioned in the foregoing part of this hiſtory. It is ſituated near the frontiers of *Milan*, or rather of *Montferrat*, fifteen miles to the northward of *Caſal*, and about forty north-eaſt of *Turin*: it gives name to a biſhopric, which is ſuffragan to the archbiſhopric of *Milan*: it is large and fortified, and generally follows the fortune of *Turin* the capital. Before we finiſh this deſcription of the vallies of *Piedmont*, ſome of the chief places of which we have only taken notice of, it may be proper to ſay ſomewhat farther concerning their natural curioſities. Thoſe vallies, particularly that of *St. Martin*, contain large woods and thickets that abound in white hares, white, and other coloured partridges, and large pheaſants, not to mention great numbers of wolves and bears. *Valley of* St. Martin, The marmotte, which is ſo famous in *England*, reſides on the higheſt parts of the mountains. It is of a reddiſh colour; it is larger than a rabbit; its fleſh taſtes like pork, and lives where there is very little herbage: but the moſt remarkable property of that animal is, that while the mountains are covered with ſnow, which is eight or nine months in the year, it is always aſleep. The bouquetin, which reſembles a goat, or chamois, has its haunts upon the mountains likewiſe; it generally ſleeps on the ice; it is very fleet; its fleſh is excellent, and when its blood is adminiſtered in warm wine, it is an excellent remedy for that numbneſs which is ſo common and fatal in that country. The tumar, or bif, is a creature engendered by a bull and a mare, or a bull and a ſhe aſs: it lives upon very little; and its ſtrength, ſwiftneſs, and utility, in travelling, is amazing. The mountains of *Piedmont* is likewiſe famous for excellent vegetables, ſome of which are medicinal.

Nice. THE county of *Nice*, though not properly belonging to *Piedmont*, yet borders on it, and belongs to the ſame maſter.

Nice, the chief town, ſtands in a fine plain, ſixty miles to the ſouthward of *Pignerole*, at the foot of the *Alps*. Its citadel is ſtrong, and the city itſelf is ſaid to be very fine. It paſſed in former times through many hands; but the king of *Sardinia* recovered it at the peace of *Utrecht*, and has ſince repaired its fortifications. It may be expected we ſhould here touch upon *Montſerrat*; but that duchy has been already ſpoken of; and the places in it, belonging to his *Sardinian* majeſty, require no other particular deſcription, than what has been already given. We ſhall therefore proceed to *Sardinia*.

Sardinia. THIS iſland is of value to his *Sardinian* majeſty, chiefly as it gives him a royal title. It ſtretches from north to ſouth in the *Mediterranean*, and is about one hundred and ſixty miles in length, and from weſt to eaſt eighty. The air is ſo unwholſome, and the ſoil ſo poor, that the ancient *Romans* puniſhed their ſtate, and other priſoners, by confining them to live on the iſland. The barrenneſs of the ſoil is, however, chiefly owing to the indolence of the inhabitants, but it has of late been greatly improved; ſo that from many places they export corn to *Spain*. **Cagliari.** *Cagliari*, or *Calaris*, the capital, ſituated on the declivity of a hill, is an univerſity, and an archbiſhopric, and the reſidence of the viceroy. It has an excellent harbour, and is ſaid to be large and populous, and to have a briſk trade; but it certainly is a place of no great ſtrength. The reſt of the places in this iſland have nothing remarkable in them. We ſhall, therefore here cloſe the deſcription of his *Sardinian* majeſty's dominions.

Origin of the houſe of Savoy. THE ducal and ſovereign houſe of *Savoy*, is generally thought to have the ſame original with the electoral houſe of *Saxony*, and that their common anceſtor was *Witichind*, ſurnamed *The great duke of Saxony*, who was contemporary with *Charlemagne*; but we ſhall begin our hiſtory with *Bereald*, or *Bertold*.

Bertold. WE have already, in the hiſtory of *Geneva*, mentioned the kingdom of the *Bourgignons*, or *Burgundians*, which was ſometimes called the kingdom of *Arles*; but in fact they were diſtinct, though under the ſame ſovereigns. The kingdom of *Arles* comprehended *Provence*, the *Lionnois*, and *Dauphiny*. The kingdom of *Burgundy*, comprehended *Savoy*, *Swiſſerland*, and many countries in the neighbourhood. *Bertold* bought from *Rodolf*, one of the kings of the *Burgundians*, the counties of *Savoy* and *Maurienne*; and he had a ſon named *Hubert with the white Hands*. This prince, who died about the year Hubert. 1050, performed ſo many important ſervices to the emperor *Conrade* II. that he rewarded him by giving him in property

St.

Amadeo.
Otho.
Amadeo II.
Hubert II.
Amadeo III.
Hubert III.

St. *Maurice*, *Valais*, and the country of *Chablais*. *Hubert's* ſon, *Amadeus*, died without iſſue, and his brother *Otho* added to his paternal dominions the marquiſates of *Suſa*, *Turin*, *Piedmont*, and the valley of *Aoſta*. He aſſumed the title of marquis of *Italy*, and died in 1060. His ſon *Amadeus* II. pretended to be independent of the imperial power, and lived during the troubleſome times of the emperor *Henry* IV. That prince, in his famous expedition into *Italy*, to recover the rights of the empire, found all the paſſages for his march ſhut up by his enemies, but that by *Savoy*, through which he demanded to march; but *Amadeus* obliged him, in conſideration of that privilege, to yield to him the poſſeſſion of five biſhoprics in the neighbourhood. The hiſtory of *Henry* has been recounted in the preceeding parts of this work; and *Amadeo* took advantage, from his diſtreſſes, to increaſe his dominions, by the acceſſion of a large portion of the kingdom of *Arles*, which he did not poſſeſs before, and which is thought to be the county of *Baugy*. In a few months after he died, and was ſucceeded by his ſon *Hubert* II. who took upon himſelf the title of count, or, as others ſay, prince of *Piedmont*. He added to his other dominions the *Tarantaiſe*, and died about the year 1103. His ſon and ſucceſſor *Amadeo* III. was engaged in war with the count of *Geneva*, whom he is ſaid to have ſlain with own hand. He attended the emperor *Henry* V. in his two journeys to *Rome*, and ſerved in two campaigns againſt the infidels in the *Holy Land*, and died about 1149 at *Nicoſia*, a city of *Cyprus*. His ſon and ſucceſſor *Hubert* III. had a religious turn, and inclined to enter into a religious order. He joined the pope againſt the emperor *Frederick* I. who ſtripped him of *Turin*, with all its dependences, which he beſtowed upon the archbiſhop of that city. This was a great blow upon the houſe of *Savoy*, for it did not recover its loſs for many years. This *Hubert* III. died in 1188.

Thomas I.
Amadeo IV.
Thomas II.

HE was ſucceeded by *Thomas* I. who obſerved a conduct very different from that of his father; for he attached himſelf to the imperial intereſt, who not only reſtored him to many of his paternal eſtates in *Piedmont*, but gave him the title of vicar general of the holy *Roman* empire in *Piedmont*, and in *Lombardy*. His ſon *Amadeo* IV. following his father's principles and party, prevailed with the emperor *Frederick* II. to erect the *Chablais* and *Aoſta* into duchies in his favour. His brother *Thomas* added to the houſe of *Savoy* the principality of *Carignan*, which he purchaſed from the family of *Provane*, and alſo the marquiſate of *Jvrée*, which the emperor made a preſent of to his houſe, though it was long before

they

Boniface.

Peter

Philip.

Amadeo V.

they could enter into poſſeſſion of it. This *Amadeo* IV. reigned twenty years. He was ſucceeded, in 1255, by his ſon *Boniface*, who, from his bodily ſtrength, was called *Roland*. He was an unfortunate prince, being all his life-time engaged in quarrels with his neighbours, particularly with *William*, marquis of *Montferrat*, who took him priſoner, and carried him to *Turin*, where he died under his confinement, notwithſtanding the earneſt mediation of the pope in his favour. This *Boniface* never having been married, he was ſucceeded in his dominions by his uncle *Peter*. This prince married *Agnes*, the heireſs of *Faucigny*, the lord of which left all his eſtates to his daughter, by whom they came to the houſe of *Svaoy*. He defeated the marquis of *Montferrat*, who had been ſo cruel to his predeceſſor *Boniface*, and acquired ſo great a reputation, that the town of *Bern* put itſelf under his protection, that it might be defended from the encroachments and menaces of its neighbours. This prince dying without iſſue in 1268, he was ſucceeded by his brother *Philip*, archbiſhop of *Lions* and *Vienne*. But he quitted the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, and married *Alice* of *Burgundy*, by whom having no iſſue, his dominions fell to his next heir *Amadeo* V. ſon to *Thomas* II. This prince acquired the ſurname of *The Great*, by his ſucceſſes, and the wiſdom with which they were conducted. He married *Sibylla*, the heireſs of *Breſſe*, a province of *France*, which is ſurrounded by the *Rhone*, the *Saon*, *Burgundy*, and the county of *Vaux*, *Coligni*, and ſeveral other territories. He purchaſed *Revermont* from *Robert*, duke of *Burgundy*, and inherited, by bequeathment from *Margaret*, queen of *France*, the fortreſſes of *Pierre-Chatel*, *Seiſſel*, and *Montfalcon*. The county of *Aſti* was given to him in a preſent by the emperor *Henry* VII. but the poſſeſſion of it was not made good to the houſe of *Savoy*, till the time of the emperor *Charles* V. This great prince acquired immortal honour, by his behaviour in defending the iſle of *Rhodes*, which had undergone various revolutions. The caliſs of *Bogdat*, or, as they are commonly called, the *Saracens*, had taken it from the *Greek* emperor. The *Saracens* were expelled by the *Turks*, and they in their turn by the knights of *St. John* of *Jeruſalem*, after beſieging the capital for two years. The *Turks*, about the year 1311, endeavoured to retake it, and muſt have ſucceeded, had it not been for the generous and powerful aſſiſtance offered to the Chriſtians by the count of *Savoy*. The hiſtories of that time are full of his gallant behaviour in defending that important iſland, which was then the barrier of Chriſtendom, againſt the infidels. The king of *Arles*, or *Burgundy*, had made a preſent of the temporal ſovereignty of the city of *Lions* to its archbiſhop; and the latter had given a palace there to the knights of *St. John*, which, in conſideration of the great ſervices performed by the count to the order, the great maſter beſtowed upon him. His defence of *Rhodes*, is ſaid to have given riſe to the device of *F. E. R. T.* the initials of the *Latin* words, *Fortitudo ejus Rhodum tenuit.* "His bravery ſaved *Rhodes*."

Edward.

ALL the ſovereign princes of *Europe* courted the friendſhip of this *Amadeo*, and he was generally the mediator in all their differences, witneſs the friendſhips he contracted with the emperor, and the kings of *France* and *England*, who all of them loved and honoured him, while they were at variance with one another. He governed *Savoy* forty-five years, and his brother *Thomas* reunited *Piedmont* to that houſe, which it had long been deprived of, as we have already ſeen. This *Amadeo the Great* was ſucceeded by his ſon *Edward*, who was then only lord, or, as he was called, ſire of *Baugy* and *Breſſe*. In his father's life-time he had ſignalized himſelf in war, particularly in the battle of *Mont-en-Paele*; but after he came to be count of *Savoy*, he had but indifferent ſucceſs in the wars he waged with his neighbours, particularly with the dauphin of *Viennois*. In the year 1328, he aſſiſted *Philip de Valois*, whom he followed into *Flanders*, at the battle of *Montcaſel*. Having received many ſervices from the inhabitants of *Bern*, he generouſly re eſtabliſhed that city in its liberties, and died while *Clementia*, the widow of *Lewis Hutin* of *France*, was endeavouring to reconcile him to the dauphin of *Viennois*. He left behind him an only daughter, who was married to *John* III. duke of *Britany*.

Aimon.

Amadeo VI.

EDWARD was ſucceeded by his brother *Aimon*. This prince, having ſeen the misfortunes of war during his brother's reign, endeavoured all he could to avoid them; and for that reaſon obtained the name of *The Pacific*. He was the firſt count of *Savoy*, who added to his titles that of count of *Verceil*. After reigning upwards of fourteen years, he was ſucceeded by *Amadeo* VI. This gallant prince diſtinguiſhed himſelf at a tournament, in which the furniture of his horſe, and his own armour, being all green, he obtained the appellation of count *de Verd*, or *The Green Count*, by which he was ſo generally known, that it has created ſome confuſion in hiſtory. He was but nine years of age when he ſucceeded to the government of *Savoy*, which he greatly increaſed. He joined to it *Quevaſque* and *Mondovi*, about the year 1346, and the year after *Cheri* and *Savigliano*. Three years after the city of *Fribourg*, of its own accord, put itſelf under his protection; but it afterwards recovered its liberty, and is now the capital of one of the *Swiſs* cantons. He purchaſed from his couſin *Catharine*, the wife of *Azzo Viſconti*, the country of *Vaud*; and he had a preſent of the marquiſate of *Saluces* from the emperor *Charles* IV. that marquis having rebelled againſt him; but it was of little ſervice at this time to the marquis. In 1373 he took *St. Agatha*, and ſeveral other places upon the *Doire*, and afterwards added to his dominions *Bielle*, *Coni*, and *Verrue*. He was the original founder of the order of the knights of the Annunciade, which for many years was called the order of *Savoy*; and he obliged the king of *Bulgaria*, to reſtore to his liberty the emperor *John Paleologus* of *Greece*. He had many wars with the dauphin of *Viennois*, the marquis of *Montferrat*, and other neighbours, in all which he was ſucceſsful; but he died near *St. Stefano*, while he was aſſiſting *Lewis* of *Anjou* to recover the kingdom of *Naples*. His death, according to ſome, was occaſioned by the plague, and according to others, by the enemy having poiſoned all the waters of the neighbourhood. His ſon *Amadeo* VII. was ſo fortunate as to become maſter of the county of *Nice*; and both *Villa Franca* and *Barcelonetta*, put themſelves under his protection; ſo that the houſe of *Savoy* became their maſters. This prince died of the conſequences of a fall he received from his horſe, while he was hunting, and by the unſkilfulneſs of a ſurgeon who dreſſed his wounds.

Amadeo VII.

Amadeo VIII.

He was ſucceeded by his ſon *Amadeo* VIII. who purchaſed from its laſt earl the county of *Genevois*, which coſt him forty-five thouſand florins of gold. We have, in the hiſtory of *Geneva*, given an ample account of the wars between the houſe of *Savoy* and the inhabitants of that city; we ſhall not, therefore, repeat them here. *Amadeo* VIII. purchaſed the city of *Rumilli*, upon the lake of *Geneva*, from the widow of the laſt count of *Genevois*; and the houſe of *Savoy* now became ſo illuſtrious, that in 1426, the emperor *Sigiſmond* erected *Savoy* into a duchy. According to the *Savoyard* hiſtorians, this *Amadeo* ſupported *John Paleologus* againſt the duke of *Milan*, who endeavoured to deprive him of the duchy of *Montferrat*. *Paleologus*, thinking he could not be too grateful for the aſſiſtance he had received, not only reſigned to the duke, *Chivas*, *Brandis*, and other eſtates, but ſubmitted to hold all the marquiſate of *Montferrat*, as a fief from the houſe of *Savoy*. We have already obſerved, that in the hiſtory of *Modena*, *Vercelli* was given to this duke, upon the marriage of his daughter with *Philip Maria*, duke of *Milan*; and, about the ſame time, the count of *Creſcentino* became his feodary.

Few tranſactions in hiſtory are ſo remarkable, or more memorable, as the life of this *Amadeo*; nor do writers ſeem to know his real character. Some have repreſented him to be a perſon of great ſanctity, and as leading a life of moderation and virtue; others, as being a mere bigot, and an enthuſiaſt; and others, as one of the moſt politic princes in the world. The truth is, his real character appears, with a mixture of virtue and abilities, to have been caprice, and a humour that led him to indulge himſelf in all kind of even oppoſite extravagances. He pretended a vaſt love for retirement, which was no other than that he might have an opportunity to live at freedom, and in the moſt ſenſual manner: he therefore retired to *Ripaille*, where there was a religious houſe, and there he inſtituted the order of *St. Maurice*. The place, which is naturally delightful, was fitted up with every thing that could pleaſe the eye, and charm the other ſenſes; and he was attended by ſeveral of his intimates, and twenty ſervants, who were intruſted with his voluptuous ſecrets. Inſtead of taking upon him a religious habit, as he gave out he had done, he aſſumed robes next to thoſe of royalty (A), and a golden croſs was embroidered upon his mantle. In ſhort, nothing was wanting to complete his ſcheme of pleaſure, being provided with excellent muſic, and living upon the moſt luxurious dainties, both in eating and drinking.

His character,

and luxurious retreat.

His pretended retreat, and ſanctity of manners, was ſo celebrated, that he was, by the council of *Baſil*, which had depoſed pope *Eugene* IV. choſen pope. This was carrying the farce of his devotion very far: but he ſtill continued to humour it. He had reſigned the dukedom of *Savoy* to his eldeſt ſon *Lewis*, and had made his youngeſt ſon *Philip* count of *Genevois*; but their honours were only titular, for they were obliged to live on very ſmall allowances; while the father in his retirement received all the revenues, and amaſſed ſo much money, that he is ſaid to have purchaſed the papacy. It is highly probable, that the duke was not then ſerious in retaining that dignity. He took the name of *Felix* V. and was crowned at *Baſil* by the cardinal of *Arles*, to the amazement of all *Europe*, he never having taken any holy orders, and ſtill continuing a layman. This council, however, in its twenty-ninth ſeſſion, confirmed his election to the popedom; and he himſelf with great pretended reluctancy, aſſumed

Is choſen pope.

Takes the name of Felix V.

(A) This retreat, according to *Monſtrelet*, a *French* hiſtorian, who lived about the time, enriched the *French* language with the word *faire Ripailles*, to ſignify a life of exquiſite pleaſure and luxury.

ſumed the pontifical ornaments, and was conſecrated in the church of *St. Maurice*. For ſome time the dignity of pope was conteſted between him and *Eugene*; but he was not acknowledged by the emperor, notwithſtanding the moſt earneſt inſtances of the council for that purpoſe[d]. All *Europe* was divided between him and *Eugene*. *Enius Sylvius*, who was himſelf afterwards pope, informs us, that *France*, *England*, *Spain*, *Italy*, and *Hungary*, acknowledged *Eugene*. *Germany* was neutral. The kings of *Arragon* and *Poland*, and the duke of *Bretagne*, acknowledged the council only, as being head of the church, while *Savoy*, *Swiſſerland*, *Baſil*, *Straſburg*, *Pomerania*, and one of the dukes of *Bavaria*, acknowledged *Felix*, who obtained from the council a grant of many large revenues for the ſupport of his dignity. This ſubſtantial mark of their allegiance, prevailed with *Felix* to make ſome efforts towards retaining the pontificate. He and the council of *Baſil*, had been excommunicated by *Eugene*; and the emperor *Frederick* III. held a council at *Franckfort*, before which both popes pleaded their rights by their deputies, but without any effect. Soon after, the emperor came into the neighbourhood of *Baſil*, where he had an interview with *Felix*, whoſe natural propenſity to pleaſure was ſo great, that he committed the management of his affairs to his cardinals, and retired again to *Ripaille*. It was there that he treated with *Alphonſo*, king of *Arragon*, but in vain; for *Alphonſo* acknowledged *Eugene*. Mean while, the fathers of the council of *Baſil*, were perpetually applying to *Felix* to reſide in that city; but he ſtill found means to elude their requeſts, and to indulge his pleaſures. He even rendered them obedient to his will in every thing he deſired, and prevailed with them to transfer the council to *Lions*, which lay more convenient for himſelf. *Eugene* having excommunicated ſome of the *German* princes for adhering to *Felix*, the others threatened to diſavow his authority; and thus every thing relating to the church ran into confuſion, till the death of *Eugene*, which, for a few days, left *Felix* ſole pope.

Is excommunicated by Eugene IV.

BUT his authority having been diſowned by above half of *Europe*, the cardinals at *Rome*, in order to reſtore peace to the church, on the 11th day after *Eugene*'s death, proceeded to the election of a new pope, and the choice fell upon *Thomas de Sarzana*, who took the name of *Nicholas* V. and being generally recognized, *Felix* agreed at laſt to treat concerning his abdication of the popedom. This, however, could not be done without danger to himſelf; and he applied for the aſſiſtance and countenance of *Philip*, duke of *Milan*, his ſon-in-law, who had been very inſtrumental in his exaltation. *Philip* only laughed at his applications, by ſaying, "that as *Amadeo* had given him a wife without a portion, "ſo he had given him a popedom without a revenue;" for the grant of money which the council had given him, had never been paid. Though it is uncertain, whether *Felix* ever was in earneſt about keeping the pontificate, yet he undoubtedly offered the emperor *Frederick* III. two hundred thouſand crowns with his daughter in marriage. The emperor had his reaſons for declining this offer; and *Felix* perceiving that the little authority that remained to him was daily diminiſhing, agreed, at the requeſt of the emperor, under certain ſtipulations, which *Frederick* tranſmitted to *Rome* for the appprobation of *Nicholas*, to reſign the papacy. This negociation proved *Felix* to be an able prince. *Nicholas* annulled all that had been done by the late pope *Eugene* to his prejudice, or that of his friends. He confirmed the acts of the council of *Baſil*, and granted many others that were equally to the honour and advantage of *Felix*; for he was made perpetual apoſtolical legate in *Savoy*, *Piedmont*, and the other places of his own dominions, as well as in the biſhoprics of *Lauſanne*, *Baſil*, *Straſburg*, and *Conſtance*. He was, at the ſame time, created a cardinal, and biſhop of *Subino*, and permitted to wear his pontifical dreſs, all but a few badges of authority appropriated to the pope. It was likewiſe ſtipulated, that he ſhould not be obliged to come to *Rome*, or attend any general council; and that when he approached the pope's perſon, his holineſs ſhould riſe to receive him, and that he ſhould kiſs his lips inſtead of his toe.

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[d] Univ. Hiſt. vol. xxvi. p. 163.

and reſigns the holy ſee to Nicholas.

We have, in the hiſtory of *Geneva*, given ſome farther particulars concerning this *Amadeo* of *Savoy*, to which we refer the reader. He died at *Lauſanne*, which, during the latter part of his life, he had choſen for his reſidence. He was ſucceeded by his ſon *Lewis*, to whom the father, in his life-time, had reſigned the title, but few or none of the revenues of the dukedom. *Lewis* ſeems to have reſented this hard uſage; for he ordered *William de Balomier*, his father's chancellor and chief counſellor, to be drowned in the lake of *Geneva*, on pretence of his oppoſing the accommodation between his father and pope *Nicholas* V. During the conteſts about the ſucceſſion to the duchy of *Milan*, after the death of *Philip Maria*, the laſt duke, this *Lewis*, duke of *Savoy*, who had ſtrong pretenſions to it, made himſelf maſter of *Valenza* upon the *Po*, *Romagnana*, and ſeveral other places of the *Milaneſe*. He had been married when young to *Anne de*

Lewis.

Luſignan, and his family has ſtill ſome pretenſions to the title
of king of *Jeruſalem*; and by her he had a numerous iſſue.
Charlotte, one of his daughters, was married to the dauphin
of *France*, afterwards *Lewis* XI. who, after he became king,
treated her but indifferently; and the duke her father died at
A. D. *Lions*, on a journey he made to ſee his ſon-in-law. Of eight
1465. ſons, three of them embraced an eccleſiaſtical life; two, *Peter*
and *John Lewis*, were ſucceſſively archbiſhops of *Tarento*;
and the youngeſt of all, *Francis*, was archbiſhop of *Aix*.
Amadeo IX. who was the eldeſt, ſucceeded to the dukedom of
Savoy; and the ſecond, *Lewis* count of *Genevois*, was married
to *Charlotte* of *Cyprus*, and it is in her right that the
houſe of *Savoy* claims the title of king of *Cyprus*. *Amadeo's*
third and fourth brothers, died without iſſue; and the fifth,
Philip, is the anceſtor of the preſent king of *Sardinia*, being
ſtiled in his father's life-time *Lackland*.

Amadeo IX. *AMADEO* IX. of *Savoy*, though in his perſon he was
feeble, unhealthful, and troubled with the falling ſickneſs,
was ſurnamed *The Happy*, on account of his virtue, his piety,
his readineſs to pardon all who had offended him, and his
love for juſtice. One day a foreign miniſter at his court,
took the liberty to aſk him, whether he kept any hounds?
"A great many (anſwered the duke), and if you will viſit
"me to-morrow noon, you ſhall ſee them." The miniſter
came accordingly to court; and the duke leading him to a
window, which looked into a large ſquare, "There," ſaid
he pointing to a great number of poor people, who were
ſeated at tables eating and drinking, "are my hounds, with
Philibert. "whom I go in chace of heaven." *Philibert* was the eldeſt
ſon of *Amadeo* IX. and ſucceeded him in his dominions.
He was termed *The Hunter*, from his fondneſs for that diverſion;
and dying without children, he was ſucceeded by his
Charles I. brother *Charles* I. who was ſurnamed *The Warlike*. The
reader, in our hiſtory of *Geneva*, will find many curious particulars
concerning the family of *Amadeo* IX. which we ſhall
Charles II. not here repeat. *Charles* I. was ſucceeded by his ſon *Charles*
A. D. II. when he was no more than nine months old; and he
1490. died when he was but eight years of age.

Philip THE dukedom, upon that young prince's death, came to
Lackland. *Philip Lackland*, the third ſon of *Amadeo* IX. who lived but
one year after his ſucceſſion, and was ſucceeded by his ſon
Philibert *Philibert*, ſurnamed *The Handſome*, whom he had by his firſt
the Handſome. marriage with *Margaret*, daughter to *Charles* duke of *Bourbon*.
The mind of this prince was as beautiful as his perſon,
and he was about ſeventeen years of age, when he ſucceeded
to his duchy. He married for a ſecond wife, *Margaret*,
daugh-

daughter to the emperor *Maximilian*, who for her portion, brought him the *Franche Compte*; but there being no iſſue of the marriage, it reverted to the family of *Auſtria*. *Philibert's* two ſiſters were married; the firſt, *Louiſa*, to the count of *Angouleſme*, by whom ſhe had *Francis* I. king of *France*; the ſecond to *Julien de Medicis*. *Philibert* having died without iſſue, he was ſucceeded in his dominions by his brother *Charles* III. by a ſecond marriage.

Charles III.

THIS duke was ſo fortunate, as to marry *Beatrice* of *Portugal*, ſiſter to *Iſabella*, wife to the emperor *Charles* V. who was ſo favourable to the houſe of *Savoy*, that he put this duke in full poſſeſſion of the county of *Aſte*, which had been granted to it, as we have already mentioned, by the emperor *Henry* VI. He gave him likewiſe the inveſtiture of the marquiſate of *Chivas*, and the lordſhip of *Quevaſque*. Thoſe favours, however, had dreadful conſequences with regard to the duke of *Savoy*, becauſe they drew upon him the reſentment of *Francis* the firſt, king of *France*, the emperor's rival and enemy; and notwithſtanding all the duke could do to appeaſe that prince, *Francis* demanded his ſhare of the ſucceſſion by his mother *Louiſa* of *Savoy*. This demand had been made ſo early as the year 1518, and had been refused, but was now revived; and the duke was ſo much preſſed by *Francis*, that he was obliged openly to declare himſelf in favour of the emperor.

joins the duke of Bourbon.

IN the mean while, the conſtable of *Bourbon* having, as may be ſeen in other parts of this hiſtory, withdrawn his allegiance from *Francis*, and joined the emperor, the duke of *Savoy* went ſo far, as even to pledge his family jewels, to enable the conſtable to raiſe ten thouſand *Germans*, who afterwards were greatly inſtrumental in gaining for the emperor the battle of *Pavia*. *Francis*, all this while, was carrying on a ſecret negociation with the duke of *Milan*; of which the emperor having received information, he loaded that duke with reproaches, and proceeded to menaces. *Sforza*, who was a man of no principle, was afraid of diſobliging the emperor, and employed ſome of his courtiers, who picked a quarrel with *Merveille* the *French* agent, which occaſioned ſome diſturbances at court; and the duke, after confining *Merveille*, ordered his head to be ſtruck off in priſon, to convince the emperor that he conſidered him only as a private gentleman, on a tour of pleaſure at the court of *Milan*. *Francis* demanded ſatisfaction for ſo atrocious a violation of the law of nations; which being refuſed, he not only renewed his family claims upon *Savoy*, but demanded from that duke a paſſage for his troops through his dominions to *Milan*. This being likewiſe refuſed, *Chabot*, the *French* general, entered *Savoy* at the head of an army, and in a ſhort time ſtripped duke *Charles* of the greateſt part of his forts and cities, and would have taken them all, had not the emperor amuſed the king with hopes that he would grant the inveſtiture of *Milan* to his ſecond ſon; which were confirmed by the cardinal of *Lorrain*, and the *French* ambaſſador at *Rome*.

His loſſes. THE duke of *Savoy* being thus weakened, the republick of *Bern* took advantage of his condition, and ſeized the city of *Lauſanne*, a great part of *Roſgau*, and the county of *Vaud*; while the *Swiſs Friburghers* invaded *Romont*. The city of *Geneva*, at the ſame time, took that opportunity to expel popery, and eſtabliſh proteſtantiſm, and deprive the duke of the ſmall remains of his power over the city, and its neighbourhood. The unfortunate duke, ſeeing himſelf thus reduced, retired to *Vercelli*, where he died of heart-break, never having been able to recover any part of his loſſes.

Emanuel. Philibert. HE was ſucceeded, in 1553, by his ſon *Emanuel Philibert*, one of the greateſt ſoldiers and ſtateſmen of that age. This prince had been bred up at the court of *Charles* V. and he performed the greateſt ſervices to him and his ſon *Philip* II. of *Spain*, at the battle of *St. Quintin*, where he commanded the imperial army, which defeated that of *France*, but the victory was in a great meaſure owing to the valour of the *Engliſh* troops. The duke was, at the ſame time, governor of the *Low Countries*, and his reputation was ſo high, that he was offered the command of the army of the pope, *Spain*, and *Venetians*, which was raiſed againſt *Selim* II. emperor of the *Turks*, but he declined it. being intent on the recovery of his family dominions, great part of which was reſtored to him by the peace of *Chateau Cambreſis*. The *French*, however, ſtill kept poſſeſſion of *Turin*, *Pignerol*, *Aſti*, *Chivas*, and ſome other towns. When *Henry* III. of *France* was on his journey from *Poland*, to take poſſeſſion of the *French* crown, he had an interview with *Emanuel* at *Turin*, and the duke managed ſo well, that the king agreed to give him up all the places that the *French* had in his dominions. Soon after, the duke of *Alva*, general to the king of *Spain*, who was the ally and friend of the duke of *Savoy*, marched an army through the duke's territories, towards the *Low Countries*, which ſtruck the *Genevois* and the *Swiſs* Proteſtants with ſo much terror, that the city of *Bern* reſtored to to *Savoy* the three bailiages *Tonon*, *Gye*, and *Ternis*, and the duke renounced his pretenſions to all the other dominions belonging to his family, which they had ſeized upon.

War with the Vaudois. THE war with the *Vaudois* is one of the moſt remarkable incidents in this duke's hiſtory. That poor people were harm-leſs, inoffenſive, and ſubmiſſive to the duke's government: but, as we have already hinted, they had been always irreconcileable enemies to the church of *Rome*. It would exceed the bounds allotted to this part of our work, ſhould we recount all the wars and perſecutions they ſuffered, and the glorious victories they obtained, in defence of their religion, over the troops of the pope, and other bigotted *Italian* princes, who were perpetually ſpiriting up the dukes of *Savoy* againſt them. Duke *Philip* had reſolution enough to withſtand all their importunities and zeal, and admired the courage with which, armed only with ſtones and flails, the *Vaudois* defended the paſſes into their country, and defeated the numerous well-diſciplined armies of their enemies. Being reſolved to put an end to their perſecutions, he permitted them to ſend twelve of their principals to his court, to make their ſubmiſſions, and to pay a ſmall acknowledgement of his ſovereignty; which the *Vaudois* did, ordering their deputies to do whatever the duke ſhould direct them, provided their religion was ſafe. It is remarkable on this occaſion, that the duke ordered ſome of their young children to be brought from their vallies, to ſatisfy himſelf whether they were not born with black throats, ſhaggy manes, and four rows of teeth; all which he had been aſſured by their enemies, and which he found, upon inſpection, to be falſe.

A peace.

War again

THIS unreſerved ſubmiſſion procured them but little reſpite from perſecution, which was renewed againſt them about the year 1532; but, leaving their prayers, they betook themſelves to their faſtneſſes, and their uſual arms, and defeated all the repeated efforts of their enemies, and at laſt, having ſettled a correſpondence with the reformers of *Germany*, they embraced Proteſtantiſm. Their reſolution and valour obliged the government of *Savoy*, who durſt not break with the pope, to change their method of perſecution, and, inſtead of invading their vallies, they cut them off from all communication with the reſt of their dominions, where they were put to death whenever they were found. This could not ſatisfy the zealots, who perſuaded duke *Emanuel*, againſt his own better judgement, to attempt an utter extirpation of the *Vaudois*. The duke's troops were joined by thoſe of the pope and the *French* king, and the whole were commanded by the mareſchel *Montelie* and *Charles Truchſes*, who loſt their lives in the ſervice, and their troops were defeated on every occaſion; ſo that the duke was at laſt obliged to grant the *Vaudois* the free exerciſe of their religion, under certain reſtrictions. This duke *Emanuel* acquired the principality of *Oneglia*, by giving *John Jerome Doria* in exchange for it the marquiſate of *Civis*, which he was, however, to hold as a fief of *Savoy*. *Emanuel* likewiſe purchaſed the county of *Tend*, and, after a glorious government of 27 years, he died in 1580, univerſally eſteemed and beloved for his wiſdom, courage, and the great encouragement he gave to ſcience. He married *Margaret* of *France*, daughter to *Francis* I. a princeſs of incomparable prudence and virtue. It was chiefly owing to her that the *Vaudois* were delivered from their perſecutions; and ſhe was ſo little an enemy to the reformed religion, that ſhe is ſaid to have ſent every year 4000 crowns to *Geneva*, for the uſe of the *French* Proteſtants there.

Charles Emanuel. *He invades and ſeizes the marquiſate of* Saluces.

CHARLES EMANUEL, ſon to *Emanuel Philibert*, though of a feeble conſtitution, had a bold, reſtleſs, enterprizing genius. While *Henry* III. of *France* was diſtreſſed on the one hand by the leaguers, and on the other by the Proteſtants, *Charles* invaded the marquiſate of *Saluces*, which he long had an eye upon, and wreſted it from the crown of *France*, on pretence of ſecuring it againſt the Proteſtant general *Leſdiguieres*, who was maſter of *Dauphiny*, and might, perhaps, introduce his religion into the marquiſate. But the duke did not bear his ſucceſs with moderation; for he ordered a medal to be ſtruck, with his own head on one ſide, and on the reverſe a centaur, in the action of diſcharging an arrow from a bow, with the motto "Opportunè," inſinuating, that he had ſeized the lucky criſis of conqueſt.

Upon the aſſaſſination of *Henry* III. the affairs of his ſucceſſor *Henry* IV. looked ſo gloomy, that the duke renewed his invaſion, and ſeized ſeveral places in *Dauphiny* and *Provence*, but was ſoon obliged to give them up. When the peace of *Vervins* gave *Henry* the peaceable poſſeſſion of his kingdom, amongſt the firſt things he did, was to demand from the duke reſtitution of the marquiſate of *Saluces*. *Charles*, being conſcious he was no match for *Henry* in power, employed all means to prevail with him to deſiſt from his demand; but, finding all ineffectual, propoſed to comply with it, provided his majeſty would deſiſt from protecting *Geneva*. The reader, in the Hiſtory of that city, will ſee what followed upon this. The duke even paid a viſit in perſon to *Henry*, at *Paris*; but all his addreſs and cunning could not prevail over that king's reſolution and good ſenſe. He immediately invaded and reduced the greateſt part of *Savoy*, and ordered a medal to be ſtruck, in anſwer to the provoking one of the duke. It contained his own head on one ſide, and on the other a *Hercules* killing a centaur with one hand, and with the other raiſing a crown from the ground, the motto being "Opportunius," that is, more opportunely. At laſt, the pope made himſelf a mediator for a peace between them, by which the king kept

A. D. 1595. 5

perpoſſeſſion of *Breſſe*, *Bugey*, *Valeromey*, *Gex*, *Fort l'Ecluſe*, and ſome other places upon the *Rhone*, ſuch as *Auche*, *Chouſi*, *Veulai*, *Pont d'Arley*, *Sciſſel*, *Chaucey*, and *Pierre Chatel*. The duke retained poſſeſſion of the marquiſate of *Saluces*, and its dependencies; but what he loſt in property was made up to him in conveniency, for he thereby gained a frontier for his capital of *Turin*, which before was expoſed to the inroads and inſults of his enemies. His attempt to ſcale the city of *Geneva*, which we have ſo amply recounted in the hiſtory of that city, followed the peace; and the duke was, by the *French* king and the *Bernois*, forced to give the *Genevois* ſatisfaction, and to agree to build no fort within four miles of their city.

In 1613, duke *Francis* of *Mantua* dying without male iſſue, the duke of *Savoy*, who, as we have ſeen in the hiſtory of *Mantua*, had ſtrong pretenſions upon that ſucceſſion, ſeized *Trino*, *Alma*, and *Monte Calvi*; but he was forced, by the grand duke of *Tuſcany*, and the republic of *Venice*, to reſtore them in a ſhort time. He ſtill, however, kept his army on foot, and was required by the governor of the *Milaneſe*, on behalf of the king of *Spain*, to diſmiſs it, which he refuſed to do. Upon this the governor beſieged *Vercelli*, and took it, after loſing above 6000 men in the ſiege, together with ſome places of ſmaller importance, which the duke had ſeized on. *France* offered her mediation, which was accepted of, for reſtoring the tranquility of *Italy*; and by the peace that followed, *Vercelli*, with the other dominions of his, which he had loſt, were reſtored to the duke, who, on his part, was obliged to give up all that he held in *Montferrat* and the *Milaneſe*. The peace being concluded, the duke ordered the marquis of *Bettio*'s head to be ſtruck off, and his eſtates confiſcated, for having ſided with the *Spaniards*, though he was a ſubject of *Savoy*. Scarcely was this war finiſhed, when the court of *France* perſuaded the duke to fall upon the *Genoeſe*, for their having bought the marquiſate of *Zuccarella*, which had been taken from the marquis *de Caretto*, by the emperor, and which the duke ſaid belonged to him by a prior ceſſion of the marquis in his favour.

THE duke was very ſucceſsful in the beginning of this war. He gained the battle of *Ottaggio* over the *Genoeſe*, and took from them many of their towns, while the conſtable *Leſdiguieres*, the *French* general, took *Gavi*. The general opinion was, that, if the duke, after this battle, had marched directly to *Genoa*, he might have taken it; but *Leſdiguieres* is ſaid not to have been proof againſt the *Genoeſe* gold, and it is certain he relaxed in his operations, ſo as to give time for the *Genoeſe* to recover their conſternation, till they could be aſſiſted by the *Spaniards*, who had laid ſiege to the ſtrong fortreſs of

Verrue in *Piedmont*, but wrre obliged to raiſe it, and march to the relief of *Genoa*; which they not only effected, but aſſiſted the *Genoeſe* in conquering ſeveral places belonging to the duke. A peace then followed, by which each party was to re-enter into poſſeſſion of what it had before the war; and the marquiſate of *Zuccarella* remained with the *Genoeſe*, who, however, paid to the duke of *Savoy* 160,000 crowns for renouncing all his pretenſions to the ſame.

IT was the fate of this active but too turbulent prince to govern the moſt ſubmiſſive obedient people in *Europe*, who ſupported him in all his wars of ambition or juſtice with equal chearfulneſs. Scarcely had he concluded peace with the *Genoeſe*, when the elder line of the *Gonzaga* family failed in the perſon of *Vincent* II. duke of *Mantua*; and *Charles*, on that event, renewed his claim upon the duchy of *Montferrat*. We have already ſeen, in the hiſtory of *Mantua*, how warmly the court of *France* ſupported the duke of *Nevers* in his claim to that ſucceſſion. *Charles* was obliged to abandon the country of *Suſa*, and went to the relief of *Caſal*, which was beſieged by *Gonſalvo de Cordova*, the governor of the *Milaneſe*. When
A. D. 1629. he was intent upon relieving that place, the *French*, making the beſt advantage they could of the juncture, attacked *Pignerole*, which they took in a very ſhort time; and the loſs of that important place broke the duke of *Savoy*'s heart, in the year 1629, after governing, or rather reigning, over *Savoy* fifty years. He was indulged with a long life and reign, which, like his character, was chequered with good and bad. He was undoubtedly a prince of great abilities, but too much enterprize. His ſubjects, though forward to ſerve him, were not endowed with a military genius that could anſwer the ſuddenneſs, the variety, and boldneſs, of his operations in the field; and he was but very indifferently ſerved by the foreigners he took into his pay. Notwithſtanding all this, and though the moſt powerful princes in *Europe*, at times, were his enemies, yet the greateſt part of his reign cannot be ſaid to have been orherwiſe than proſperous, if not glorious; though it muſt be acknowledged, that the *French* being in poſſeſſion of *Pignerole*, at the time of his death, was a moſt unfavourable circumſtance for his dominions. His attempt upon ~~Savoy~~ Geneva reflects great diſhonour upon his memory; and his inſolence towards *Henry* IV. the greateſt monarch, and beſt natured man of his age, deſerved the chaſtiſement it met with. In point of religion, he is ſaid naturally to have been no bigot, and that he was forced by churchmen and prieſts, to give way to the perſecutions which his proteſtant ſubjects ſuffered.

He

Victor Amadeus I.

HE was ſucceeded by his ſon *Victor Amadeus* I. who in 1630 wiſely agreed to the treaty of *Quevaſque*, in *Piedmont*, by which he accepted of an annuity of fifteen thouſand crowns for all his claims upon *Montferrat*, and left the family of *Nevers* in full poſſeſſion of that duchy. To inſure the payment of this annuity, he was, by a ſeparate writing, put in poſſeſſion of *Trina*, *Tricerto*, *Palazzuolo*, and of eighty other places upon the *Po*; ſo that, in fact, he held the fineſt part of *Montferrat*. The truth is, the *French*, on this occaſion, ſacrificed the intereſt of the *Nevers* family for their own; for they obliged *Victor*, in conſideration of what he had got in *Montferrat*, to abandon to them *Pignerole*, *Peruſa*, *Angrogne*, and *Lucerne*. It is ſaid by the *French* hiſtorians, that the famous father *Joſeph*, the confident of cardinal *Richlieu*, was the main inſtrument in concluding this treaty; and that, after its concluſion, when he viſited the duke of *Mantua*, that prince could not help teſtifying his diſcontent at what had been done; and that, on the other hand, the duke of *Savoy* did every thing he could, to avoid ratifying the treaty; but all was to no purpoſe, becauſe the cardinal was reſolved to carry his point; which he did, to the infinite danger of all *Italy*.

A. D. 1937. Francis Hyacinth.

Two years after the concluſion of the peace of *Quevaſque*, the duke took it in his head to aſſume the title of king of *Cyprus*. The *Venetians* took this amiſs, becauſe of their pretenſions upon that crown; and, for ſome time, all correſpondence between them and the duke was broken off. Two years after *Victor* and his army joined the *French*, who had been ſent, under the marſhal *de Crequi*, to the ſupport of the duke of *Parma*, and aſſiſted in the fruitleſs ſiege of *Valenza*, the miſcarriage of which *Victor* attributed to *Crequi*, who, he ſaid, minded the diverſions of hunting much more than he did the operations of the field. Afterwards the duke exerted himſelf ſo greatly, to repair the failure before *Valenza*, that he contributed chiefly to the *French* gaining the victory of *Tornavento* over the *Spaniards*, who had almoſt cut their way to the *French* intrenchments. Next year, he gained a conſiderable battle over the *Spaniſh* general *don Martin de Arragon*; but he died ſoon after, in the ſame year. He was a prince of ſpirit and conduct, and leaving a ſucceſſor *Francis Hyacinth*, who was no more than ſix years of age, the *Spaniards* took great advantage of the minority, by making themſelves maſters of *Vercelli* and fort *Brema*. To increaſe the misfortunes of *Savoy*, a diſpute aroſe about the regency of the duchy, which was claimed by the ducheſs dowager, the cardinal *Maurice*, *Thomas Francis*, prince of *Carignan*, who were both of them uncles to the young duke. The ducheſs dowager depended upon the aſſiſtance of her brother the *French* king, while the cardinal, and the prince of *Carignan*, took the party of the *Spaniards*; and it was agreed amongſt them, that all the places which ſhould willingly ſubmit to the authority of the two uncles, ſhould belong to their government; but all that ſhould be conquered by the *Spaniards*, by force of arms, ſhould remain in the poſſeſſion of that crown. While thoſe matters were in agitation, the young duke of *Savoy* died, *October* the 4th 1638, and was ſucceeded by his brother *Charles Emanuel* II. who was no more than four years of age. Thus the diſputes about the regency continued the ſame as before. The *Spaniards* ſeized *Chivas* and *Trino*, and the two brothers made themſelves maſters of *Chieri*, *Moncalier*, *Pondeſtura*, *Aſti*, *Villa Nouva de Aſti*, *Alba*, *Verrue*, *Creſcentino*, *S. Agatha*, *Nice*, and *Villa Franca*. The young duke, all this time, remained under the pupilage of his mother; but prince *Thomas*, in the night time, ſurpriſed *Turin*, and the dutcheſs and her ſon had ſome difficulty to eſcape as, they did, to the citadel. It is hard to ſay what the conſequence might have been, if a quarrel had not happened between the two brothers and the marquis *de Leganez*, during the ſiege of the citadel, on the following occaſion.

Charles Emanuel II.

THE marquis pretended, that, by the articles of the treaty between them and his maſter, *Turin* and its citadel, when taken, muſt belong to his Catholic majeſty. The prince, on the other hand, alledged, that *Turin* was not underſtood to be comprehended in the treaty, becauſe it was the capital of *Piedmont*, and the reſidence of the duke. This diſpute took up ſo much time, that the ſiege not going on, the *French* had time to march an army, under the count *de Harcourt*, which raiſed the ſiege of *Caſal*, then beſieged by the *Spaniards*, and marching to *Turin*, prince *Thomas* was ſhut up in that city, between the citadel and the *French* army. The marquis *de Leganez* having orders to forget all animoſities, and to relieve the prince, marched to his aſſiſtance, but without effect; and the city being reduced to extremity by ſcarcity of proviſions, ſurrendered by capitulation. Next year, the *French* took the ſtrong fortreſs of *Coni*, and obliged the two brothers to come to an accommodation with the dutcheſs dowager. By that ſhe was to have the guardianſhip of the prince, the cardinal was to have the government of *Nice*, and prince *Thomas* that of *Jvrée* and *Biel*, during the duke's minority. All parties of the ducal houſe of *Savoy* being now agreed, they joined in a deſign to force the *Spaniards* to quit thoſe places, which their own imprudence, or the neceſſities of the times, had put into their hands. The marquis *de Pian* retook the important fortreſs of *Verrue*; and prince *Thomas*, who had by this time reconciled himſelf with the *French* court, retook old and new *Aſti* and *Trino*, but the citadel of *Aſti* ſtill held out. The year following, the *Savoyards* ſurprized and retook *Aſti*, and drove the *Spaniards* out of *St. Agatha*. It muſt be acknowledged, that, on this occaſion, the duke of *Savoy* had infinite obligations to the *French* court; nor ſhall we examine whether they were not owing as much to the jealouſy which *Lewis* entertained of the *Spaniards*, as to his affection for the ducheſs dowager.

IN 1649, duke *Charles Emanuel*, though no more than fifteen years old, was declared to be of age. Three years after, the *Spaniards* took *Trino* and *Creſcentino*, which laſt was retaken by the *Savoyards* the ſame year, and the other was reſtored to them by the peace of the *Pyrennees*, in 1658. The duke, by that treaty, having re eſtabliſhed the tranquility of his government, cultivated peace with all his neighbours, never was interrupted but by a ſlight difference he had with the *Genoeſe*, which was ſoon accommodated, through the mediation of *France*, without having any remarkable conſequences which it had threatened. A. D. 1649.

ALL the reſt of this duke's reign was ſpent in cultivating and improving the internal policy of his dominions. *Turin*, to him, owes ſome of its moſt magnificent ſtructures at this day; and he cut the amazing paſſage through the rock *Mont Viſo*. This is an arch 500 geometrical paces in length, and broad enough for two loaded mules to walk abreaſt, for tranſporting goods to and from *France* and *Italy*, which, before that time, could not be done without infinite labour and danger. He was equally magnificent in all his other public works, and he is ſaid to have loſt his life in the following remarkable manner. Being one day in the menage, or riding-ſchool, the young prince's horſe, in going through his exerciſe, threw him; which accident ſtruck his father with ſo much concern, that he is thought never to have recovered it, for he died a few days after in 1675.

HAVING here mentioned *Thomas* prince of *Carignan*, it is proper to give ſome account of his family, and poſterity. He was the fifth ſon of duke *Charles Emanuel* I. who, as the *Italians* are very fond of epithets, was called The Great. He held in *France* the poſt of grand maſter, and married the heireſs of the houſe of *Soiſſons*, by whom he had the following iſſue. 1ſt, *Emanuel Philibert Amadeo*, who continued the houſe of *Carignan*. 2d, *Louiſa Chriſtina*, married to *Ferdinand Maximilian* of *Baden*. 3d, *Joſeph Emanuel John*, who died without iſſue. 4th, *Eugene Maurice*, count of *Soiſſons*, author of that branch of the *Savoy* family, and father of the famous prince *Eugene* of *Savoy*, who, after that, made ſo illuſtrious a figure in the affairs of *Europe*, and was companion, friend, and fellow hero of the great duke of *Marlborough*.

Victor Amadeus II.

CHARLES EMANUEL II. never acknowledged any legitimate ſon but his ſucceſſor *Victor Amadeus* II. to whom his mother *Joan Baptiſt de Savoy Nemours* was guardian during his minority. When he grew up he demanded in marriage the infanta of *Portugal*, and the duke of *Cadaval* came to *Nice* with a *Portugueſe* fleet, to carry him to *Liſbon*; but, all of a ſudden, he changed his reſolution, and the marriage was broken off; and, two years after, he married *Anna Maria* of *Orleans*, daughter to *Philip* duke of *Orleans* and *Henrietta Anne* of *England*. The iſſue of this marriage, when the ſucceſſion of the family of *Stuart* to the throne of *Great Britain* was ſet aſide, was nearer in blood to the crown than the houſe of *Hanover*, but their claim was diſregarded, becauſe they were of the *Roman* Catholic religion. *Victor Amadeo* II. imitated the conduct of *Lewis* XIV. at the revocation of the edict of *Nantes*, by perſecuting his Proteſtant ſubjects the *Vaudois*, with all the fury and malice of a bigot; but this inhuman reſolution coſt a great deal of blood in enforcing it.

This duke, however, entered in the grand alliance that was formed againſt *France*, and by a ſecret article of the ſame, it was ſtipulated, that the *Vaudois* ſhould be reſtored to their antient rights. It being thought by the confederates that his alliance would be highly uſeful, in checking the power of *France* on that ſide, they furniſhed him with conſiderable ſupplies both of men and money. Notwithſtanding that, the *French* general *St. Ruth* took from him all *Savoy*, while marſhal *Catinat* beat him in the two battles of *Staffarde* and *Marſaille*, and conquered from him *Carmagnolo*, *Suſa*, *Nice*, *Villa Franca*, and *Montmelian*. The duke, ſoon after, retook *Carmagnola*, and obliged the *French* to raiſe the ſiege of *Coni*. To give them a farther diverſion, he invaded *Dauphiny*, where he took *Gap* and *Ambrun*, and carried away their bells. This ſmall ſucceſs was far from drawing the *French* out of his dominions; for they took from him *Caſal*, and *Fort St. Bridget* near *Pignerole*. The duke's loſſes preſented him with ſo melancholy a proſpect, that he entered into ſecret connexions with *France*; and, under pretence of being indiſpoſed, he returned out of *Dauphiny*. Soon after, *France* thought his friendſhip of ſo much importance, that ſhe granted him a moſt advantageous peace, and gave him up *Nice*, *Suſa*, *Villa-Franca*, *Montmelian*, and *Pignerole*, the fortifications of which were demoliſhed, together with the three vallies of *Peruſa*, *Lucern*, and *Angrogne*, with a ſum of money, by way of indemnification: nay, ſo intent was *Lewis* XIV. on forming a ſtrict connexion with the duke of *Savoy*, that, by the ſame treaty, he concluded a marriage between his grandſon the duke of *Burgundy*, eldeſt ſon to the Dauphin, and *Mary Adelaide*, *Victor*'s eldeſt daughter. After this, he entered into a new contract with him for driving the imperialiſts out of *Italy*; and actually beſieged *Aleſſandria* in the *Milaneſe*.

In the year 1701, *Philip* of *Anjou*, the ſecond ſon of the Dauphin, being called to the crown of *Spain* by the death of *Charles* II. married *Mary Louiſa Gabrielle*, the duke of *Savoy*'s ſecond daughter, and the duke was declared generaliſſimo of the armies of *France* and *Spain* in *Italy*. But all thoſe repeated marks of diſtinction and friendſhip could not fix the duke in the intereſts of *France*. The *Spaniſh* ſucceſſion being diſputed by the emperor *Leopold*, the confederates in the grand alliance joined againſt *Lewis* and his grandſon the king of *Spain*. It was eaſy for the duke of *Savoy* to foreſee his danger if he ſhould continue his engagements with *France*; and, after prince *Eugene* had penetrated into *Italy*, he began ſecretly to negotiate with the allies. This could not be concealed from the penetration of the *French* court, and *Lewis* ordered his generals to make the duke's troops priſoners. Upon this, the duke arreſted the ambaſſadors of *France* and *Spain*, a regiment of *French* horſe, and all the *French* who were at *Turin*. This drew from the *French* king the following laconic letter, addreſſed to him; viz. "Monſieur, Since religion, honour, alliance, treaties, and your own hand, are of no force between you and me, I have ſent my couſin the duke of *Vendoſme* to explain my mind to you, and he will give you four and twenty hours to conſider what you have to do." This threatening letter had an effect very different from what the writer intended. The duke was one of the moſt penetrating princes in the world, and was remarkable through all *Europe* for accommodating his ſituations to his intereſts; but on occaſion of this inſolent letter, he ſhewed a firmneſs ſcarcely to be paralleled in hiſtory. Though he loſt town after town; though his army amounted ſcarcely to 12,000 men; though he had ſcarcely territory to ſubſiſt even thoſe, and though he was but ill ſupported by the imperial court, he could not be brought to abandon his allies. At laſt, on the 5th of *June*, 1706, the *French* beſieged his capital of *Turin*. His ducheſs and his clergy preſſed him to comply with the neceſſities of his ſituation. He continued firm againſt her, and he forbad the others to appear before him. He had, however, the ſatiſfaction to reflect, that the places he had loſt had made ſo good a defence, *Seige of* Turin *raiſed.*

defence, that they gained time for prince *Eugene* of *Savoy* to advance to his relief. He even declined the civility offered him by the *French* marſhal *de Feuillade*, who, by orders of his king, offered paſſes and a guard to the ducheſs and his family, to carry them to a place of ſafety, when *Turin* was beſieged. At laſt, the glory of taking ſo important a city loſt the duke of *Vendoſme* and *Feuillade* their command, in which they were ſucceeded by the duke of *Orleans*. The duke who had been driven from place to place by the ſuperior power of the *French*, on the 15th of *June*, had the mortification to ſee his capital bombarded by the *French*, with red hot balls; the *French* king, being ſo exaſperated, that he ordered the ſiege to be carried on with unuſual fury. The duke did all he could to interrupt the progreſs of his enemies, by giving them repeated alarms, which retarded their operations for ſome time; ſo that the *French* loſt above 14,000 men before the place; but they had made themſelves maſters of the ſtrongeſt poſts, and the ammunition of the beſieged was almoſt exhauſted. In this diſmal extremity, the duke's couſin, prince *Eugene*, with the rapidity, conduct, and good fortune, that attended all his enterprizes, after ſurmounting moſt incredible difficulties, on the 30th of *Auguſt*, appeared near *Turin*, and two days after he joined the duke of *Savoy*. The action that followed was one of the moſt glorious that happened in thoſe years of glory, and has been mentioned in other parts of this work. It is therefore ſufficient to ſay here, that, notwithſtanding the junction between the duke and prince *Eugene*, the *French* thought themſelves ſure of carrying their point. The duke of *Orleans* and the general officers were for marching out of the lines; but the marſhal *Marſin*, who ſerved under that duke, but was chiefly truſted by his maſter, produced an order from the *French* king, that the duke ſhould follow his opinion. Nothing could be ſtronger than their ſituation, and therefore nothing more dangerous than the attack. As the confederates advanced, they were expoſed to the dreadful fire of forty cannon. Notwithſtanding this they proceeded, and at laſt formed, and marched, without firing, till they came to the foot of the entrenchments. The reſiſtance was equally brave; and it is ſaid that prince *Eugene* was repulſed in two of the attacks he made. In the third, he drew his ſword at the head of his battalions, and was amongſt the firſt that broke into the intrenchments. In an inſtant, all the confederate army followed his example; and room being made for the horſe to advance, the *French* abandoned their defence, and were every-where cut in pieces; ſo that the duke of *Savoy* entered his capital that very evening. The loſs of the *French* in this battle was very great. About

5000 were killed in the battle, beſides what were killed in the purſuit. The duke of *Orleans*, who ſhewed great perſonal valour, was wounded, as was marſhal *Marſin*, who died next day. Near 8000 men, among whom were a vaſt number of officers, ſome of them general ones, were made priſoners. Two hundred and fifty-five pieces of cannon, 180 mortars, 7,800 bombs, 32,000 royal grenades, 48,000 cannon balls, with a proportionable number of ſmall artillery and ammunition, fell into the hands of the confederates, with all their tents, baggage, ready money, and horſes of all kinds; ſo that, upon the whole, the loſs which the *French* ſuſtained was incredible, and was an ample proof of the great deſire their king had to reduce the city, and irretrievably to ruin the duke of *Savoy*. On the other hand, the defence which *Turin* made, under count *Daun*, a name auſpicious to the houſe of *Auſtria*, was brave; but in the whole coſt above 5000 men, beſides 3000 of the confederates, who were killed in the battle. After it the duke of *Orleans* retired into *Dauphiny*, and the duke of *Savoy* not only recovered all the towns and territories he had loſt, but enabled the imperialiſts to drive the *French* out of *Lombardy*.

Attempt on Toulon.

It happened upon this occaſion, that, to the misfortune of *England*, the duke of *Savoy*, and *Holland*, prince *Eugene* was entirely directed by the court of *Vienna*. The *Britiſh* miniſtry, in concert with the *Dutch*, had formed a project for the conqueſt of *Toulon*, which might have finiſhed the deſtruction of *France*. The duke of *Savoy* made the firſt ſketch of this project, and communicated the ſame to prince *Eugene*, who finding it diſliked by the court of *Vienna*, was backward in giving him encouragement to undertake it. The truth was, that court was not ſo intent upon humbling *France*, as upon aggrandizing itſelf, by employing its troops in the conqueſt of *Naples*: and it was thought that the *French* had early notice of the deſign. The court of *England* was ſo earneſt in carrying it into execution, that the emperor was at laſt obliged to give way, and prince *Eugene* had orders to aſſiſt in it, but with a very bad grace. A large ſum of money was furniſhed by *England*, and the enterprize was ſupported by a ſtrong *Britiſh* fleet, under the command of that excellent admiral, Sir *Cloudeſley Shovel*. The duke of *Savoy* and prince *Eugene*, on the 11th of *July*, 1707, favoured by this fleet, paſſed the *Var*, at the head of 30,000 men, and advanced with great celerity againſt *Toulon*. They had been promiſed great reinforcements from the imperial court, but were diſappointed; and prince *Eugene*, who never appeared hearty in the expedition, had orders from the emperor not to expoſe his troops too much. Being arrived before the place, they had great ſucceſs by ſeizing ſome of the moſt important poſts in the neighbourhood; but, the duke of *Savoy* preſſing prince *Eugene* to advance, the latter at laſt ſhewed him the emperor's orders, which amounted to a prohibition, and occaſioned a delay that was the ruin of the enterprize. Prince *Eugene*'s backwardneſs, or rather inactivity, did not damp the duke or the *Engliſh* admiral from acting with the utmoſt vigour. The latter bombarded the town, and became maſter of two forts that commanded the mole; ſo that many houſes were deſtroyed, ſome magazines were blown up, and eight ſhips of the line, moſt of them capital ſhips, were burnt or rendered unſerviceable. But by this time the *French* had not only re-called their troops from *Spain*, but were marching with the whole power of their monarchy to relieve *Toulon*. *is fruitleſs.* The duke of *Savoy*, finding he was thus in danger of having his retreat cut off, and that the troops in the garriſon, who made a ſally which coſt him a thouſand men, increaſed every day, reimbarked his artillery, his ſick and wounded, and returned in good order, without being purſued, to *Piedmont*. Thus ended this important expedition, to the great diſappointment, though not diſgrace, of the *Engliſh* and duke of *Savoy*, and is a pregnant proof, among many, how regardleſs the houſe of *Auſtria* is of all intereſts but its own.

A. D. 1709. THE unſucceſsful expedition againſt *Toulon* gave the *French* an opportunity, in the mean while, of becoming maſters of many places in *Savoy*; ſo that, when the conferences were held at *Gertruydenburg*, in *May*, 1709, the duke, who was admitted to be a party there, claimed reſtitution of the whole duchy of *Savoy*, the county of *Nice*, and all his hereditary dominions, together with the quiet poſſeſſion of the territory, ſtates, and places that had been ceded to him by the emperor, and his allies, with the ſovereignty and ſole property of the cities of *Exilles*, *Feneſtrelles*, and *Chaumont*, with the valley of *Pragelas* to *Mount Genevre*, and its adjacencies, which were to be the boundaries between his dominions and thoſe of *France*. The conferences at *Gertruydenburg* proving, for reaſons foreign to this hiſtory, ineffectual, and the duke, having ſome differences with the emperor, he remained quiet till the peace of *Utrecht*, 1713, when he renewed his claims, with ſome additional ones. By that treaty he was put in poſſeſſion of the duchy of *Savoy*, the county of *Nice*, and all their dependencies. The *French* king likewiſe yielded to him, in perpetuity, the valley of *Pragelas*, the forts of *Exilles* and *Feneſtrelles*, with the vallies of *Oux*, *Sezane*, *Bardonache*, and *Chateau Dauphin*. The duke, on the other hand, ceded to *Louis* the valley of *Barcelonetta* and its dependencies; ſo that the ridge of the *Alps* became the boundary that ſeparated *France* and *Piedmont* and the county of *Nice*; the plains of thoſe ridges being equally divided between them.

BUT as the duke of *Savoy* had not only behaved in the common cauſe with unexampled firmneſs and ſpirit, but was a great means of its ſucceſs, and as his importance in the affairs of *Europe* was now known to be very great, all parties concurred to aggrandize him. The emperor was in a manner forced to confirm to him the poſſeſſion of that part of *Montferrat* which had belonged to the dukes of *Mantua*, with the provinces of *Aleſſandria* and *Valenza*, the territory between the *Po* and the *Tanaro*, the *Lomellin*, the valley of *Seſſa*, and the *Vigevanaſco*. But, to crown all the duke's other good ſucceſſes, his catholic majeſty agreed to reſign to him the kingdom of *Sicily*, by which he and his deſcendants acquired a royal title; and it was agreed, that, in default of ſucceſſion from the king of *Spain*, that crown ſhould go to the houſe of *Savoy*, preferably to that of *Bourbon*.

THE ceſſion of the crown and title of *Sicily* was diſputed with the duke by the emperor *Charles* VI. who, about the time of the treaty of *Utrecht*, ſucceeded his brother *Joſeph* in the empire, for reaſons that have been explained in other parts of this hiſtory. The duke, however, took upon himſelf the title of king of *Sicily*, and entered into poſſeſſion of that iſland, which was evacuated by the *Spaniards*; and the inhabitants were beginning to be reconciled to his government, when he embroiled himſelf with the clergy, and conſequently with the pope, on account of the eccleſiaſtical immunities. The quarrel went ſo far, that the archbiſhop of *Meſſina*, and the biſhop of *Catanea*, left *Sicily*, after laying their ſees under interdicts, and were followed by almoſt all the clergy of *Sicily*, who flocked to *Rome*; but the viceroy paid ſo little regard to them, that he made it capital for the *Sicilians* to obey the interdicts.

HIS catholic majeſty had made the great ſacrifice of *Sicily*, on the expreſs condition of their joining their troops together, to diſpoſſeſs the emperor of what he ſtill held in *Italy*. It appears as if his *Sicilian* majeſty, after getting poſſeſſion of that iſland, which was in ſome meaſure forced upon him by queen *Anne*, and which he himſelf had never thought of aſpiring to, had repented of his private treaty with *Spain*. His catholic majeſty ſuſpected this, and demanded that the prince of *Piedmont* ſhould be ſent to *Madrid*, by way of ſecurity for the performance; but the demand was evaded by his *Sicilian* majeſty on account of the queen's tenderneſs for her ſon; but he offered to ſend him the prince of *Carignan*, his other ſon. Tho' this offer was accepted of, yet *Victor* had his reaſons for eluding

ing the performance; and the court of *Madrid* was given to underſtand that the prince had, without his *Sicilian* majeſty's knowledge, retired to *France*. Upon which the turbulent cardinal *Alberoni*, who was the prime miniſter of *Spain*, made vaſt preparations for conquering *Sardinia* from the emperor, and *Sicily* from that king. The court of *England* interpoſed in the diſpute, and, in conjunction with that of *France*, undertook to preſcribe a peace, by obliging the *Spaniards* and his *Sicilian* majeſty to comply with the terms they had preconcerted with the emperor. Theſe terms are foreign to this part of our hiſtory. They were rejected at the court of *Madrid*; upon which the court of *Great Britain* fitted out a powerful fleet under Sir *George Byng*, to enforce its mediation. Sir *George* ſailed to the *Mediterranean*, where he ſecured the kingdom of *Naples* to the emperor, but underſtood by the viceroy count *Daun*, that that of *Sicily* was on the point of being entirely conquered by the *Spaniards*. The marquis *de Lede* had landed there with thirty thouſand men, and the *Spaniſh* fleet ſtill lay upon the coaſts. He had reduced *Palermo*, and was then beſieging the citadel of *Meſſina*, after taking the town; but in the mean while the emperor had come to a compromiſe with his *Sicilian* majeſty, who was now willing to agree to the terms of the quadruple alliance, and to admit the imperialiſts into *Sicily*. Not to repeat too much of what we have ſaid before, the *Engliſh* fleet deſtroyed that of *Spain*, off *Cape Paſſaro*, and reinforced the garriſon of *Meſſina* with ſome imperialiſts; but the citadel was loſt. The event was, that the emperor and his *Sicilian* majeſty, having, by this time, come to a good underſtanding, it was reſolved, that *Sicily* ſhould be reconquered from the *Spaniards*, and that *Sardinia*, with the title of king, ſhould be given to his *Sicilian* majeſty. This compromiſe was, after ſome difficulty, executed. His *Sicilian* majeſty reſigned that title for that of king of *Sardinia*, being too wiſe afreſh to embroil the affairs of *Europe*, or to oppoſe powers for whom he was no match. This exchange being made, his *Sardinian* majeſty applied himſelf entirely to propagate the arts of peace, and to prevent his being further embroiled in the affairs of *Europe*. In the year 1722 his ſon, the prince of *Piedmont*, married the princeſs of *Sultzbach*, who bore him a ſon on the 3d of *March*, 1723, but ſhe herſelf died on the 12th of the ſame month. This prince was called the duke of *Aoſta*. The expences of the law being very heavy on the ſubjects of his *Sardinian* majeſty's dominions, he this year completed a plan upon which he had been long meditating; and that was to form a new code of juriſprudence, that was to ſerve as a directory to the law courts and ſubjects of his

A. D.
1722.

A new code formed.

his dominions. It was drawn up with the greateſt preciſion, and calculated to make all deciſions in matters of law not only more cheap, but more equitable than they had been before. This code is a curious performance; and the obſervance of it commenced on the 16th of *November*, the ſame year. But another important care now engaged his majeſty's attention. The weak health of the duke of *Aoſta*, prevailed on him to ſtrengthen his ſucceſſion, by giving the prince of *Piedmont* another wife; and he accordingly, in the year 1724, married the princeſs *Polyxena* of *Heſſe Rheinfels*, a meaſure the more neceſſary, as the duke of *Aoſta* died in the year following. After this marriage *Victor Amadeus* III. lived for ſome years in tranquility. The great talents, both in war and government, which he had diſcovered, rendered him highly reſpected amongſt the other powers of *Europe*, and, in the ſubſequent broils that enſued, he was equally courted by all parties at variance. But this great prince was not exempted from the infirmities of common life. He began to be tired of the tranquility he had been at ſo much pains to eſtabliſh, chiefly through his fondneſs for the counteſs-dowager of *St. Sebaſtian*, with whom he had been for ſome years enamoured. And, all of a ſudden, he reſolved to reſign his crown in favour of his eldeſt ſon the prince of *Piedmont*. For this purpoſe he convoked, in *September*, 1730, his prelates, his grand chancellor, his miniſters of ſtate, the heads of his courts of juſtice, and his chief officers, both military and civil, and, in their preſence, he formally reſigned his crown to the prince of *Piedmont*, *Charles Emanuel* his ſon, who in virtue of the quadruple alliance, became king of *Sardinia*, and ſucceeded to all his father's other dominions and titles, only reſerving to himſelf a yearly income, ſome ſay of one hundred thouſand pounds, for his ſupport. The world is well acquainted with what happened upon this abdication. *Victor* retired to *Chamberry*, and married the counteſs, who took upon herſelf the title of counteſs of *Somereve*. But he did not know his own heart. The lady aſpired to be a queen, and wakened in her huſband a deſire to remount his throne, which became ſo ſtrong, that they tampered with ſome of the great men, and chief officers of the army, to aſſiſt them in their deſign. This was diſcovered to the reigning king, who was in no diſpoſition to reſign his newly acquired royalty. At firſt, he endeavoured to diſſuade his father from his reſolution, but all was in vain; ſo that the ſon was obliged to employ force, and he put both his father and the counteſs under arreſt. *Victor Amadeus* did not long ſurvive his diſappointment, for he died at *Montecalier*, the

Death.
A. D.
1732.

the 31ſt of *October*, 1732, at the age of ſixty-ſix years and a half.

and character of Victor Amadeus.

VICTOR AMADEUS was the moſt extraordinary character, and may be ſaid to have been the moſt politic prince of his age. Till the finiſhing ſcene of his life he had diſcovered few human frailties, and many great qualities. He conſidered his near family connections with *France* as tending only to render him a precarious dependant on that crown; and he ſeems to have been reſolved rather to give up all, than to live in that character. The emperor and the kings of *Spain* would have treated him in the ſame manner; but he ſtudied the intereſts of all the powers in the great alliance with ſo much ſagacity, that, though at variance with one another after the treaty of *Utrecht*, and though the many calamities his dominions had ſuſtained, left him but little real power, yet they all agreed in not only giving him a kingdom, though an inconſiderable one, but in extending his dominions on the continent, far beyond thoſe that had been enjoyed by the greateſt of his anceſtors. We are not to place the difficulties and loſſes he met with, during the courſe of a fifty years reign, to his intrigues or ambition, but to the conveniency which the three great potentates of *Germany*, *France*, and *Spain*, found in becoming maſters of his dominions. But, after all, it was owing to the friendſhip and policy of *Great Britain* that he left his ſon in a reſpectable condition as a ſovereign prince.

Is ſucceeded by Charles Emanuel II.

CHARLES EMANUEL II. mounted the throne under ſome diſadvantages, through the want of good faith in the imperial court. He complained, that the emperor had no real deſign to make good his ceſſions and engagements, becauſe he retained in his hands all the title-deeds and documents of *Montferrat*, with a view, as his *Sardinian* majeſty complained, of evading the ceſſions he had made. Count *Philip*, the imperial reſident at that time at the court of *Turin*, being preſſed on this head, had recourſe to many excuſes (to call them no worſe) which plainly ſhewed his maſter's inſincerity; and the trifling delays made by his court, evinced the ſame. His *Sardinian* majeſty, however, perceiving that the count was favoured by the earl of *Eſſex*, the *Britiſh* ambaſſador, durſt not come to extremities: not to mention, that the great number of perſons of the higheſt rank, whom he had been obliged to impriſon on account of his father, had rendered his ſituation, even in his own dominions, a little ſuſpicious. On the other hand, the marquis *de Vaugrenant*, who was the *French* ambaſſador at *Turin*, at the ſame time was carrying on negociations for fixing his *Sardinian* majeſty in his maſter's intereſt. Some illicit trade which had been carried on about *Avignon* and *Geneva*, furniſhed the crowns of *France* and *Sardinia* with a pretext to ſend thither ſome troops. The death of the king of *Poland*, which happened in 1733, lighted up a war between the king of *France* and the emperor; and his *Sardinian* majeſty at laſt concluded, on the 26th of *September* that year, a treaty with the courts of *Verſailles* and *Spain*, whoſe intention was to introduce the infant Don *Carlos* into *Italy*. By this treaty, which was offenſive and defenſive, his *Sardinian* majeſty obliged himſelf not only to grant a paſſage into *Italy*, to the troops of the two crowns, but to join them in certain caſes ſpecified by the treaty. It ſoon appeared that all parties were in earneſt. His *Sardinian* majeſty avowed his connexions with *France*, and publiſhed a maniſeſto, declaring, that his intention was to curb the inſolent power of the houſe of *Auſtria*, which was now become odious to him, and to all *Europe*; and to maintain the ballance of power in *Italy*. The emperor was ſo far from expecting this declaration, that hearing the *French* were preparing to enter *Savoy*, he ordered count *Daun* to offer his *Sardinian* majeſty, who was once his ally and vaſſal, all the aſſiſtance in his power to ſtop their progreſs; but the anſwer he received, was, that they did not come as enemies. On the 12th of *October*, the *French* troops began their march by *Briançon*, and the valley of *Barcelonetta*, headed by marſhal *Villars*, who was to command them under the king of *Sardinia*; and his troops joined them in the *Vigevano*. We ſhall not, for the reaſon ſo often ſpecified, give a particular detail of this war; but, for the ſake of perſpicuity, touch on the general heads. His *Sardinian* majeſty put himſelf at the head of the combined troops in the *Vigevano*, and directed his march towards *Pavia*; but ſo weak and diſorderly were the imperialiſts then in *Italy*, that that city and caſtle was abandoned by the *German* garriſon; and his *Sardinian* majeſty took poſſeſſion of both. *Milan* followed its example: and the king ſent nine thouſand men to take poſſeſſion of the city, and to block up the citadel. *Pizzighitone*, though exceſſively ſtrong, was next reduced; and *Cremona*, with all the *Cremoneſe*, met with the ſame fate, about the beginning of *September*. All thoſe, with many other places of importance, fell to the allies, after very little reſiſtance; and, at laſt, the city of *Milan* capitulated likewiſe. Upon the conqueſt of the *Milaneſe*, his *Sardinian* majeſty publiſhed an ordonnance, commanding all his vaſſals and ſubjects reſiding there, to return home, under pain of confiſcation of goods. He then returned to *Turin*, where, after doing ſome buſineſs, he came back to the army. In the mean while the *French* found means to paſs the *Oglio*, and to enter the *Parmeſan*. The queen of *Sardinia*, at this time, falling dangerouſly ill, his majeſty, who tenderly loved her, again returned to *Turin*; by which means he was not preſent at the bloody battle of *Parma*, in which the imperialiſts were defeated, and their general, count *Merci*, was killed. After this battle, the prince of *Wirtemberg*, though dangerouſly wounded, took upon him the command of the imperialiſts, and made his retreat good to *Reggio*, where their magazines, both of proviſion and artillery, were erected.

Villars *removed by his means.*

It was not in the field only, that his *Sardinian* majeſty ſhewed his great genius and judgment during this war; the command of the *French* troops had been conferred on marſhal *Villars*, chiefly on account of his great experience and reputation; but courage was all of the great general that was now left him, and a courage too of the moſt dangerous kind, becauſe it was romantic, and led him to impracticable attempts. His *Sardinian* majeſty perceived and felt the inconveniency of this, and managed matters at the court of *France* with ſo much dexterity, as to procure the recal of the marſhal, who was now above eighty-four years of age, in ſuch a manner, as that the old general was no ways diſguſted, and died at *Turin* upon his return.' He was ſucceeded in his command by the marſhals *Broglio* and *Coigny*, as the duke of *Wirtemberg* was by count *Konigſegg*, one of the beſt generals in *Europe*. And it was owing to the king of *Sardinia*, that the fortune of the war in *Italy*, was not at this time intirely changed. The imperialiſts had been removed from *Reggio* to the plains of *Carpi*, and took ſuch a poſition, as ſecured *Mirandola* from danger. On the 15th of *September* he paſſed the *Secchia* by day-break, and ſurpriſed the *French* marſhal *Broglio*, that he eſcaped in his ſhirt, and two thouſand of his men were cut in pieces; the *French*, at the ſame time, loſing a great quantity of baggage, beſides a number of priſoners who were taken.

Commands the armies of the two crowns.

AFTER this ſurprize, they were forced to retire to *Guaſtalla*. And his *Sardinian* majeſty now taking the ſole command, a moſt bloody battle was there fought. The *French* being drawn up under that fortification, were attacked with the utmoſt intrepidity by *Konigſegg*, who did all that a brave general could do, to retrieve the deſperate ſtate of his maſter's affairs; but found himſelf unable, after making re-

His ſucceſſes.

peated efforts, to break the *French* cavalry. The battle continued for eight hours, with uncommon fury and carnage; his *Sardinian* majeſty, all this while, expoſing his perſon in the poſts of the greateſt danger. At laſt *Konigſegg*, finding all his ſkill and courage ineffectual, retreated towards *Luzzara*, leaving on the field of battle five thouſand of his beſt troops dead, amongſt whom was the brave prince of *Wirtemberg*, two generals, and many of his other principal officers. The loſs of the *French* was little inferior; and the *Germans* repaſſed the *Po*, and encamping on the banks of the *Oglio*, they prevented his *Sardinian* majeſty from taking *Mirandola*. The king of *Sardinia*, having thus ſaved the armies and intereſt of the two crowns in *Italy*, continued to employ his great talents in the ſame cauſe during the reſt of the campaign. The imperial court, notwithſtanding its loſſes, was ſtill intent on proſecuting the war; and when all *Europe* imagined that both armies were about to retire into winter quarters, *Konigſegg*'s army was reinforced; ſo that he found himſelf at the head of forty thouſand men, and he and count *Wallis*, who was joined with him in the command, received expreſs orders, from their court to keep the field. This they not only did, but checked the marſhal *Maillebois* from attacking *Mirandola*, and forced him to retire under the cannon of *Cremona*, till he ſhould be reinforced by Don *Carlos*.

THE ſtate of *Europe* at this time preſented every week a different face. The court of *Great Britain* and the *Dutch* were earneſt for bringing about an accommodation; but all their endeavours were fruſtrated by the obſtinacy of the court of *Vienna*; which induced his *Britannic* majeſty to fit out a fleet, and the ſtates general to make an augmentation of their land forces. His *Sardinian* majeſty, by this time, began to have a very indifferent opinion of the views of his allies, and left his intereſts entirely in the hands of *Great Britain*. His queen died on the 13th of *January*, 1735, and, after performing the neceſſary duties to her memory, he returned to *Lombardy*, where he kept the imperialiſts in awe; ſo that, in a ſhort time, they loſt all the *Mantuan*, except the capital, which was blocked up, and in great danger of being forced to ſurrender for want of neceſſaries.

Negotiations for a peace.

IT happened about this time that the court of *England* took great concern in all the affairs of the continent, and had ſo much influence with the emperor, on account of his *German* connexions, that his *Britannic* majeſty ſounded the court of *Vienna* on the ſubject of peace, and found it not ſo intractable. The *French* wanted, of all things, to have the war finiſhed; and the *Spaniards* had got all they pretended to. By the indefatigable endeavours of the *Britiſh* miniſtry, a congreſs at the *Hague* was at laſt agreed on, and all parties were to ſubmit their differences to the arbitration of his *Britannic* majeſty and the ſtates general. It was now known that *France* had never been in earneſt in ſettling *Staniſlaus* on the throne of *Poland*, and wanted only to acquire *Lorrain* for themſelves; that, though the emperor reſented, in the higheſt degree, the loſſes he had received in *Italy*, yet he was acceſſible on one head, which was a freſh guaranty of the Pragmatic ſanction. In ſhort the arms of the two crowns had been every-where victorious in *Italy*, where Don *Carlos* had been crowned king in *Sicily*; and all that count *Konigſegg* could do, was, to preſerve the *Mantuan*, and to make the beſt retreat he could through the *Venetian* territories, after abandoning the fortified towns of *Oſtiglia*, *Borgoforte*, *Goito*, *Caſtellucchio*, *Orbitello*, and even *Mirandola*, which ſurrendered, after a brave reſiſtance. But ſuch was the obſtinacy of the court of *Vienna*, that thoſe loſſes ſeemed only to exaſperate it the more, and to ſhew a greater diſpoſition for continuing the war. Mean while a plan of pacification had been drawn up in *England*, by which his *Sardinian* majeſty was to have three provinces in the *Milaneſe* ceded to him, and don *Carlos* was to retain poſſeſſion of *Sicily*. This plan being rejected by *Spain*, the emperor would not, and *France* durſt not, agree to it; ſo that another plan was drawn up, by which his *Sardinian* majeſty was to have his choice of two out of three provinces in the *Milaneſe*, together with four fiefs; viz. *San Fedele*, *Tarra di Forti*, *Gravedo*, and *Campo Maggiore*, and likewiſe the eſtates of *Langhes*. His *Sardinian* majeſty acceded to theſe preliminaries on the 16th of *Auguſt*, 1736, and on the 5th of *March*, 1737, he married the princeſs *Elizabeth Thereſa*, ſiſter of the duke of *Lorrain*, who, by the late peace, became grand duke of *Tuſcany*.

His acquiſitions.

We have, in the hiſtory of *Parma*, been ſo explicit both as to the ſprings and the progreſs of the war in *Italy*, which was finiſhed by the peace of *Aix la Chapelle*, in 1748, and as to the motives which prevailed with the king of *Sardinia* to oppoſe *France* and *Spain*, that we ſhall here cloſe this hiſtory. It is certain that, in the laſt-mentioned war, he ſhewed as much firmneſs as his father, by perſevering in his attachment to the grand alliance; and their fates, after both wars were over, were ſimilar; for though both, in the courſe of them, received many ſevere, and, ſeemingly, fatal, blows, yet, at their concluſions, each found himſelf in a better condition than they had been in at their commencement. It is to the honour of the *Britiſh* miniſtry, that they ſaved his *Sardinian* majeſty, in the late war, from entire deſtruction; and it is equally for his honour, that he perſevered to fulfil all his engagements with *Great Britain*, with the utmoſt punctuality, notwithſtanding the great offers which were made him by *France* and *Spain*, if he would abandon them. Since the peace of *Aix la Chapelle* his *Sardinian* majeſty has applied himſelf to the arts of peace, particularly thoſe of commerce, and for that purpoſe he obſerved the greateſt œconomy in his court, which, notwithſtanding, is very ſplendid. He has not, however, been able yet to ſucceed in his great ſcheme of rendering his ſubjects a trading people, though they are at preſent far more ſo than they were twenty years ago. It is poſſible, ſome time or other, the diſtreſſes of the *Genoeſe* may enable him not only to effect that, but lay a foundation for making the crown of *Sardinia* a maritime power. A. D. 1762.

END *of the* THIRTY-SEVENTH VOLUME.